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FAH HIAN'S KINGDOM OF THE DAKSHIṆA.

BY THOMAS FOULKES, F.L.S., M.R.A.S., CHAPLAIN OF SAINT JOHN'S, BANGALORE.

IT was apparently Fah Hian's original intention to pass from North India to Ceylon through Southern India, but on making inquiries into the state of the country through which his route would lie, he was obliged, for some unmentioned reason, to give up this portion of his enterprise. The short report which he has left[1] of the results of those inquiries is very interesting, and contains allusions which seem to me to be capable of being developed into an outline of the condition of an important portion of Southern India during the earliest centuries of the Christian era.

He tells us that "two hundred *yeouyan* to the south there is a kingdom called Tha-thsen," and he then proceeds to describe two or three circumstances respecting it which had come to his knowledge. The object of this paper is to try to identify this kingdom by a development of the meaning of these words and their context, and by a comparison of the interpretation so obtained with other information respecting the condition of South India at the time to which his description refers.

M. Klaproth long ago recognized the word Tha-thsen' as Fah Hian's equivalent of the word "Dakshiṇa ('the South'), a denomination applied to the vast country called at present the Dakhan, which is the vulgar pronunciation of Dakshiṇa:" and no question is likely to arise regarding the correctness of this identification.

The limitation of the word 'Dakhan' to that portion of South India which lies between the Vindhyas and a moveable line in the neighbourhood of the Kṛishṇâ I need scarcely say is comparatively modern; in Fah Hian's time the word 'Dakshiṇa,' when used in a geographical sense, embraced the whole country between the Vindhyas and Cape Kumârî (Comorin). It is therefore remarkable that he should use this word as the name of a kingdom. He does not indeed say that there was no other kingdom besides this within those limits, and it is well known from other sources that the whole of that region was not in his time under the rule of a single monarch; still, what had been conveyed to his mind by his informants, who were themselves 'people of the country,' was, that there was a kingdom in the south, whatever its other name or names may have been, which was at that time sufficiently preeminent amongst its neighbours to be entitled to be called 'The kingdom of the south. Perhaps it may be allowable to infer that this kingdom had received that name on account of its comparatively large extent of territory, or from having established some kind of paramount authority over the rest of the kingdoms of South India.

[1] The present paper is based on Mr. Laidley's translation of the French edition of MM. Rémusat, Klaproth, and Landresse.

Fah Hian's short description[2] contains several indirect indications that this great kingdom was in an advanced state of civilization:—

1. Architecture and sculpture were represented by the Buddhist monastery, carved out of an isolated rock, and containing 1500 cells, of which he gives a somewhat particular description. The rock was cut down to represent a building of five storeys rising above each other in pyramidal form; each storey was carved into the shape of an animal, or series of animals, culminating in a pigeon of sufficient size to contain a hundred monks' cells. This pigeon also held a reservoir of water, and the water was conducted from it in channels which ran round each of the five storeys in succession, and ultimately flowed out through the outer gate of the monastery. This colossal curiosity of architectural and sculptural art may very justly be regarded not as an isolated and entirely singular monument, but as a very remarkable instance or copy of a *class* of structural buildings of various degrees of resemblance to it, which were to be found in the surrounding country: since it can scarcely be thought probable that the architect and sculptor would rise at one bound to the conception of an edifice of this high character, to be carved, in the first instance, out of the solid rock. It may therefore fairly be regarded as an example of the style of architecture, whether indigenous or imported, which prevailed at the time of its construction, and which had existed for some time previously, in this part of South India.

2. The existence of this vihâra would of itself be sufficient to justify the conclusion that the Buddhist religion had taken considerable root in the 'kingdom of the south,' and that those who professed it were a respectable class of its subjects. But Fah Hian does not leave this circumstance to be merely conjectured: for he distinctly refers to the Buddhist monks, as well as to the Brâhmans and heretics, who dwelt in this kingdom.[3] Religion, therefore,—regarding it here as a mark of the civilization of the 'kingdom of the south,'—was represented by each of the highest forms of religious philosophy to which the intellect of India had then risen.

3. This last circumstance involves another mark of the civilization of this kingdom: for in the fact that Buddhist monks, Brâhmans, and dissenters from both, lived side by side within it, there is an indication that religious toleration was both understood and practised, in some measure or other, by both the rulers and the subjects of 'the kingdom of the south.' And this is the more remarkable since Fah Hian distinctly states that the masses of the people were perversely opposed to the Buddhist religion, notwithstanding their voluntary or compulsory toleration of it.

4. The presence of these 'Samanæans, Brâhmans, and Heretics' implies the corresponding existence of the voluminous literature of each of these religious denominations in 'the kingdom of the south.'

5. Fah Hian was informed by the people

[2] For the sake of reference we add Beal's version of Fah-hian's 35th section in full:—

"Going two hundred *yôjanas* south from this, there is a country called Ta-thsin (Dakshina). Here is a Sanghârâma of the former Buddha Kâsyapa. It is constructed out of a great mountain of rock hewn to the proper shape. This building has altogether five storeys. The lowest is shaped into the form of an elephant, and has five hundred stone cells in it. The second is in the form of a lion, and has four hundred chambers. The third is shaped like a horse, and has three hundred chambers. The fifth storey is in the shape of a dove, and has one hundred chambers in it. At the very top of all is a spring of water, which, flowing in a stream before the rooms, encircles each tier, and so, running in a circuitous course, at last arrives at the very lowest storey of all, where, flowing past the chambers as before, it finally issues through the door of the building. Throughout the consecutive tiers, in various parts of the building, windows have been pierced through the solid rock for the admission of light, so that every chamber is quite illuminated, and there is no darkness (throughout the whole). At the four corners of this edifice they have hewn out the rock into steps, as a means for ascending. Men of the present time point out a small ladder which reaches up to the highest point (of the rock) by which men of old ascended it, one foot at a time (?). They derive the name which they give to this building, viz. *Po-lo-ya*, from an Indian word [*? pârâvata*] signifying 'pigeon.' There are always Rahats abiding here. This land is hilly and barren, without inhabitants. At a considerable distance from the hill there are villages, but all of them are inhabited by heretics. They know nothing of the law of Buddha, or Shamans, or Brâhmans, or of any of the different schools of learning. The men of that country continually see persons come flying to the temple. On a certain occasion there were some Buddhist pilgrims from different countries who came here with a desire to pay religious worship at this temple. Then the men of the villages above alluded to asked them saying, 'Why do you not fly to it? We behold the religious men who occupy those chambers constantly on the wing.' These men then answered by way of excuse, 'Because our wings are not yet perfectly formed.' The country of Ta-thsin is precipitous, and the roads dangerous and difficult to find. Those who wish to go there ought to give a present to the king of the country, either money or goods. The king then deputes certain men to accompany them as guides, and so they pass the travellers from one place to another, each party pointing out their own roads and intricate bye paths. Fah Hian, finding himself in the end unable to proceed to that country, reports in the above passages merely what he heard."—Beal's *Travels of Fah-hian and Sung-yun*, pp. 139-141.

[3] This is in accordance with Mr. Laidley's version, from which Mr. Beal's differs in this particular.

of the country that a service of state-guides existed in this kingdom, and that they were paid for their services, through the government officials, at a regulated price, and that this price had to be paid in advance by the traveller on his entrance into the country. This I understand to be the meaning of his words,—"Those who desire to proceed thither should first pay a certain sum of money to the king of the country, who will then appoint people to accompany them and show them the way."

6. This service of guides, considered, as it is by Fah Hian, as a remarkable feature in the character of this kingdom, could scarcely have arisen as a state institution in any but one possessing extensive territory. His description of the route through this kingdom implies as much also:—"The roads of the kingdom of Tha-thsen are dangerous, toilsome, and not easy to know:" for, written as these words were after he had accomplished the difficult land-journey from China to India, he is clearly referring to an extensive tract of country abounding in mountains and deep rivers, and jungles infested by robbers and wild beasts. The same conclusion seems to arise from the context of this description of the roads: for he proceeds at once to add first, that the traveller had to pay down "a certain sum of money to the king of the country" before he made the journey on these roads; and, secondly, that he "was unable to proceed thither." I gather from this, first, that it was principally, if not entirely, the necessity of advancing this money which deterred him from proceeding by the land route to Ceylon: for it seems very improbable that the great zeal and intrepidity which had already accomplished the Himâlayan journey would shrink before the lesser difficulties of the Dakhan, provided those difficulties were of a similar kind. And, if this was the deterring reason, I gather, secondly, that the sum of money required to be advanced was not a mere passenger's toll, but a considerable sum, which Fah Hian's purse was unable to meet, or which he did not consider advisable to spend in this manner.

7. Fah Hian, as a zealous Buddhist, looked at this institution, as he did at everything else during his sojourn in India, only as it affected himself and others of his own profession: he speaks of this service simply as one of guides, and of the persons who benefited by it as "the Clergy of Reason of the other kingdoms," who proceeded "thither to practise the rites." Religious mendicants, unencumbered with property, would need nothing more than to be shown the way of their journey: but I cannot imagine a powerful state setting about the establishment of an elaborate and expensive service of this kind for the benefit of these monks alone, if their travels were made for exclusively religious purposes. If we could learn more of this institution, it would probably turn out to be the old police service of Southern India; and the persons for whose benefit it was more especially instituted, and applied in the form to which Fah Hian refers, were the merchants who traversed the Dakhan in those days with the lighter and most precious articles of the commerce of the East. Their valuable merchandize would need and could well pay for this kind of state escort; and the rich benefits of this commerce which they brought into the kingdom would afford efficient motives to induce the state to create or to apply a police service of this kind for their protection. This service, therefore, thus regarded, suggests another mark of the civilization of 'the kingdom of the south,' namely, its valuable commerce, and its inland trade-routes.

These instances of the political, intellectual, and religious condition of Fah Hian's 'kingdom of the south,' taken in connection with the several matters which lie beneath them and lead up to them, seem fully to warrant the conclusion that it was both extensive and powerful, and that it was advanced in the best forms of the civilization which India had worked out in those early times.

Fah Hian mentions 'the king of the country, and there seem to be some considerations in his description which lead to the conclusion that this or some previous ruler or rulers of this kingdom was a patron of Buddhism, if not himself a Buddhist:—

1. The presence of Buddhist monks is sufficient to show that the rulers of the kingdom were not inimical to the Buddhist religion. Brâhmans and Jains were already on the scene, ready to take advantage of any ascendancy of their religion at court to crush their hated rivals; and the common people, in at least one part of the kingdom, were avowedly rejectors Buddhism.

2. It is much more likely that the toleration

of these rival religions should have proceeded from a mild Buddhist monarch than from a king whose sympathies were with the party of innovation, whose earliest appearances on the stage of the history of the times which succeeded Fah Hian's days are associated with bitter controversies, and a fanatical hatred of their Buddhist opponents, which prepared the way for their general extermination.

3. It is scarcely probable that a colossal work of art, like Fah Hian's rock-cut monastery, could have been undertaken by any one but a powerful, rich, and prosperous king,* or rather, considering the time which such a work would require for its completion, by a succession of such kings. And it is similarly improbable that a costly and everlasting monument of this description would have been so undertaken unless the king or kings had religious convictions in harmony with the object for which such a magnificent building was constructed.

We may now pass on to investigate the locality of the kingdom of Tha-thsen.

Fah Hian places it "two hundred *yeouyan* to the south"—namely, to the south of the place where he was when he described it. In the preceding chapter we find him ascending the Heng (Ganges) from Palianfoe (Pâtaliputra) until "he came to the town of Pho-lo-nai Varaṇasî, Banâras), in the kingdom of Kia-shi" Kâshi). Banâras, therefore, is the starting-point of his measurement of the two hundred *yeouyan*.

The *yeouyan*, as the equivalent of the Sanscrit *yojana*, is "a measure of distance equal o four *kroshas*, which at 8000 cubits or 4000 ards to the *krosha* or *kos* will be almost exactly ine miles; other computations make the *yojana* but about five miles, or even no more than four miles and a half." (Wilson, *Sansk. Dict.*) The Chinese appear to have used the word not so much as a definite measure of length, as to express the distance from one halting-place to another during royal progresses on the imperial highroads, and between the relays of the post; and the actual length of the different stages appears to have depended upon the level or hilly character of the country, and so to have varied much everywhere. "The translations of Buddhist works," says M. Rémusat, "distinguish three kinds of *yojana*:—the great *yojana* of 80 *li*, which is used in the measurement of level countries, where the absence of mountains and rivers renders the road easy; the mean *yojana* of 60 *li*, when rivers and mountains oppose some difficulties to the traveller; and the little *yojana* of 40 *li*, adapted to those countries where the mountains are precipitous and the rivers very deep." Fah Hian says that "the roads of the kingdom of the Dakshiṇa are dangerous, toilsome, and not easy to know;" and it therefore seems natural to suppose that the little *yojana* of forty *li* would be selected by him as the most applicable in this instance. M. Rémusat, in fact, adopts the little *yojana* of 4½ English miles as "applicable with exactness to the most celebrated localities" which have been identified in these travels of Fah Hian. For the present purpose, therefore, it seems reasonable to adopt this measurement of 4½ miles for the *yojana* in the interpretation of Fa Hian's report; and his words then, put into plain English, will be, "Nine hundred miles to the south of Banâras there is a kingdom called the kingdom of the south."

The question now arises, What point had he in his mind at the other end of his line? He starts from a fixed point, Banâras; and it seems natural to suppose that he is referring to some equally definite spot, which it had been his wish to visit in Southern India—very probably the capital city of the kingdom which he is describing, or, possibly enough, the remarkable rock-cut Pigeon Monastery, which he immediately proceeds to describe.

One more preliminary question needs to be answered, namely, With what degree of exactness does Fah Hian indicate the directions of the localities which he mentions? What is to be understood by his expression 'to the south'? An examination of several passages of his travels leads me to the conclusion that, short only of scientific exactness, he lays down the relative positions of places very correctly, but he does not go beyond the four cardinal points of the compass and the four intermediate points. Any place, therefore, lying between south-south-east and south-south-west would be 'to the south,' within the usual meaning of his words. On a map of India I mark off by its scale a line 900 miles in length. Applying this line to the map

* Hiwen Thsang calls the monastery *Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li*, and says it was built by king So-to-po-ho (Śâtavâhana?).—*Mém. sur les Cont. Occid.* II. p. 101

in a southerly direction from Banâras, and deflecting it a little to the west, to keep within the limits of the land, the end of the 900 miles will be found in the neighbourhood of Madras; and, as Madras is only about 2½ degrees to the west of the meridian of Banâras, any place in the neighbourhood of Madras will suit Fah Hian's distance and direction, according to this mode of measurement. It seems certain, however, that while we may consider Madras to be about the extreme south point to which his description can apply, Fa Hian had a more practicable route in mind than the crow-flight line; and when he says that "the roads of the kingdom of Thathsen are dangerous, toilsome, and not easy to know," he seems to suggest an intricate inland route, rather than the road by the coast. If so, allowance must be made for the circuitousness and sinuosities of that route, and the end of the 900 miles will then fall a good deal north of Madras. In this long distance perhaps an allowance of about one-fourth will be sufficient to cover these deflections from the straight line; and the end of Fah Hian's line will then fall in the neighbourhood of the Kṛishṇâ.

The result of this method of interpreting Fah Hian's 35th chapter may now be stated in these words:—Two hundred travelling stages to the south of Banâras—that is to say, somewhere between the basin of the Godâvarî and the basin of the Pâlâr—lay, in the year 400 A.D., the heart of an extensive kingdom, namely, the 'kingdom of the south,' where the arts of architecture and sculpture had attained a high stage of progress; where religion, philosophy, and literature were represented by Buddhist monks, Brâhmaṇs, and other religious sectarians; where internal order was maintained by a well-organized police, whose services were available for the protection of pilgrims of religion, as well as for merchants and their merchandize; which possessed Buddhist monuments of sufficient interest and importance to induce "the Clergy of Reason of the other kingdoms [to] go thither and practise the rites;" whose material progress was apparently aided by a rich and extensive commerce; and which was governed by a mild and enlightened monarch, who, while he seems to have himself possessed Buddhist sympathies, was nevertheless tolerant of all other religions.

We may now proceed to compare this interpretation with what is known of the history of the portion of South India to which it refers in the days of Fah Hian. The most northerly locality to which his indications have brought us, namely, the deltas of the Godâvarî and Kṛishṇâ, lies within the limits of the ancient kingdom of Vengi; and the most southern point lies within forty miles of Conjeveram, the old capital city Kânchî, famous amongst both Buddhists and Brâhmaṇs as the seat of a powerful kingdom, and the centre of the civilization of Southern India, in the earliest days of its known history.

That both Vengi and Kânchî formed portions of one and the same kingdom at the time when the grants of the kings of the Pallavas in Sir Walter Elliot's collection were issued is abundantly evident from the contents of those grants, especially when taken in connection with those of their neighbours the Chera, the Kadamba, and the Châlukya kings; and there is no likelihood of any doubt being raised, in the present position of our information, that those grants of the Pallavas which have already been published, though they bear no dates, certainly belong to the time which closely bordered on that of Fah Hian's visit. For the purposes of this paper, therefore, it amounts to the same thing whether the central spot of the kingdom of Tha-thsen, to which Fah Hian's information referred, lay in the basins of the Godâvarî and Kṛishṇâ, or in the basins of the Pâlâr and the Pennârs, since the whole of these localities were in his days under the rule of the kings of the Pallavas.

All that is at present known of these kings and their dominions corresponds with the interpretation which I have above offered of Fah Hian's narrative:—

1. That they were the paramount power in the Dakhaṇ when the first Châlukya army crossed the Narmadâ, in or about the 5th century A.D., has long been known from Sir Walter Elliot's earliest papers on the Châlukya dynasties. The earliest kingdom of the Châlukyas in the Dakhaṇ was conquered by them from the Pallavas, and their peaceable possession of it was confirmed by the marriage of the Châlukya king with a princess of the Pallavas. So that a short time after, and so, apparently, at the very time of Fah Hian's visit, the Pallava dominions extended far up into

the north-western districts of the Dakhaṇ; while at about the same time the whole of the seaboard from the northern limits of the Choḷa kingdom at or about the southern Pennâr up to the southern boundary of Orissa, together with the whole of the inland country westwards as far as the borders of the Cheras and the Kadambas, was in the possession of these kings. Vengi remained in their possession for about two centuries later than the time of Fah Hian, when (about A.D. 692) it was wrested from them by Kubja Vishṇu Vardhana, the younger brother of the Châlukya king; and Kânchî continued to be the capital of their curtailed but still very powerful kingdom until a much later date, and, with still further curtailment of territory, very probably, until the tenth century, when the Choḷas, taking advantage of the decay of their power, and of the anarchy which resulted from it, carved the new state of Tondamaṇḍalam out of the last remnant of their possessions. They were in the height of their power in Southern India, therefore, at the time of Fah Hian's visit; and their extensive dominions were then fully entitled to be called the 'kingdom of the Dakshiṇa.'

2. That they were at least patrons of Buddhism seems clear from the fact of the existence of Buddhists and Buddhist institutions in their kingdom and their capital city; and that they were also tolerant of the Brâhmaṇical religion is shown by the circumstance that all their grants of lands which are as yet known were bestowed as Brâhmaṇical endowments. These facts, therefore, run parallel in this respect with Fah Hian's report of the Samanæans, Brâhmaṇs, and Heretics living together in the 'kingdom of the Dakshiṇa.'

3. Whether they were themselves Buddhists or not, they were at any rate patrons of Buddhist architecture. Mr. Fergusson has shown that the culminating point of Buddhist architecture was attained, or at least most prominently represented, in the Tope of Amrâvatî, on the banks of the Kṛishṇâ, which stood in the very centre of the dominions of the Pallavas, and that the most exquisite portions of the sculpture of that magnificent Buddhist monument were carved about the very time of Fah Hian's visit to India. And this splendid example of a Buddhist *tope* forms a fitting companion to his correspondingly grand Buddhist vihâra, as a twin example of the high style of architecture which prevailed in these parts in his days.

4. Hiwen Thsang[5] has shown that throughout the whole course of his journey along the upper eastern coast the monasteries of the Buddhists abounded everywhere, many of them still flourishing, and many more of them in ruins; and that the greatest number of ruined Buddhist buildings, as well as the then preponderating numbers of Brâhmaṇical temples, lay in those parts of his route which had but lately passed from the Pallavas into the hands of the Vishṇu-worshipping Châlukyas.

5. The identity of the Pallava style of architecture with that of Fah Hian's kingdom of the south is strikingly exemplified by the 'Great Rath' at Mahâmallapuram, on the seashore about 35 miles from the Pallava capital, Kînchipuram, and apparently its commercial port. Mr. Fergusson has called this Buddhist monument "a literal copy" of the Pigeon Vihâra of Fah Hian's kingdom of the south: and he regards it and the other *raths* at that place as "the prototypes of the style" of Drâviḍian architecture, and "the originals from which all the Vimânas in Southern India were copied." Sir Walter Elliot, many years ago, connected these *raths* with the Pallavas: and Mr. Fergusson assigns them to the 5th or 6th century, "if not indeed earlier"—a date, especially when it is expressed in this tentative form, which brings their construction sufficiently near to Fah Hian's days to connect the "Great Rath" with his rock-cut monastery in point of time, as its form so remarkably does in point of architectural style.

6. While these considerations lead to the conclusion that the kings of the Pallavas were powerful, enlightened, and prosperous, the sources of their great prosperity are not far to seek. The central emporium of the whole of

[5] He places the monastery in Kiao-sa-lo or Kosala, the capital of which may have been about Varaṇgadh or Bhândak; thence he goes south 900 *li* to 'An-to-lo or Andhra, the capital of which he calls Ping-ki-lo, from which he proceeded southwards 1000 *li* to T'o-na-kie-tse-kia (Dhanakacheka) or Fa 'an-ta-lo (Mahâ-Andhra), at the capital of which were two famous monasteries, the Pûrvaśâlâ and Avaraśâla-saṅghârâmas. Probably this was Bejwâdâ. After another 1000 *li* to the south-west and south he came to Chu-li-ye, the capital of which Fergusson would place at Nelur on the coast, and Cunningham at Karnûl on the Tungabhadrâ. May it not be the Western Châlukya kingdom?—ED.

the commerce between India and the Golden Chersonese and the regions to the further East, and so of every sea-board beyond India between China and the western world, was within their territory; and all the diamond mines then known to the world were also within their dominions, and had probably supplied every diamond which up to that time had ever adorned a diadem. The bulk of that commerce went southwards from that "*locus unde solvunt in Chrysen navigantes*" in coasting vessels around Cape Kumârî to the ports of departure for the markets of the West on the western coast: but the lighter and most valuable articles, and especially the diamonds and other precious stones, would naturally find their way by the shorter land-route to those ports; and merchants laden with these precious commodities would need to be protected along the wild roads across the peninsula, and could well afford to pay for that protection Fah Hian's "certain sum of money to the king of the country."

For these reasons the conclusion seems to me to be irresistible that Fah Hian's 'kingdom called Tha-thsen' is *the great kingdom of the* Pallavas of Kâñchî.

If this identification is well established, it will supply an important missing link in the history of India between the times which are covered by the classical and the Buddhist relations, and by the evidence of coins, and the dawn of the unbroken period from the 5th century downwards which is covered by Sir Walter Elliot's Châlukya inscriptions; it will prepare the way for an investigation of the next earlier link in the chain, namely, the question of the origin of these kings of the Pallavas, which will probably fill in the remainder of the gap; it will account for the possibility of the splendid commerce of these parts up through the age of Ptolemy to the times of the *Periplus*, by showing the existence of a local government sufficiently powerful for its protection; it will also, I hope, contribute something towards the completion of Mr. Fergusson's almost perfect continuity of Buddhist architectural history from the *topes* and *vihâras* of Gandhâra, through the Tope of Amrâvatî, the nine-storeyed Chaitya of the Diamond Sands, the Pigeon Monastery of Fah Hian, and the Vihâra Rath of Mahâmallapura, down to the many-storeyed *vihâras* of Java, and the pyramidal *vimânas* and Gopuras of mediæval India; and it will help to restore an almost forgotten empire to its due place in the ancient history of India.

FRAGMENTS RELATING TO ÂNANDAPURA IN SAURÂSHṬRA.

BY MAJOR J. W. WATSON.

The Ânandapura of Hiwen Thsîng is stated by that author to be 700 *li*, or about 135 miles, to the north-west of Valabhî. General Cunningham, in his *Ancient Geography of India* (p. 493), says that the town has been identified with Baṛnagar (Vaḍnagar in Gujarât) by M. Vivien de Saint-Martin,[1] he, however, mentions that Vaḍnagar is 150 miles to the *east* of north, and he subsequently suggests that the kingdom of Ânandapura may correspond with the triangular tract lying between the mouth of the Banâs river on the west, and the Sâbarmati river on the east.

Now Ânandapura in Saurâshṭra, or more correctly in the Deva-Panchâla,[2] is about 64 miles to the north-west of Valabhî as the crow flies; but as the hilly country between Valabhî and Ánandapura, commencing near Gadhrâ, was in former times not only covered with thick jungle, but also devoid of roads, it is not only possible, but probable, that a traveller would be obliged to make a *détour* of forty or fifty miles to reach that town, the territories subordinate to which, after making so long a *détour*, one might be apt to consider of greater extent than they really were. It is, therefore, just possible that the Ânandapura in the Panchâla is really the Ânandapura of the Chinese pilgrim. It is doubtless of very respectable antiquity, and

[1] Julien, *Mém. sur les Cont. Occid.* tom. II. p. 406. This was on the authority of Stevenson, *Kilpâ Sûtrâ*, pp 2, 15. Cunningham makes 6 *li* equal one mile, and so makes Ânandapura only 117 miles from Valabhî. Conf. *Archæological Report on Kâthiâwâd and Kachh*, pp 84, 85, where it was suggested that the Ânandapura of Hiwen Thsang might be that still existing.—Ed.

[2] The Deva-Panchâla is a subdivision of Saurâshṭrâ.

has a fine temple, the founding of which is commonly attributed to Sidhrâj Jayasingh of Ânhilvâḍâ, besides another older temple, now in ruins, which was sacred to a Nâga, or snake-deity. Three *kos* east of Ânandapura was a town called Dhokalvâ, and east of this is a small hill called the Dhundhan town hill. Dhundhan is now waste, but its old site can be shown, and close to this spot the Bhâdar river rises. At this place Dhundho Râkshasa is said to have been born; he afterwards went to Chobâri, the inhabitants of which village he devoured, and from this spot he devastated the neighbouring villages, devouring their inhabitants. So great were his ravages that he rendered the Panchâla desolate, and a vast forest sprang up there. Dhundho Râkshasa, was, however, at last slain by Râjâ Risâlu,[3] reputed to be the eldest son of Gohil Sâkâbandhi Śâlivâhana, king of Mungipur Pâṭan. Râjâ Risâlu is said to have gone to marry at Ujjain, but there being offended broke off the match and went to Dholkâ; here he played a game of chess with the Râjâ for the hand of his daughter Phulmati, and winning married that lady and took her with him to the Panchâla, then suffering from the ravages of Dhundho Râkshasa. Here Risâlu heard that the Râkshasa resided at Chobâri, and an old woman informed him that the Râkshasa every morning went to the Panch-Mukhi Wâv at Chobâri to bathe and pay his adorations to the Sun, and that at such times his body was turned into wax. She further added that if at that time some prince of royal blood would sever his head from his body he would certainly die, though otherwise he was impervious to mortal arms. The prince accordingly, next day, went to the *wâv* and smote off the head of the Râkshasa while occupied with his devotions to the Sun, and slew him. After this Risâlu brought Phulmati to Chobâri and reigned there. After some time a Wanjâro (Brinjârâ) named Hâthio, leader of a caravan of 900,000 beasts of burden, came to Chobâri, and an improper intimacy sprang up between him and Phulmati. Risâlu, discovering this, slew Hâthio, and a large pile of stones (ચાળા, *chaḷ*) marks the spot between Chobâri and Ânandapura where he was buried. As far, however, as I can ascertain, Ânandapura was founded in Saṁvat 1124 by Chuḍâsamâ Ânanda, after whom it was named. This, if true, would place its foundation subsequent to Hiwen Thsâng's visit to Saurâshtra. The following *kavita* celebrates the founding of Ânandapura:—

कवित.

संवत ११२४, मास आसु नरमल;
वार भोम तथ बीज, नक्षत्र सुवांत सकोमल.
पांचाल देश उत्तम स्थान, नर नरंद्र गढ पतीयां;
रच्यो शहेर जदुराय, पुर आणद छत्र पतीयां.
खट त्रीश वंश ब्हादर खडा, कवाट राय केदज कीयो;
अनंतराय कनकरे, राज आणंद पर रचीयो.

"In Saṁvat 1124, in the pure month of Âsu.
On Tuesday the second day of the month in the delicate *nakshatra* of Suvâṁt,
In that best place the land of Panchâla, the man, a king of men, the fort-lord,
The Jâdav Râi founded the city, the umbrella-lord (founded) Ânandapura.
Brave men of the thirty-six races standing by him, he imprisoned Rai Kawât.
Ânant Râi, son of Kanaka, founded the kingdom of Ânandapura."

And so the following *duho*:—

दुहो.

ओ अनंते पांचालमां, नरपत धरीयुं नाम:
राज आणंद पर रचावीयो, करीयां ओतम काम

"That Ânanta in the Panchâla
Assumed the title of 'Lord of men;'
He founded the kingdom of Ânandapura,
And in so doing performed a most excellent deed."

दुहो २.

वंश रूप भुप जदुवंशी, नरपत राखण नाम:
अंनेश्वर आणंदमे, धर्यु धोरींधर धाम.

"He, that Jâduvaṁśî king of illustrious family,
Who assumed the title of 'Lord of men,'
Built a mighty temple
To Anteśvara in Ânandapura."

So far for the founding of Ânandapura by Ânanda Chuḍâsamâ, and according to this the large temple should be attributed to this Ânanda, and not to Sidhrâj who is reputed its founder. But the custom of attributing all works of archæological interest in Gujarât to Sidhrâj or Kumâra Pâla is too well known to need any comment from me. And though the date forbids

[3] Query—Is this the Râja Rasâlu of Cunningham (*vide* his *Ancient Geography*) in another form?

us to think that this can be the Ânandapura alluded to by Hiwen Thsâng, it is just as likely as not that the date quoted in the *duhâ* is wrong, and it may be Saṁvat 624, which would place the founding of the city in 568 A.D. There is, however, one great objection to this, viz. that in A D. 568 the Chuḍâsamâs had not, as far as our present knowledge extends, entered Saurâshtra. Other solutions of the difficulty are—that this Ânanda of the legend following is quite another person than the Ânanda mentioned in the two *dulas*, and that the first Ânanda was a Yâdava, and the second Ânanda, though a Yâdava also, one of the Chuḍâsamâ branch. The following verses show that the second Ânanda imprisoned Râ Kawâd of Junâgaḍh, and in vain desired him to perform obeisance. The four *duhâ* are evidently fragments of a longer poem, and the name Ânanda, as well as the imprisonment of Râ Kawâd by a king of the name of Ânanda, corresponds to the famous story of the imprisonment of Râ Kawâd on the Shiâl Bet by a Râja of Kalyâṇa, and his release from bondage by Ugâ Wâlâ. As, however, the first *kavita* alludes to the imprisonment of Râ Kawâd, I give them for what they are worth :—

दुहो ३.

पाव हड मे पीयो, हवे मुछे हाथ;
जोर सघलो जाणीओ, कर मजरो कवाट.

"Thy feet are in the stocks,
What avails it now to lay your hand on your moustache?[4]
Your strength is fully known :
Make, O Kawât, a humble salutation."[5]

दुहो ४.

कवाट बोल्यो कोपकर, हठ म कर राण;
अनंत सुर उगे नही, माझ छंडे मेराण.

"Kawât replied angrily :—
'O Râṇâ, do not be obstinate;
Ânant! the sun would not rise,
And the ocean would abandon its bed (were I to act thus).'"

दुहो ५.

कर मजरो कवाट, आखे राजा अनंत;
परणावी बेसारूं पाट, गढ थापुं गरनार पत्य.

"'Kawât, make your salutation,'
So Râja Ânant directs :
'Having married you (to some one) I will restore you to your throne,
I will establish you lord of Girnârgaḍh.'"

दुहो ६.

रीते बोल्यो राह, केणीपर मजरो करूं;
लाजे गढ गरनार, नव सोरठ नीचुं जुए.

"The Râ replied in a kingly manner,
'How should I bow myself to you?
Gaḍh Girnâr would be shamed,
And the nine divisions[6] of Sorath would have to look down.'"

This Ânanda and his successors reigned at Anandapura till Saṁvat 1320. It is said there were seven kings of this dynasty, of whom the last was Âmarasiñha. After his time the Panchâla was deserted, owing first to the invasion of the emperor Muḥammad Toghlak of Dehli, and afterwards to the incursions of the Sultâns of Gujarât, and Ânandapura itself became waste. In Saṁvat 1664, however, a Châran named Budhasi, an inhabitant of a *nes*, or hamlet, in the adjoining hills, having lost his cattle in the forest which then covered the Panchâla country, wandered hither in search of them, and seeing the town wall, temple, tank, &c., on his return told the Kâṭhi chieftains, under whose protection he lived, of the fact of Ânandapura lying thus desolate. Those chieftains, viz. Khâchars Jethsur and Miâjal, who sprang from the Khâchar house of Chotilâ, on hearing this, moved thither from their previous residence in the Thângâ[7] range and took possession of the place, and ruled there for twenty-seven years. and their descendants are now to be found at Aniâli, under Jasdan, and other places. Now Khâchar Mulu Nâgâjan of Sejakapura was the son of their maternal aunt, and was therefore cousin of the Ânandapura Khâchars Jethsur and Miâjal, and constantly used to go and stay with them at Ânandapura for ten and twenty days at a time. Now there was in the ruined gate of Ânandapur one stone in the archway which looked as if about to fall; when the Khâchars Jethsur and Miâjal rode under this archway they used to put their horses to a gallop for fear lest this

[4] To twist or curl the moustache is considered among Râjputs as a gesture of defiance.

[5] The word मजरी here means the three *salâms* made by an inferior when saluting the Râja in *kacheri*.

[6] The nine divisions of Sorath, *no-khaṇḍa-Soraṭh*, are constantly alluded to in both tradition and bardic poetry

[7] The Thângâ range of hills is situated in the Panchâla to the south of the Râjkot-Wadhwân highroad. The range to the north of this road near Chotilâ and Thân is called the Mândhava range.

stone should fall on them. Mulu Khâchar, perceiving their lack of courage, determined to seize Ânandapura, and accordingly attacked it at the head of five hundred horse. Fearing his prowess, Jeṭhsur and Miâjal Khâchar fled away at night with their property, and Khâchar Mulu and his brother Lâkho (sons of Nâgâjan) took possession of Ânandapura in Saṁvat 1691 on Sunday, on the second day of the light half of Paush. The present tâlukdârs of Ânandapura are descended from the above-mentioned Mulu. After this capture of Ânandapura its former proprietors went out in *bârvatiâ* (outlawry) against Mulu Khâchar, and harassed the Ânandapura country. Afterwards Jhâlâ Khetoji of Kudni joined them, and Khetoji with the assistance of the Kâṭhis conquered Limbḍi from the Chuḍâsamâs, but refused to give the Kâṭhis a half-share in the estate, as he had promised, and they consequently harassed and plundered the Limbḍi country. Finally in Saṁvat 1072 Khetoji made peace with them by giving them the village of Jhobâlâ, after which they renewed their feud with Ânandapura. Khâchars Wâjsur and Râmâ, however, who were the sons of Mulu, settled the feud by giving them some land at Dhârî, and after this they went and settled at Jhobâlâ, and their descendants are called Jhobâliâs to this day. After this, Khâchars Mulu and Lâkho enjoyed the permanent possession of Ânandapura, although they usually resided at Sejakapura. It is said that 1800 horse were under their authority, and they were the principal chiefs in the Panchâla. Lâkho was known by the name of Lâkho Khandhâr.[8] The brothers now became very formidable, and at last Jâm Tamâchi of Navânagar, Râj Jaswantsingh of Halwad, and Salâbat Khân Bâbi combined against them and laid siege to Ânandapura, but failed to take it. The following *rupaka* is said regarding this achievement of the Kâṭhis :—

रुपक १.

तमण जाम राणो जसो ॥ सलाबतखान नेम ॥
फोज धर देवके नके फावे ॥ नाळ गोळे घणे वदे जीता नही ॥
आणंद पर त्रण पत शाह आवे ॥
झालहर झालहर वला काडी इठी ॥ जोर बाबी अटक कटक जोडे ॥
हे कथारे दरग अभंगरा माहरा ॥ मोरचा गया त्रणराव मांडी ॥
स बांधवे मुलवा एमल खण भखाउशाध ॥ स्रगडा कारण रण छत्रां मारे ॥
नगर हलवद धणी तख्त तुं नागरा ॥ हालीयो आगरा धणीहारे ॥

Jâm Taman,[9] Râṇo Jaso,[10] and also Salâbat Khân,
Led an army into Devakâ,[11] but were unsuccessful;
Though they fought strenuously with cannon-balls they conquered not.
Even though these three kings came to Anandapura,
Yet the obstinate Kâṭhi caused the descendant of Hâlâ[12] and the Jhâlâ offspring to turn back,
And together with them the irresistible army of the powerful Bâbi.
Against your one impregnable fort, O descendant of Râmâ![13]
The three kings erected their batteries and departed.
Two such good brethren as Mulu and Lâkhâ, skilled in athletic exorcises,
Would slay the enemy in the field of battle for the sake even of a deer.
The lords of Nagar and Halwad from your capital, O son of Nâga,
Turned away, as did also with them the lord of Âgrâ."[14]

Mulu Khâchar extended his raids to the Chunwâl,[15] where he harassed Detroj, then held by the celebrated Kânji Rât, and it is said that he exacted tribute from the forty-four villages of the Chunwâl; and the following *rupaka* is said regarding his deeds there :—

रुपक २.

वदते रण ताल चाळ वंध वागा ॥ धरमांइ घणा छत्र ढाळ ॥
मोघा चेला कीया मुलुवे ॥ चुडा सोघा कीया चुवाळ ॥
इ देवोज तणी धर उपर ॥ हर रामे कीया छत्र होळ ॥
साडी वेच हुइ घर चीज ॥ वंगडी वेच हुआ घर बोळ ॥
नाग तणे खुटवीआ नरपत ॥ सरपत असपत कहे सुइ ॥
वणजे घर भेर वांणीआ ॥ हाण घरे मणीआर हुइ ॥
सवळा सौत कटक रण सीजव ॥ कान तणी धर धणी कीइ ॥
छळे त्रीया साटवे छत्र हर ॥ तेणे नग त्रीया साटवे नही ॥

[8] *Khandhâr* means 'the commandant of many horsemen.'
[9] Poetical license for 'Tamâchi.'
[10] Poetical license for 'Jaswantsinghji.'
[11] The Panchâla is called Devakâ Panchâla.
[12] Jâm Hâlâ, who gave his name to the division of the province called Hâlâr.
[13] This alludes to the Kâṭhi's ancestor Râmâ Khâchar.
[14] Alluding to Salâbat Khân Bâbi being an imperial servant.
[15] A district under Viramgâm, so named because it originally comprised forty-four villages.

"While fighting, the cymbals dashed on every side,
And he dashed down the umbrellas of many kings of the earth.
O Mulu, thou hast caused funeral shrouds[16] to be dear,
But hast made *chuḍâs*[17] (bracelets) to be cheap, in the Chunwâl.
On that Detroj land the descendant of Râmâ caused the umbrellas to shake.
They who sold scarfs (*sâḍis*) had ornaments in their houses,
While they who sold bracelets (*bangḍis*) were overwhelmed with debt.
O son of Nâga, thou hast diminished the number of the lords of men,
And also, as they say, the lords of arrows and horses.[18]
The houses of the Wâṇiâs[19] were filled with merchandize,
While the houses of the Maniârs[20] were ruined.
You slew the strong together with the army in the battle-field,
In the country of Kâno you killed many;
The wives of the enemy's soldiers buy *sâlu*[21] only,
But they do not purchase bracelets."

Hearing of Mulu's fame, a bard from Chitor composed the following *kavita* in his honour:—

कवीत.

मळे भोज वीक्रम ॥ मळे जगदेव जीवारण ॥
बळ मळे राठोड ॥ मळे करण राजा दोहीजो ॥
चंदण मळे परमार ॥ कंथ जांणी पृथी कहांणी ॥
मळे तेत्रीश क्रोड ॥ मळे लाखा फुलांणी ॥
पांचाळ देश मुलु छपो ॥ घण दाना अधकार घणी ॥
मंडलीक[22] पात्रां एतामला ॥ तुंमल ते नागा तणा ॥

Bhoja and Vikrama may be found; Jagadeva, the preserver of life,
Bal Râthoḍ may be met, and so can a second Karan;
Chandan Parmâr may be found, he may be met whose fame is spread over the world;
Thirty-three *krors* of gods may be seen; Lâkho Phulâni may be seen;
But thou, O Mulu, good lord of Panchâla, who art very charitable and invested with authority,
If one meets you, O son of Nâga, then one has seen all those noble kings."

The following *duhas* are also in praise of Mulu:—

दुहो १.

गंगा जमना गोमती, काशी पंथ केदार;
मुख दीठे मुलु राजरो, ए तीरथ ए उपकार.

"Ganga, Jamunâ, and Gomti[23]; the pilgrimage to Kâśi and Kedârnâth;
But if you see the face of Râjâ Mulu, that is the holy place, and thence you will derive advantage."

दुहो २.

मुलु मानवीये, मांणो मीडवीये नही;
आरस अंद्र तणे, तो नर खवो नागाउत.

"Mulu is among men such a one that no man can be compared with him;
Only in the form of Indra, there may you see the form of the son of Nâga."

दुहो ३.

साजो सेजकपर तणो, रहो राफ झके;
वादी वलीयां जेह, मवरू नाखे ने मुलवा.

"The anthill of Sejakapura remained safe;
The *vâdis*[24] returned, O Mulu, throwing away their flutes."

Mulu had a feud with the chief of Chuḍâ, and defeated him with the loss of three guns, as described in the following *duho*:—

दुहो.

राणारां पडीयांरयां, नव गाडां त्रण नाळ;
अत्रीया सग आवे नहीं; मुलु तणे मुवाड.

"There remained of the Râṇâ
But nine carts and three cannon;
These three (cannon) cannot accompany him,
Because Mulu has them."

The following *duho* is said in praise of Sejakapura:—

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[16] चेलां, *chelâ*, a funeral shroud.

[17] Widows break their *chuḍâs* or bracelets and do not wear others, hence they would be sold cheap; while, for analogous reasons, shrouds would be dear.

[18] *i.e.* the bowmen and horsemen.

[19] The dealers in female apparel.

[20] Maniârs are workers in ivory, who make armlets, bracelets, &c.

[21] *Sâlu* is a kind of muslin. The meaning is that the widows bought clothes, as they needs must, but, being widows, could not buy bracelets.

[22] The word *mandalika* is used here to signify a king

[23] The Gomti is the river of Dwârka.

[24] Here there is a play on the word *vâdi*. The couplet likens Mulu to a cobra residing in the anthill of Sejakapura. The word *vâdi* means a snake-catcher, but also means 'enemy.' It probably refers to the siege of Ânandâpura by the Jâm, the chief of Halwad, and Salâbat Khân, mentioned above.

दुहो.

हीर चीरकी पनीभारीयां, गले मोतनकी माल;
पीज्रो जाणुं इंद्रापुरी, जहां मुलु वसे महाराज.

"The women who draw water have silken clothes,
And on their necks necklaces of pearls.
King! Sejakapura is Indravati,
Where the great king Mulu resides."

When, as above mentioned, Jâm Tamâchi, Salâbat Khân Bâbi, and Jhâlâ Jaswantsinghji of Halwad attacked Ânandapura, Lâkhâ Khâchar of Shâhpur assisted his brother Mulu Khâchâr, and the following *rupaka* is said in his praise :—

रूपक.

पाटरीया वाद न कीजे परजे || वढवादळ सामवां वहे ||
हलवद तख्त शोशारा || हेंदल काढुं तो लखधीर कहे ||
झाले खग उठीओ झालो || हालवण दलतणा हमीर ||
मेच पछाड आणंदपरमांथी || ढुकां कटक उठे लखधीर ||
उठीयो तांहां गीरणभज ओडे || धजवडे हाथ मुगलां धशे ||
वाबी खसे नही अतलीवल || जसो खसे तेम जाम नाही ||
गाजे नाल भुक्के गोला || खांडे अरीदल थयां खलेा ||
मांणे बीजी वार माडीयो || कोरव पांडव तणो कलो ||

"The Pâtriâs (*i.e.* Jhâlâs of Pâtri) should not fight with the Parjîâs (*i.e.* Kâṭhis),
For their (the Kâṭhis') army will advance to oppose them (the Jhâlâs).
If I lead an army of horsemen through Halwad you should call me Lakhdhir.[25]
Having seized his sword the Jhâlo arose, the commander of the chiefs of the army;
While the Lakhdhir, drawing up his army close, arose also,
To drive the Mlechhas from Ânandapura.
When he rose up, his arms reached the sky, and sword in hand he cut down the Moghuls.
Yet the Bâbi, of immeasurable strength, would not move, nor would Jaso[26] or the Jâm move either.
The cannons roared and the cannon-balls flew, and the sword made the army of the enemy as grain in the grainyard."

Râmo Khâchar, son of Mulu Khâchar, succeeded his father in the Sejakapura and Ânandapura *girâs* in Samvat 1730, A.D. 1674. The following *duho* is said in his praise :—

दुहो.

जेवो नगर जाम || राखे भजे रामडा ||
तेवो नुंमुलुतणा || शेजक पर प्रजशाम ||

"As the Jâm holds Nagar
By (the force of) his arm, O Râmdo,
So you, son of Mulu,
Are lord of the Kâṭhis of Sejakapura."

Afterwards Râmo Khâchar, at the request of the Châran of Tikar, expelled two brothers, Râdho and Jago, sons of Unad, who oppressed the Châran. The following *duho* and *rupaka* refer to this exploit :—

दुहो.

जोा गाहर जाचण तणी || धाउं कांन धरे ||
काठी कटक करे || मुलरा टीकर मारवी ||

"Thou, O descendant of Joga,
Gavest thine ear to the complaints of the mendicants;
You assembled an army of Kâṭhis,
O son of Mulu, to strike Tikar."

रुपक.

रामा खाचरे देवाण रूठे || तेज भरता त्रोड ||
पादर टीकर तणे पाडा || जुजवा जोडे ||
मुलरारे थाग माढे || चोरीमां चमराथ ||
तणा उनड गया त्राशी || भाव वनी भारथ ||
अभंग राधो जगो आगे || केतां करमाल ||
फालीया वणगा फगता || रेवंतारे राल ||

"The fortunate Râmâ Khâchar is displeased,
Who is a very haughty man.
At the *pâdar*[27] of Tikar he scattered the two (brethren).
The famous robbers came to oppose the son of Mulu.
The son of Unad, after fighting a battle like the Bhârata, fled away.
The invincible Râdho and Jago had previously been called sword-wielders,
But now fled, turbanless, with dishonour,
Riding their horses at full speed."

In the great famine of Samvat 1787 (A.D. 1731) Râmo Khâchar distributed much grain to the poor, and the following *rupaka* is said in his honour :—

रुपक.

प्रथी नेह मुको || जद न मेघो पांतरे ||
साधनरां आपवा सजे सामे || सोर कर हांकीयें ||
भणी पांचालरे || रोरना पाधरे खेत रामे ||

[25] A play on the name of Lâkho.
[26] Jaswantsinghji of Halwad.
[27] The *pâdar* is the open space immediately round the village.

नेम सनाशीयोजी तमुलुतणा ॥ वराकर धरा मज भांक वलीयो॥
मींटवी चारणे तणी दश मालवा ॥ मालवो धणी चोगिल मलीयो ॥
सवछर सतासी घणा नर छेतरा ॥ मीभण सारी जदी धान मागें ॥
नागहर नाग गेणाग ओडे नजर ॥ थोभीभां वरण अढार ठांगें ॥

Affection had left the world when the rain ceased to come,
Then in opposition he prepared to give good grain,
And thus shouting he drove it (the famine) away.
O Râmo, lord of the Panchâla,
Thou drovest away (the famine) straight through the fields
Thus the son of Mulu conquered the (famine of) Samvat 1787[29];
By giving food to large numbers you performed incalculable good in the world.
The Chârans thought of fleeing away to Mâlwâ,
But in the lord of Chotilâ[29] they found Malwâ.
In Samvat 1787 many men suffered misfortune;
When the whole world was begging for food,
The descendant of Nâga, like a Nâga, had a mind as lofty as the skies, and kept the eighteen castes in the Thângâs "[30]

Râmâ Khâchar was succeeded by his son Ebhal Khâchar, regarding whom the following verses are said.—

रुपक.

लक लागा जोर ॥ मरते लोमो ॥
कलजग वात छणाणी केक ॥ पडमा धडक घणाने पेठो ॥
एभल धडक न लागो एक ॥ शामत जेम वको गढ सजीयो ॥
काठी जाडा थाट कीया ॥ नमीयो नही वडो अणनमी ॥
मेमुके पो घणा गीया ॥
हरमुल राज न छोडे हीमत ॥ भडनी वातो न जाये भवे ॥
रामा तणी टकावी राखी ॥ खाचर धरती तेज खवे ॥

"A great dispute arose at the death of Lomâ,[31]
In the Kali Yuga different rumours were spread,
Fear entered into the bodies of many,
But Ebhal felt no fear
Like Sâmat, who prepared his strong fort,
He assembled a vast army of Kâthis;
He, the great hero, who never bowed to any one, did not bow now
Many other chiefs, leaving their pride, fled away,
But the grandson of Mularâja did not lose his courage
The fame of the brave is never forgotten;
You, Khâchar, son of Rîmo, supported the earth on your shoulder."

दुहो.

तणरामा वातो नथी ॥ धरशु आफलने ॥
अणनम काठीये ॥ छो आणद पर एभल ॥

"Thou, the son of Râmâ, art never wearied
Of fighting with the enemy;
An unbending Kâthi
Art thou, O Ebhal of Ânandapura"

दुहो.

ता रोजे रामा तणा ॥ कोइ धो न झाले भीग ॥
आणंद पोर अरडीग ॥ छो अजरायल एभला ॥

"Your powerful push,
O son of Ramâ, none can bear
At the unconquered Ânandapura,
Thou, O Ebhal, in the flower of thy youth, residest"

Ebhal Khâchar was succeeded by his son Râmo Khâchar, who had nine hundred horsemen under him and was called Râmo Melikar[32] He used to ravage the surrounding country, but was once or twice defeated by Jasoji and Sartânji, two brave chiefs of Kotdâ Sângâni, who had also defeated other Kâthi raiders Râmo Khâchar, however, revenged himself on them by capturing the town of Sardhâr[33] from them and the Râjkot chieftain, and made it his capital, and thence contemplated the subjugation of Kotdâ Sangâni Both Râjkot and Kotdâ now united against him and endeavoured to recover Sardhâr, but in vain They, however, gave him so much annoyance that eventually he agreed to surrender Sardhâr to them on condition of being paid the *chauth* (or fourth part of the revenue). The Jâdejâs,[34] however, feeling insecure with so daring a neighbour, determined to crush him, and consequently, though they agreed to his terms and received

[28] This probably is the famine of A D 1718 = S 1774

[29] So called because he was a Kâthi of the house of Chotilâ

[30] The Thângâ range of hills, of which the Chotilâ hill is the highest

[31] Query—Is this the Lomâ alluded to in *Râs Mâlâ*, vol I pp 455, 456?

[32] मेलीकर, *melikar*, means 'a person in command of a large number of mounted men'

[33] Sardhar was the joint property of Râjkot and Kotdâ

[34] The Râjkot and Kotda chieftains are of the Jâdejâ clan

possession of Sardhâr, they withheld the *chauth*. Afterwards, when Râmo Khâchar had gone on a distant raid, they summoned the Jâm of Navânagar to their assistance, and making an unexpected attack on Ânandapura overpowered the garrison and plundered the town, demolishing the town wall and the towers. They also carried away the western gates of the town, and placed them in one of the Sardhâr gateways, where they are to this day. When Râmâ Khâchar on his return found Ânandapura thus desolate, he commenced a warfare with Sardhâr, and harassed the inhabitants by constant raids and forays until they agreed to pay him the *chauth*; on their agreeing to this, peace was concluded between them.

Râmâ Khâchar emulated his ancestors in plundering Halwad and Navânagar territory, as the following verses testify :—

दुहो.

हलवद तणो हमेश ॥ दाविये जाणे दंनी ॥
नगर तणो नरेश ॥ राहो बराबर रामडा ॥

"The whole world knows that you are the enemy of Halwad;
But you, O Râmdâ, lord of men, were equal also to Nagar."

रूपक.

केता दलमे लही लोहील काठी ॥ जाडा दल भेला जमराण ॥
झालावाड लीधी झांझेडें ॥ हलवद तल फेरो हमशांण ॥
पोनुं दीये आडीयुं पाटरीया ॥ हाट बजारे थीयो हाकार ॥
भलरे भजरायल भांगाले ॥ घणु खाडुं[35] लीधां भरार ॥
मकवाणा राणा चडी जुवे मेडीये ॥ वगाडे जीनरा बहु वाजां ॥
हलवद तणे गोखे नागहर ॥ राणीए नरखीयो राम राजा ॥

O Kâthi, you have assembled numerous forces.
And the Râṇâ had also with him a mighty army.
After causing Jhâlâwâr to shake, he (Râmâ) conquered it,
And rode his mounted bands through Halwad itself.
The Pâtdiâs closed the gate against you, and confusion reigned in the shops and the bazâr,
When the young and obstinate son of Ebhal openly drove away large herds.
The Makwânâ Râṇâ climbs to his upper story, and hears from thence
The music of victory loudly resounding.
From the balcony of Halwad the descendant of Nâga was looked upon by the Râṇî as Râma Râja."

Râmâ Khâchar was succeeded by his son Visâman Khâchar, who rebuilt the town wall of Ânandapura. The following *rupaka* commemorates his fame :—

रूपक.

आणद पोर भुप कीयो गढइंउर ॥ घर घर सामत शोह घणा ।
वसनीं गामे गाम वधारा ॥ तुं तालेवंत रामा तणा ॥
धण खाडु आंगण अश दूले ॥ पैयां शधन जमे वणपारे ॥
फुली भरा सोवरणसे फुली ॥ बवली हाटां ठाठ बजार ॥
हर एभल भड त्रीठ जांहां ॥ पावर पती कर मरे पाट ॥
गुणीजन अगा गीत गण गावे ॥थावे रोज कचेरी थाठ ॥
वधीयो करम तुमारो वीशाल ॥ घण दाता तप तेज घणे ॥
नरोयन्द्र भुप तपो कर मनीले ॥ तुंटीले मुलराज तणे ॥

"The king of Ânandapura has built a fort like Idar,
In every house there are brave men like Sâmat,
He has increased the population of every village.
Thou art fortunate, O son of Râmâ.
Herds[36] of cows and buffaloes and horses[37] stand near your dwelling,
Innumerable guests dine on your good food,
Your fertile land bears flowers of gold,
In the bazâr the shops on both sides look splendid.
The brave descendant of Ebhal (reigns) there mercifully,
The throne of the lord of Pâwar is fortunate,
The poets sing poetry and praises before you,
Every day the *kacheri* is well attended.
Your good fortune, O Vishâl, has increased;
You are most bountiful, though also of a fierce temper.
King of men, like Indra, may your fortune increase,
You prince of the race of Mulu!"

The sons of Visâman are Jeṭhsur, Desâ, Râmâ, and Mesur, and they are at the present day the tâlukdârs of Ânandapura.

With our present scanty knowledge of the Chuḍâsamâs of Junâgaḍh it would be premature to pronounce with any certainty as

[35] ખાડું, *khaduṅ*, is a technical word for a herd of buffaloes only.

[36] धण, *dhan*, means 'a herd of cows.'

[37] अश, *asha*, 'a horse.'

to the dates assigned to Chudâsamâ Ânanda, and it is of course possible that he may have founded Ânandapura on an old site of that name, but the probabilities seem to point out that this Ânandapura is too modern to have been the Anandapura of the Chinese pilgrim and the author of the *Kalpa Sûtra*. The dates of the Kâthi chieftains are no doubt correct within a few years, as they synchronize with contemporary history, and the above sketch may illustrate the roving, daring lives led by the Kâthis for successive generations in times when their hand was against every man, and every man's hand against them.

SANSKRIT AND OLD CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C S, M R A S.

(*Continued from vol VI, p* 142)

No. XXXIV.

I have had occasion to refer, at p. 72 of the previous volume, to the separation of the Western and Eastern branches of the Châlukya family. With the exception of Dr. Burnell's remarks at pp. 18-20 of his *South-Indian Palæography*, no account of the Eastern branch seems to have been as yet published. The Elliot facsimile collection contains several grants of this dynasty, and I have selected from them the present inscription, the first eighteen lines of which are given as Plate xxv. of Dr. Burnell's book. In preparing my transcription, I have also consulted the original plates.

The original consists of five plates, each about $7\frac{1}{4}''$ long by $3\frac{3}{4}''$ broad. The writing commences on the inside of the first plate, and ends on the inside of the fifth plate. The ring, on which they are strung, is about $\frac{3}{8}''$ thick and $4\frac{3}{8}''$ in diameter. The seal is circular, about $2\frac{1}{2}''$ in diameter, and bears,—at the top, a boar, facing to the proper left, with the moon on its right, the sun above it, and an elephant-goad on its left; in the centre, the words '*Śrî-Tribhuvanâṁkuśa*,' *i. e.* 'the elephant-goad of Śrî-Tribhuvana;' and at the bottom, an ornamental device. A comparison of the facsimile plates will show that the characters of this inscription are radically the same as those of the Kadamba and early Western Châlukya copper-plate grants and stone-tablet inscriptions that I have already published in this series, and that they approximate closely to the characters of the later Western Châlukya and Kâdamba stone-tablet inscriptions. But, by the time of the present inscription, the characters used by the Western and Eastern Châlukya dynasties had diverged enough for Dr. Burnell to decide that "there is no real connexion between them palæographically, except so far as their common origin through the Cave-characters is in question" The chief points of distinction, as noted by him, are—1, the tendency of the Eastern alphabet to preserve archaic forms; 2, the greater freedom with which the Western alphabet uses cursive forms; and 3, the remarkably square and upright character of the Eastern alphabet, as contrasted with the slope given to the letters of the Western alphabet from about the sixth century A.D.

The present inscription is subsequent to the Śaka year 867 (A.D 945-6), as it mentions that Amma II. succeeded to the throne in that year. It records a grant by a certain Vijayâditya; but it does not explain who this person was. However, Kollabhigaṇḍa-Vijayâditya was the grandfather of Amma II., and possibly the grant was made by him before his death, and was recorded in writing at the time of the accession of Amma II. Or, 'Vyayâditya' may be a second name assumed by Amma II. The grant is of the village of Padaṁkalûru. in the Pennâtavâḍi district. I do not know to what part of the country these localities belong; nor have I any information as to where the plates were discovered

A genealogy of the Eastern Châlukyas, with historical notes on them, will be furnished when more of their grants are ready for publication.

Transcription.

First plate.

[1] Svasti Śrîmatâṁ sakala-bhuvana-saṁstûyamâna-Mânavya-sagôtrânâṁ Hâri-
[2] ti-putrâṇâṁ Kauśikî-vara-prasada-labdha-râjyânâṁ Mâtṛi-gaṇa-paripâlitânâṁ

[3] Svâmi-Mahâsena-pad-anudhyâtânâm | bhagavan-Nârâyaṇa-prasâda-samâsâdi-
[4] ta-vara-varâha-lâ[ñchha[1]]n-êkshaṇa-kshaṇa-vaśîkṛit-ârâti-maṇḍalânâm=aśvamêdh-â
[5] vabhṛita(tha)-snâna-pavitrîkṛita-vapushâm Châlukyânâm kulam=alaṁkarishṇôḥ Sa-
[6] tyâśraya-Vallabhêndrasya bhrâtâ Kubja-Vishṇuvarddhanô shṭâdaśa varsha(rshâ)ṇi Veṅgî-
[7] [dê[2]]śam=apâlayat || Tad-âtmajô Jayasiṁhas=triṁśataṁ | Tad-anuj-Êndrarâja-na-
[8] ndanô Vishṇuvarddhanô nava | Tat-sûnur=Mmaṁgi-yuvarâjaḥ paṁcha-viṁśatiṁ | Tat-putrô
[9] Jayasiṁhas=trayôdaśa | Tad-avarajaḥ Kokkilish=shaṇ=mâsân | Tasya jyêshthô bhrâ-

Second plate; first side.

[10] tâ Vishṇuvarddhanas=tam=uchchâtya sapta-triṁśataṁ | Tat-putrô Vijayâditya-bhaṭṭârakô
[11] shṭâdaśa | Tat-sutô Vishṇuvarddhanash=shaṭ-triṁśataṁ | Tat-sutô Vijayâditya-narêndra-
[12] mṛigarâjaś=ch=âshtâ-chatvâriṁśataṁ | Tat-sutaḥ Kali-Vishṇuvarddhanô ddhy(dhy)-arddha-
varsha(rshâ)ṇi ||
[13] Tat-sutô Guṇagâṁka-Vijayâdityaś=chatuś-chatvâriṁśataṁ | Ta-
[14] d-anuja-yuvarâjaḥ(ja)-Vikramâditya-bhûpatêḥ sûnuś=Châlukya-
[15] Bhîma-bhûpâlas=triṁśataṁ || Tat-putraḥ Kollabhigaṇḍa-Vijayâ-
[16] dityaḥ shaṇ=mâsân | Tat-sû[nu[3]]r=Amma-râjaḥ sapta varsha(rshâ)ṇi || Tat-sutaṁ Vijayâ-
[17] dityaṁ bâlam=uchchâtya Tâlapô mâsaṃ=êkaṁ | (||) Taṁ jitvâ yudhi Châlukya-
(18] Bhîma-bhûmipatês=sutaḥ Vikramâditya-bhûpô pân=ma(mâ)sân=êkâdaśa kshitiṁ | (||)

Second plate; second side.

[19] Tatas=Tâlapa-râjasya sûnus=sûnṛita-vâk=prabhuḥ Yuddhamalla-dharâdhî-
[20] śas=sapta varsha(rshâ)ṇy=apâd=bhuvaṁ || Nirjjity=Ârjjuna-sannibhô janapadât=ta(taṁ)
nirggama-
[21] yy=ôddhatân dâyâdân=ina-bhânu-lîna-bha-gaṇ-âkârân=vidhây=êtarân | Va-
[22] jr=îv=ôrjjita-nâkam=Amma-nṛipatê(têr)=bhrâtâ kanîyâu=bhuvaṁ Bhîmô Bhîma-parâkra-
[23] mas=samabhunak=sa(saṁ)vatsarân=dvâ[da[4]]śa || Tasya Mahêśvara-mûrttêr=Umâ-
[24] samân-âkṛitêḥ Kumâr-âbhaḥ Lôkamahâdêvyâḥ khalu yas=sama-
[25] bhavad=Amma-râj-âkhyaḥ || Jalajâtapatra-châmara-kalaś-ûṁkuśa-lakshaṇ-âṁ-
[26] ka-kara-charaṇa-talaḥ | lasad-âjânv-ā(â)lambita-bhuja-yuga-parî(ri)ghô girîndra-
[27] sân-ûraskaḥ Vidita-dharâdhipa-vidyô vividh-âyudha-kôvidô vilîn-âri-

Third plate; first side.

[28] kulaḥ | kari-turag-âgama-kuśalô Hara-charaṇ-âṁbhôja-yugala-madhupaḥ
[29] śrîmân || Kavi-gâyaka-kalpataru(rur)=dvija-muni-dîn-ândha-bandhujana-surabhiḥ
[30] yâchaka-jaṇa-chintamaṇir=avaniśa-maṇir=mmah-ôgra-mahasâ dyumaṇiḥ [||[5]]
[31] Giri-rasa-vasu-saṁkhy-âbdê Śaka-samayê Mârggaśîrsha-mâsê smin
[32] kṛishṇa-trayôdaśa-dinê Bhṛiguvârê Maitra-nakshatrê || Dhanushi ravau gha-
[33] ṭa-lagnê dvâdaśa-varshâ(rshê) tu janmanaḥ paṭaṁ(ṭṭaṁ) | yô dhâd=udaya-giri-
[34] ndrô(udrô) ravir=iva lôk-ânurâgâya || Yasmin śâsati nṛipê(pa)tau paripakv-ânêka-
[35] sasya-saṁpach-chhâlinî | satata-payôdhênur=abhîr=nnirîtir=aparuj(g)=nirasta-chô-
[36] rô dêśaḥ || Yô rûpêṇa Manôjaṁ vibhavêna Mahêndram=ahimakaram=uru

Third plate; second side.

[37] mahasâ | Haram=ari-pura-ha[na[6]]nêna nyakkurvvâ(rvva)n=bhâti vidita-dig-avani-rkî(kî)tiḥ-
(rttiḥ ||)
[38] Sa samasta-bhuvan-âśraya-Śrî-Vijayâditya-mahârâj-âdhirâjâ(jaḥ)
[39] param-êśvaraḥ parama-bhaṭṭârakaḥ parama-brahmaṇyaḥ Pennâtavâḍi-visha-
[40] ya-nivâsinô Râshṭrakûṭa-pramukhân kuṭumbinas=sarvvân=â-
[41] hûy=êttham=âjnâpayati [|[7]] Viditam=astu vaḥ || Jagati prathi-

[1] The *Anusvâra* and the following letter,—*chha*,—are omitted altogether in the original.
[2] This letter,—*dê*,—also, is omitted in the original.
[3] This letter,—*nu*,—again, is omitted in the original.
[4] This letter,—*da*,—again, is omitted in the original.
[5] This mark of punctuation is omitted in the original.
[6] This letter,—*na*,—is omitted in the original.
[7] This mark of punctuation is not in the original.

[42] tan=dharâmarâṇâṁ charaṇaṁ Vâjasanêyam=asti bhûyaḥ | sru-
[43] ti-chôdita-dharmma-yuktaṁ vara-yôgîśvara-Yâjñavalkya-gṛihyam || Tatr=âbhava-
[44] d=Bharadvâja-gôtraḥ pâtran=dvij-ôttamaḥ | Kalvatorru-nivâstavyô nâmnâ Pâ-
[45] liyapeddiyaḥ || Tasy=âpi Guṇḍaśarmm=âsît=sûnur=ûnêtaraḥ prabhuḥ |

Fourth plate; first side.

[46] guṇî ghṛiṇî dhanî dânî mânî mânava-pûjitaḥ || Tasy=âbhavat=Paṇḍi
[47] ya-nâmadhêyas=satâṁ vidhêyô nuta-rûpa-dhêyaḥ | putrô yam=atra-
[48] sta-manâḥ pavitras=trayî samâchâra-vichâra-nishṭhaḥ || Tasmai madîya-
[49] pâd-ârâdhana-tatparâya brahmachâriṇê kârppaṭikâya bha-
[50] vad-vishayê Paḍaṁkalûru-nâmâ grâmas=sarvv-âkâra-parîhâra-
[51] m=agrâhârîkṛitya sôma-grahaṇa-nimittam=asmâbhir=ddattas=tat-kappa(rppa)ṭa-vimô-
[52] kshaṇam=uddiśy=êti || Tasy=âvadhayaḥ [| [8]] Pûrvvâ(rvva)taḥ Marupaḍuvaṁ tasya sî-
[53] m=aiva sîmâ || Daksha(kshi)ṇataḥ Eṇḍalûru tasya sîm=aiva sîmâ || Paśchima-

Fourth plate; second side.

[54] taḥ Kâṇḍrû(?ṇṭrû)ru tasya sîm=aiva sîmâ || Uttarataḥ Alapûruḥ Driṇṭhama-
[55] pûṇḍi(?ṇṭi)ś=cha || Îśânataḥ Nandigâmaḥ êtad-grâma-sîm=aiv=âsya sîmâ || A-
[56] sy=ôpari na kênachid=bâdhâ karttavyâ yaḥ karôti sa[9] pañcha-mahâpâta-
[57] ka-saṁyuktô bhavati [| [9]] Tathâ ch=ôktaṁ bhagavata(tâ) Vyâsêna || Bahu-
[58] bhir=vvasudhâ dattâ bahu[bhi[10]]ś=ch=ânupâlitâ yasya yasya ya-
[59] dâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalam || Sva-dattâṁ para-dattâṁ vâ yô ha-
[60] rêta vasundharâm shashṭi-varsha-sahasrâṇi vishṭâyâ(yâṁ) jâyatê kṛimiḥ ||
[61] Anyên=âpy=uktaṁ || Dânaṁ bhuvô nupâlanam=ity=ubhayan=dharmma-sâdha-

Fifth plate.

[62] naṁ prôktam=iha râgâd=dadâti sarvvas=tasmâd=anupâlanam=mahîyô
[63] dânât || A(â)jñâptiḥ Kaṭakarâjaḥ || Kâvya(vyaṁ) Ma(mâ)dhavabhaṭṭâ(ṭṭa)sya || Jô-
[64] ntâchâryya(ryyê)na likhitaṁ ||

Translation.

Hail! Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana,—the brother of Satyâśraya-Vallabhêndra, who adorned the family of the Châlukyas, who are glorious; who are of the lineage of Mânavya, which is praised over the whole earth; who are the descendants of Hârîti; who have acquired sovereignty through the excellent favour of Kauśikî[11]; who have been cherished by the assemblage of (*divine*) mothers; who meditate on the feet of Svâmi-Mahâsêna; who have the territories of their enemies made subject to them on the instant at the sight of the excellent sign of the Boar, which they acquired through the favour of the holy Nârâyaṇa; and whose bodies are purified by ablutions performed after celebrating horse-sacrifices,—ruled over the country of Veṅgî for eighteen years.

His son, Jayasiṁha, (*ruled*) for thirty (*years*).

Vishṇuvardhana, — the son of his younger brother, king Indra,—(*ruled*) for nine (*years*).

His son, the *Yuvarâja* Maṅgi, (*ruled*) for twenty-five (*years*).

His son, Jayasiṁha, (*ruled*) for thirteen (*years*).

His younger brother, Kokkili, (*ruled*) for six months.

His elder brother, Vishṇuvardhana, having expelled him, (*ruled*) for thirty-seven (*years*).

His son, Vijayâditya, the venerable one (*ruled*) for eighteen (*years*).

His son, Vishṇuvardhana, (*ruled*) for thirty-six (*years*).

And his son, Vijayâditya, who was a very lion of a king, (*ruled*) for forty-eight (*years*).

His son, Kali-Vishṇuvardhana[12] (*ruled*) for one and a half years.

[8] This mark of punctuation, also, is not in the original.
[9] This mark of punctuation, again, is not in the original.
[10] This letter,—*bhi*,—is omitted in the original.
[11] Durgâ, Pârvati.

[12] In verse 9 of the grant of Gôvinda III., Râṭhôr, published by Dr. Bühler at pp. 59 *et seqq.* of this volume, a similar title, 'Kali-Vallabha,' is explained to mean 'the beloved of the Kaliyuga.' But, in the southern inscrip-

His son, Guṇagâṅka-Vijayâditya, (*ruled*) for forty-four (*years*).

The king, Châlukya-Bhîma,—the son of his younger brother, the *Yuvarâja*, Vikramâditya, (*ruled*) for thirty (*years*).

His son, Kollabhigaṇḍa-Vijayâditya, (*ruled*) for six months.

His son, king Amma, (*ruled*) for seven years.

Having expelled his son Vijayâditya, (*while he was*) a child,—Tâlapa (*ruled*) for one month.

Having conquered him in battle,—king Vikramâditya, the son of the king Châlukya Bhîma, ruled the earth for eleven months

Then king Yuddhamalla,—the son of king Tâlapa; the lord, whose speech was pleasing yet truthful,—ruled the earth for seven years.

Having conquered him, and having driven him out from the country, and having made the other claimants to assume the appearance of stars absorbed in the rays of the sun,—the younger brother of king Amma, (*viz.*) Bhîma, who was like Arjuna, and who was possessed of terrible prowess, ruled the earth for twelve years, just as the wielder of the thunderbolts (*rules*) the mighty (*expanse of the*) sky.

To him, who was like Mahêśvara[13], from Lôkamahâdêvî, who was like Umâ[14], there was born king Amma, who was like Kumâra.[15] The palms of his hands, and the soles of his feet, were marked with lotus-leaves and *chowris* and water-jars and elephant-goads[16]; his arms, which were as (*strong and massive as*) iron door-bars, were charming, and hung down as far as his knees; and his chest was as (*broad as*) a table-land of the king of mountains.[17] He acquired the learning of kings, and was skilled in the use of various weapons; he destroyed the families of his enemies; he was versed in the treatises (*relating to the management*) of elephants and horses; he was a bee at the lotuses which are the feet of Hara[18], and he was glorious. He was a very tree of paradise to poets and minstrels; he was a very cow of plenty to the twice-born and holy men and the poor and the blind and his relations; he was a very philosopher's stone to those who begged of him; he was a very jewel of a king, and a very sun by reason of his fierce brilliance. Like the sun on the mountain of dawn, to the delight of mankind, he assumed the crown in the twelfth year of his birth, in the year that had the enumeration of the (*seven*) mountains and the (*six*) flavours and the (*eight kinds of demigod called*) Vasu, in the Saka era[19], in the month Mârgaśîrsha, on the thirteenth day of the dark fortnight, on Friday, under the constellation Maitra, under the zodiacal sign of the bow, while the sun was in the sign of the watering-pot. While he was reigning, the country abounded in many ripened grains and rice, and had cows that were always yielding milk, and was free from fear and free from drought and free from sickness, and had all thieves banished. Putting the Mind-born[20] to shame with his beauty, and Mahêndra[21] with his power, and the hot-rayed (*sun*) with his great splendour, and Hara by the destruction of the cities of his foes,—he is resplendent, having his fame recognized over the quarters of the regions and over the earth.

He, Śrî-Vijayâditya,—the asylum of the universe, the great king, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the most venerable, the worshipper of Brahma as the supreme God,—having called together the householders, headed by the Râshtrakûtas, who inhabit the district of Pennâtavâḍi, thus issues his commands:—

"Be it known to you! The Vâjasanêya *charaṇa*[22] of Brâhmaṇs,—full of religion that is inculcated by the sacred texts, and following the domestic ritual of Yâjñavalkya, the excellent chief of ascetics,—is renowned in the world. In it there was Pâliyapeddiya, of the Bharadvâja *gôtra*, a worthy man, the best of Brâhmaṇs, an inhabitant of (*the village of*) Kalvatorru

tions, the word *kaḷa*, when used in this way, is undoubtedly the Canarese *kaḷa* 'a valiant man, a hero, brave, courageous,' and it has that meaning here. Conf. '*kaḷa Sêna-bhûbhuga*,' 'the brave king Sêna,' in l. 29 of No. IV. of my Ratta inscriptions (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, No. XLIX., vol. X., p. 213). It has the same meaning in 'Kaḷa Vikrama,' one of the names of Vikramâditya-Tribhuvanamalla.

[13] Śiva. [14] Pârvatî.

[15] Kârttikêya, the son of Śiva and Pârvatî.
[16] These are held to be auspicious marks.
[17] Himâlaya.
[18] Śiva.
[19] *i. e.* in the Śaka year 867.
[20] Kâmadêva.
[21] Indra.
[22] *Charaṇa*,—'sect, school, branch of the Vêdas.'

And his son was Guṇḍaśarmâ, the perfect one, the powerful one,—virtuous, and compassionate, and wealthy, and liberal, and highly honoured, and worshipped by men. His son was Paṇḍiya,—worthy to be prescribed (*as an example*) for good people, possessing a personal appearance that was commended, having an undisturbed mind, pure, versed in the three (*Vêdas*), and resolute in investigating proper behaviour. To him, the religious student, the pilgrim, who has devoted himself to conciliating my feet, the village named Padaṁkalûru, in your district, has been given by us, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon, as an *Agrâhâra* grant, with relinquishment of all dues,[23] in order to free him from (*the necessity of continuing*) his pilgrimages. The boundaries of it are:—On the East, (*there is*) (*the village of*) (?) Marupaḍuva; the boundary of this is the boundary. On the South, (*there is*) the village of Eṇḍalûru; the boundary of this is the boundary. On the West, (*there is*) the village of Kâṇḍrûru; the boundary of this is the boundary. On the North, (*there are*) the village of Âlapûru and (*the village of*) Dṛiṇṭhamapûṇḍi. On the North-east, (*there is*) the village of Naṇḍigâma; the boundary of this village is the boundary of it No molestation is to be offered to this (*grant*); he, who offers it, becomes guilty of the five great sins! And so it has been said by the holy Vyâsa:—'Land has been given by many, and has been preserved (*in grant*) by many; he, who for the time being possesses land, enjoys the benefit of it! He is born for the duration of sixty thousand years as a worm in ordure, who appropriates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another! A gift of land, and the preservation (*of a grant of land*),—both of these are said to be the means of performing religious duty; as to this matter,—everyone gives from pleasure; therefore preservation is more worthy than giving!' The specification is Katakarâja.[24] The poetry is the composition of Mâdhavabhaṭṭa. It has been written by Jŏntâchârya"

NOTICE OF A REMARKABLE HYPÆTHRAL TEMPLE IN THE HILL TRACTS OF ORISSA; WITH REMARKS ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF ANCIENT SITES.

BY SIR WALTER ELLIOT, KCSI

In the month of October 1853 I received a letter from my friend Colonel Campbell, C.B.,[1] Agent for the Suppression of Human Sacrifices, and Female Infanticide in Orissa, who had not long before returned to Russel Konda from his annual tour through the Khond Mâlias, enclosing a very rough sketch of a singular temple he had met with, some months before. It exhibits an open circular temple or enclosure of plain cut stone exteriorly, the interior of the wall occupied by niches, each containing a statue or figure, which the Colonel described as "goddesses," but of which no exact representation or description had been preserved. In the centre, fronting the single doorway, is a shrine, or *maṇḍapa*, covering a slab, on which is carved in relief a sitting figure, with the right foot on an elephant, the left on a bullock; but whether Colonel Campbell meant *over*, or actually resting *on* the animals, I cannot say. The figure appeared to have three faces, in the right hand a sceptre (?), in the left a lotus, but from the imperfection of the sketch it is impossible to speak with any certainty on all the minutiæ of detail. Regarding the niches round the inside of the wall, all that can be said is, that they were ranged side by side, and amounted to some sixty, or seventy in number: of these the Colonel wrote, "I am not sure whether there was any ornamental work over these figures, or whether they were seated or standing."

The following is the extract I got from Colonel Campbell's journal, when I met him at a subsequent period, which contains all the information he was able to furnish:—

"[*Wantarla*], 28*th January* 1853. Went to see

[23] *Âkâra*, in this sense, is a Canarese corruption of a Sanskrit word.

[24] *Âjñâptiḥ Kaṭakarâjaḥ*; l 63 Either *Kaṭakarâja* may be a proper name, of some noble or official; or it may mean 'the king of (*the country of*) Kataka' (Cuttack); or it may mean 'the king (*i.e* governor) of the city' In the last case, the expression here used may be compared with *Atr=âjñâptir=durgapaṭa-Vijayarâjaḥ śâsanahartâ*, in ll 14-15, Pl. II, *a*, of the (? Chalukya) grant *Jour. Bo. Br. R As. Soc*, Vol X, No. xxx, p. 343. The expression is one of not quite certain meaning *Conf* the amended reading (noted in the *Errata* to Vol V.) of ll 10-11 of No. XVIII of this Series (Vol V, p 175),—*Tatr=âjñâptiḥ Kulaku(?ru)ra-bhôjaḥ*, and the amended footnote to the translation of the same. *Conf*, also, No XXI, ll 12-13, *ante*, p 21) —*Tatr=âjñâptiḥ Dîmakirtti-bhôjaḥ Jîvan'taś=ch=âyuḥ takaḥ sarvasy=âmushthâtâ iti*

[1] Now Major-General Sir John Campbell, K.C.S.I

the temple of (..... .....) near *Surâdâ;* there and back 22 miles. About 120 temples of from fifteen to forty feet high, built on an extensive flat (area of) rock; all of cut stone, without cement. (Among them is) a circular wall (or enclosure) seventy yards round and twelve feet high, (also) of cut stone, with sixty-five or sixty-nine niches inside, containing (figures of about) sixty goddesses, and in the centre a square open place (or shrine) with a remarkable figure tolerably carved, as were all. Many of these figures were unknown to my people. There was also a large temple of bricks (or brick work constructed) without cement, and rapidly going to decay, as were the stone temples (also, many of which were) tumbling down.[2]

"It was a most interesting sight. The tradition is that these were built by (a people called) the——, who were driven out by the Khonds. The country has all the appearance of having been at one time prosperous and highly cultivated. On the large temple there is some writing, (apparently) in the Dêvanâgari character." The next entry in the journal is "*Saturday, 29th January.*—Tirtalgarh,[3] where there is another strange temple."

Although the foregoing description is somewhat loose and vague, it indicates unmistakably the existence of remains possessing no common interest. We must remember that it was the result of a hasty visit by an officer engaged in very harassing and important duties in an unhealthy country, that no notes were made at the moment on the spot, and that the details are given from subsequent recollection.

The place is again described in a narrative printed for private circulation in 1861, in terms differing little from the foregoing, but which enable us to fix the site with more exactness.[4] Leaving Goderi, in the Chinna Kimedi Zamindâri, to the west of Barhâmpur, on the 12th of January 1853, Colonel Campbell marched to Bissâm Katâka, in the Jepur Zamindâri, from which he entered the Kâlâhândi or Khârond Zamindâri, the capital of which is Junâgadh. North of Kâlâhândi is the Pâtan or Pattana Zamindâri, *into* which he had passed when he discovered the temples on the 28th of January, and from which he then proceeded to (Madanpur), a district tributary to Kâlâhândi. All of these places are shown in Walker's large Map of India, published by Allen in 1871, except Bissâm Katâka, which appears, however, in the very defective sheet (as regards the hill tracts) of the Great Trigonometrical Survey 4-inch scale sheet No. 107. It may therefore be assumed that the proximate position of the ruins is a little to the north of lat. 20°, and about long. 83°.

One of the most obvious reflections suggested by these remains is the indication they afford of the existence at an early period, in tracts now overrun with unhealthy jungle, of a high state of civilization, of the origin and decay of which no account, nor even reliable tradition, survives. Nor is this a singular instance. Colonel Dalton describes the conquest of Chutiâ Nâgpur by an invasion of the Kôls and Hôs, people living under a republican confederation of tribes like the Kurumbars of Southern India, at a period so distant that it is impossible to assign even an approximate date, but probably more than 2000 years ago. According to their own tradition, they displaced a still earlier race, vaguely called Jains and Bhûyahs (= *autochthones*),[5] who appear to have made a considerable advance in the arts; for Mr. Vincent Ball, of the Geological Survey, in another paper describing the remains of extensive metallurgical operations, as well as remains of tanks, in Singbhum, found them attributed by tradition to an extinct race called Seruks, who

[2] I have supplied the words within brackets.—W. E.

[3] Probably Tintalgadh.

[4] *Narrative by Major-Gen John Campbell, C.B., of his Operations in the Hill Tracts of Orissa, &c. &c.*, printed for private circulation, (London, Hurst and Blackett, 1861), where at page 167 he writes as follows:—

"At some distance from a village called Surâdâ may be seen a remarkable collection of pagodas, which I visited, and counted one hundred and twenty of various dimensions. They were built of cut stone, without cement, and most of them are in a state of dilapidation. On the largest temple is some writing in the "Dêvanâgari" character, but now illegible. In the centre of this group of pagodas was a circle two hundred and ten feet in circumference, surrounded by a wall of cut stone twelve feet high, with sixty-five niches on the inner side, containing sixty figures of goddesses in a variety of attitudes, and in the centre of the circle, placed upon a raised platform, sat a remarkable figure, tolerably carved, as were also the others, in stone. Few of these deities were recognized by my people, though among them were two Brâhmans. The tradition here is, that these temples were built by magicians; and the guide, who pointed out the way, would not go within two miles of them. Even my own people were rather uneasy. The conclusion that I came to was, that this part of the country must have been occupied by a race of Hindus of whom there is now no trace. It is now thinly inhabited by a comparatively civilized people who call themselves Khonds, though they do not speak their dialect. Their language and dress are Ooryah (Uriya), and they are very industrious."

[5] *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. XXXV. pt. ii. p. 164.

had been governed by a Râja with two tongues [*do-jibh*], which Col. Dalton explained to signify that the potentate to which it alludes must have been a Nâg, or one of the serpent race.[5] These and similar tales point to a time when Dasyus, Râkshasas, Paiśâchis,—monkeys, as they are contemptuously designated,—were the ruling occupants of the land, every trace of whom it is the business of the archæologist to collect and preserve.

One of the most useful functions of the *Indian Antiquary* is the preservation of casual notices of objects of interest which may serve to stimulate a more complete examination of them by those who have time and opportunity for the task Curious and often extensive remains are found in many parts of India, an exact topographical description of which would help greatly to the identification of names and places still a puzzle to the archæologist and geographer.

The late Dr. John Wilson, when President of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, read a memoir on the Cave Temples and other ancient remains of Western India, in 1850,[6] in which he dwelt strongly on the importance of investigations of this description. Among other desiderata he called special attention to "the inspection of the sites of ancient towns in all parts of the country, and to the vigorous prosecution of research connected with their ruins, and relics, their wells and tanks, and even of their foundations."[7]

I can bear witness to the value of these suggestions from my own experience. Some years ago I published an inscription on copper,[8] relating to the little-known dynasty of the Pallavas, whose capital was stated to be Vengipûram, the name and site of which were till then unknown. After much inquiry, I pitched on a place in the Masulipatam district, which, accepted as correct by General Cunningham,[10] has been considered open to question elsewhere. Subsequently I had an opportunity of examining the place in person, and satisfied myself that my first surmise was right. I found a parallelogram of considerable extent enclosed by lofty mounds within which were many ruins and the *débris* of ancient temples, &c. I regretted not being able to procure a regular plan and survey, but time and other avocations did not permit.

South of this spot on the banks of the Krishna is Dhârânikota, close to the recent town of Amrâvati. It is probably the ancient capital of the Andhra kings. The remains are extensive, and a survey and topographical description of them is greatly to be desired.

In Ganjam a remarkable site is found in the Pûbekondah Tâlukâ near the rock inscribed with another of Aśoka's celebrated edicts. It is called Jogadh. The grass-grown walls were of great height, and coins of a peculiar character are found in and around it. It would well repay careful examination.

I could name many other spots of historical interest of which little more is known than the name. Such are the old Chola capital of Gangondaram, in South Ârkât; Talakâda, a seat of the Chêras in Maisur, now half buried in the sand; Ratnapur, in the Raipur division of the Central Provinces, where are extensive ruins; Korkei, an early Pâṇḍya city, where Bishop Caldwell has lately been making excavations[11]; &c. &c., of all of which, and of many more that could be named, accurate plans illustrated by sketches and descriptive details would be very valuable. But my object now is only to draw the attention of readers of the *Antiquary* to objects, within the reach of many of them, possessing surpassing interest.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

BY M. J. WALHOUSE, LATE M C S.

(*Continued from vol. VI page 216*)

No XVI.—*Chivalry in Lower India.*

Europeans are apt to imagine that few races are more devoid of the spirit of knight-errantry and chivalrous daring and courtesy than the Hindus, and that the feudal ideas of allegiance and devotion are alien to their genius. Yet the knightly and noble customs and demeanour of the Râjputs, so picturesquely related by Colonel Tod, may be ranked with anything told

[5] *Proc As Soc Beng* 1869, pp 171-2
[6] *Jour. B Br. R As Soc* vol III pt II. pp 36-107.
[7] *Ibid.* p. 101. [8] *Mad. Jour. Lit. & Sc.* vol. XI. p. 304.
[9] *Ind Ant* vol II p 156, vol V p. 50.
[10] *Geography of India*, p 516
[11] *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 80.—ED.

in the chronicles of romance; and even down in the far South, amid nations of Drâvidian descent, there are stories popularly current of champions and exploits which Don Quixote would have put on the same shelf with the deeds of Amadis and Palmerin. Some instances selected from the collection of *Oriental Historical Manuscripts*, edited by the Rev. W. Taylor, may not be uninteresting, or unbefitting the *Indian Antiquary*.

Told still under village trees and at festival gatherings is the story of king Viśvanâtha, who ruled over the broad regions of Pândîya-land from Arkât down to Travankor. His birth was not, of course, like the births of common men. In mediæval romance some faëry lady or enchanted princess would have been his mother, but in the East the tale goes that his father, Nâgama, whom Don Quixote would have called the Knight of the Serpent, was a great warrior and leader of armies, and, after being long childless, vowed to go in pilgrim guise to Kâśî, and try whether penitence and devotion would win his patron saint or god to grant him a son. So there he went, and after forty days of abstinence and prayer by the sacred stream the god vouchsafed a sign of acceptance, for, whilst bathing, his foot struck against a stone that proved to be an emerald *lingam*, and in a dream it was conveyed to him that if he returned home he should have a child. So in due time a boy was born, whom he named Viśvanâtha, as a gift from the god, and who, when he was sixteen, surpassed all his peers in beauty, accomplishments, and skill in all weapons. Afterwards, when he came to the throne, he made his capital city, Madura, a moated and walled town, building a mighty rampart round it with circular bastions at intervals, seventy-two in all. Each bastion, with its adjoining wall, he gave in charge to one of his chiefs to hold, defend, and keep in repair; and, on the further condition of their raising and keeping always ready a contingent of troops for his service in time of need, he gave withal extensive districts to the chiefs in fief-liege. This was the origin of the Pâligârs, a class well known to us in our early wars. Many of the bastions and much of the wall remain still, or did till lately, and many of the representatives of the chiefs survive on the lands then granted to this day. Here was feudal tenure and service established as firmly as by William the Conqueror and his barons, and Viśvanâtha surrounded by his chiefs recalls, not so remotely, king Arthur and his Round Table.

Of the many stories told of king Viśvanâtha we will take that regarding how he dealt with five rebellious chieftains; it will perhaps be better told in minstrel measure, into which the words of the old chronicle readily slip:—

"Five chieftains in the Southland had tribute used to bring,
As vassals liege and loyal, to the great Pandion king;
But now, together banding, to their sovereign lord said they,
'Fetch the tribute if you want it, for we will no longer pay.'
'Is it so?' said Viśvanâtha; 'be ye sure, we'll not be slack
To come with men enough withal to bring the tribute back."
So with an army forth he marched, and carried war amain
O'er all those rebels' lands; but they the contest did sustain,
For stout and fierce they were; and men on both sides thickly fell,
Till in camp and all the country round did moan and wailing swell;
And Viśvanâtha heard it, and in his heart he thought
That for him and for his glory such misery was wrought.
Forthwith he wrote a letter and bade his herald go
And to the rebel leader this royal message show:
'Bethink ye now: ye are but five, and I one man alone,
Yet for our sakes ariseth up such grievous wail and moan.
This may not be; now list to me: let either force draw back
And a stone pillar build between, restraining all attack;
And let us write a solemn pledge, and lay it on the stone,
That ye five chiefs shall thither come and fight with me alone.
And if I conquer, then all ye, with but the weeds ye wear,
Yielding to me your lands and wealth, away on foot shall fare;
But should ye overcome, then I to you will render all
My kingdom and my riches, and abide your humble thrall.
Now let this vow be written, and on the pillar laid,

And meet me in fight before it, and so this feud be stayed.'
The five chiefs hearkened together; and thus reply made they :—
'For one to fight with five men it were no equal fray;
Better it were that one this quarrel with thee should try.'
So answer they sent; and thus Viśvanâtha made reply :—
'Look now; ye are five rulers and o'er countries five bear sway,
And I, one king, come hither to force ye to obey,
And to me alone yield homage : 'tis therefore meet and right
That ye five all together with me alone should fight."
Howbeit they would not hearken, but chose the mightiest lord
In chain-mail dight, and girded with the goodliest-tempered sword,
Mounted upon a war-steed; and so in the midway space
The chief met Viśvanâtha by the pillar face to face.
Lightly the great Pandion said to that champion lord,
'Strike first,' and he smote, but deftly the monarch turned the sword.
'Now strike in thy turn,' undaunted the rebel foeman cried.
'Be sure thou need'st not hasten,' the warrior-king replied,
'But three more blows yet strike thou, nor stint to strike amain.'
And thrice the chieftain smote him, but ever the stroke was vain.
Then the Râja Viśvanâtha spake high to the rebel foe,
'Now take good heed,' and smote him an exceeding mighty blow;
No mail the dint might hinder, it clave him right in twain,
And the sundered trunk fell right and left upon the reddened plain.
Then their lands the four chiefs rendered, and all in sad array,
Alone, as their oath had bound them, went wandering far away."

Now this was a passage of arms hardly surpassed in any chronicle of romance, and instinct with the true spirit of chivalry. The king's compassionate feeling for the feeble, his desire to take all the consequences of his own quarrel upon himself, and unselfish offer to encounter desperate odds, his courtesy and forbearance to his opponent, all show him to have been what old Chaucer would have called "a very parfait gentil knighte." Nor was knightly feeling lacking in his opponents, rebels though they were, as proved by their repeated refusal to accept his challenge at great advantage to themselves, and obedience to their vow on defeat.

King Viśvanâtha reigned till A.D. 1438, in the days of our Henry VI., when, though men could remember the heroic deeds of Jeanne d'Arc, the institutions of chivalry were beginning to wane.

About two centuries later, when the old Pâṇḍya dominion had become broken up into lesser states, and the Muhammadan power had begun to overshadow the peninsula, Śrî Râja Raṅga Kṛishṇa was ruling in Trichinâpalli, which the great king Viśvanâtha is said to have first fortified. He was a gay and gallant monarch delighting in bold and adventurous exploits, not a little after the fashion of the fifth James of Scotland. In those days, it is said, the Mughul Pâdishâh used to send to all countries one of his slippers, which was placed in a state howdah on an elephant, attended by two Nawâbs and several thousand cavalry and infantry. It was fanned by *chauris*, shaded by a royal umbrella, and attended by banners, kettledrums, and music. On reaching the boundaries of the various kingdoms the procession halted, and the attendant Nawâbs sent word to the king of each country. These kings came at the head of their troops, paid homage to the slipper, lowered their own ensigns to it, accompanied it to their capitals, and placed it on their thrones. Costly presents were then made to the Sardârs, and tribute-money delivered up to them. The Pâṇḍya country, however, being so far, the imperial slipper had not hitherto reached it. Nevertheless, whilst Râja Raṅga Krishṇa was reigning, the two Nawâbs, with all the troops and insignia attendant, set their faces thitherward, and came to the boundary of the kingdom north of Trichinâpalli. Halting there, the Nawâbs sent *chobdârs* with silver sticks to inform the king that the imperial slipper had arrived. The Râja having heard the message replied, "Return and tell the Nawâbs that we are unwell, and cannot come so far, but if they and all the retinue will come to the other bank of the Kâvêri river outside the town we will meet them there." The Nawâbs received the answer with some anger, but nevertheless advanced, and on crossing

the Kâvêri and still not seeing the king became excessively enraged. Messengers, however, came and appeased them, saying that the Râja, being exceedingly ill, would meet them in a palanquin just within the fort gate. Meanwhile orders had been given to the guard only to allow the elephant and slipper, with the Nawâbs and principal men, inside the gate, but not the rest of the troops. So the chief men in charge of the slipper entered, and still not seeing the king grew more enraged, but the others said, "Our king is too sick to enter a palanquin; come with us to the palace gates." Accordingly they came to the gates of the palace, but the king did not appear. Then, filled with fury at the disrespect implied, they took the slipper from the howdah and carried it into the hall of audience, where they found Śrî Râja Raṅga Kṛishṇa arrayed in royal robes, seated on his throne, and surrounded by his nobles and retainers. Seeing that he did not make the least motion of respect towards the slipper or themselves, the Pâdishâh's Nawâbs and men, highly incensed, pushed roughly forward, and coming near offered to give the slipper into the hands of the king. He angrily bid them place it on the floor, but without heeding they again tried to put it into his hands. Thereupon the king called loudly and angrily for men with whips, saying, "We will see whether the Pâdishâh's people will put the slipper down or not." Then they became alarmed and threw it down, and the king putting one of his feet in it said to them, "Has your Pâdishâh lost his senses? When sending foot-furniture for us, why sends he not two slippers instead of one? Get ye back and bring another slipper." On their answering fiercely, the king had them beaten and driven out. When they got outside they began to draw up their troops threateningly, but the king sending out a great force fell on them and cut them up. When the matter came to the Pâdishâh's ears, on thinking it over he came to the conclusion that in those distant countries, if such messages were sent, the daring of one would be imitated by others; and so, after the high bearing of Râja Raṅga Kṛishṇa, he ceased sending his slipper round to the different rulers.

The editor of the Manuscripts hardly knows what to make of this singular affair, and inclines to think that, if true at all, it refers to the pride of Aurangzib, who styled all native princes merely zamindârs, and aimed at the subjugation of all the south of India. Ferishtah states that Aurangzib's general made a long journey to Trichinâpalli and Tanjor, and received tribute from the zamindârs of those capitals. This was doubtless done with all Muhammadan haughtiness, and if the long distance emboldened a native prince to offer a successful check, pride might not have tolerated so humiliating an admission by Ferishtah, who gives no details, whilst the narrative of the native historian is very minute and circumstantial, and wears much appearance of truth.

Another adventure of this gay and *debonnaire* king is thus told. One evening he mounted a very fleet horse, and going out by the eastern gate of the town turned his horse's head towards Tanjor, some thirty miles distant, and rode there at speed unattended, though he was not on good terms with the Tanjor king. Arriving after dark he mingled with the people returning into the city and entered within the gate. Proceeding up the bâzâr street he went to a shopkeeper and said, "I am just arrived, my attendants and money are coming after, meantime advance me one pagoda (3½ rupees) on the deposit of this ring, and get me needful supplies." Then, having had his horse tethered and fed, he entered a Brâhman choultry and partook of fruits and milk. Subsequently, in the first watch of the night, he disguised himself as a sepoy, entered the palace on foot in the dark, and sat down in the hall of the throne near the king, and listened to all the affairs under discussion. He then surveyed the whole of the palace, and wrote on the door of the private apartments, "To-day we, Râja Kṛishṇa of Trichinâpalli, came here, and having heard all the news of the palace left it and went away." Then quitting the palace he returned to his quarters. Early in the morning he called the shopkeeper and, said, "As our people and money have not come, we will send you your pagoda; you will then return the ring." Then mounting his horse he set off at full speed in high glee, and soon reached Trichinâpalli and entered his palace. Forthwith sending for the ambassador of Tanjor he said, "We have been to your king's town, entered the palace, surveyed the whole of it, and written our name on such a door. We also left our ring with a shopkeeper; write now to your

king to get and send it us. Your king does not keep a proper look-out. He is just and charitable, so we did him no harm, but having penetrated so far we might have slain him and thrown him out of doors. Tell him, therefore, in future to maintain a good guard." So the ambassador wrote, and the king in great amazement went to the door of the private apartments, read what was written on it, and calling the shopkeeper gave him ten pagodas, and taking from him the ring sent it forthwith to the Trichinâpalli king. From that time forward he had the palace and fort gates very carefully watched.

Again it is told of Raṅga Kṛishṇa that when a great vassal Pâligâr, who lived some twenty miles from his capital, had been slow in sending, as a sort of tribute-heriot, an incomparably fine elephant which the king desired to have, the latter mounted a swift white horse and rode out fast toward the Pâligâr's castle, ordering some troops to follow as fast as they might. Arrived at the castle, he rode in, thrusting aside the men who disputed his entrance, tied his horse to a pillar, and, sitting down on the high seat under the porch, bade the warders go and tell their master that the king was come. The chieftain was then bathing, but, hastily arraying himself, hastened with a golden dish of jewels and laid them submissive before the king's feet. The Râja then demanded the wonderful elephant that had no fellow. The overawed Pâligâr answered, "For such a trifle it needed not the king to have come hither. The elephant is my lord's, but now he is in a furious state, and none dare approach him; when the fit is past I will send him." "Do not think," replied the Râja, "that we cannot rule an elephant; let it be brought." "But," the Pâligâr urged, "the elephant is exceedingly furious; if he sees a white horse he will rush at it and none can stay him. Now my lord is mounted on a white horse." The Râja, however, heeded not the caution, but commanded the elephant to be brought, and its chain cast off whilst he mounted his horse. This was done with no small danger and difficulty, and the men when the chain was loosened ran aside. So soon as the elephant saw the white horse he rushed at it furiously; but the king, eluding the attack, wheeled and galloped about with most skilful horsemanship, sometimes facing the elephant and sometimes flying, and so drawing on the infuriated animal, till by degrees he at last brought him all the distance to Trichinâpalli and within the walls,-where the elephant was mastered by stratagem and bound with strong chains—an exhibition of skill and daring well calculated to impress the people. "Long he ruled," says the chronicle, "with great courage and high justice, and much beloved was he by all folk."

We will conclude with a tale of the downfall of a royal family that shows more high resolve, courage, and devotion than Western people commonly associate with Hindus. About A.D. 1680 an octogenarian king, Achyuta Vijaya Râghava Naikar, ruled in Tanjor. He had a daughter endowed with extraordinary beauty and ability, the rumour of which reaching the neighbouring king of Trichinâpalli he demanded her in marriage, but in a more brusque and peremptory way than the old king her father could stomach. So he refused in no gentle terms. Enraged at this, the Trichinâpalli ruler assembled all his forces, and commanded his general to march to Tanjor, invest and storm the fort, and subdue the entire country. The Tanjor troops came out to meet them, but were defeated and driven back, and the fort invested and stormed, and the invading troops surrounded the palace of the old king. The Trichinâpalli general, being a high-minded man, now sent to offer terms, and engaged to retire with his troops if the king would ask for peace. The messengers found the ancient monarch engaged in prayer to his favourite god, Nârâyaṇa. He disdained to speak or to interrupt his devotions, but merely made a gesture signifying, "Though all be lost, I will neither sue for peace nor yield my daughter." So the messengers returned and reported to the general, who then advanced his troops up to the gates of the palace. Meanwhile the aged king had finished his devotions, and ordering his daughter, crowned wives, and attendants to assemble in a hall, surrounded them with great vessels filled with powder, laid a train and commanded them to fire it on a given signal. Then he arrayed himself for his last fight, and is described as young-looking for his years, with extremely overhanging eyebrows held up by gold wires, costly robes studded with gems wrapped round him, and in each hand a long brightly burnished gauntlet sword. Most of his people had fled.

Five faithful officers of his bodyguard remained by him. It happened that some time before, in a fit of anger, he had caused his son to be imprisoned, and one of his followers, reminding him of this, said that now was the time for pardon. "It is well," said the old king, "let him be brought." On his appearance, the son, bowing to his father with closed hands, uttered this verse:—

"The sea buries jewels and throws up a straw,
Of the treacherous element that is the law;
But, father and ruler, we'll show now to them
That a straw is a straw, but a gem is a gem."

Then Achyuta Vijaya Râghava Râja embraced his son, and commanded the signal to be given to the women. Instantly a tremendous explosion took place, and the palace was filled with fire and smoke, walls fell crashing, and flames spread fast. Again the Trichinâpalli commander, coming forward, offered terms. "Once we have spoken," was the reply, "and use no double speech. Is life or honour greatest? We through all ruin will keep our honour. Cease words, and come and fight with us." Then the five devoted followers, rushing in turn before the king, fell after slaying many; and lastly the king and his son, sword in hand, attacked the foe, and were slain, after each had cut down several.

The chronicle adds a circumstance which may interest some in the days when Spiritualism has many adherents. The old king, when his relations with the Trichinâpalli ruler were friendly, used to resort regularly and pay his devotions at Śrîrâṅgam, the great temple adjoining Trichinâpalli, and on the very time of his falling in combat it is said that he appeared at Śrîraṅgam with all his children, wives, and followers who perished with him, whereat the attendant Brâhmaṇs said, "See! here is the Tanjor king come to pay his visit to the Lord of Śrîraṅgam;" and, taking them all to the inner shrine, they gave them the sacred *tulsi*, and put the customary crowns upon their heads, when the king with all his retinue, entering the inner recess, disappeared, and were seen no more. Thereupon all the Brâhmaṇs exclaimed in amazement, "Here is a miracle!"

One reflection occurs. These tales, and many like them, are told amongst the people, and the countries in which the scenes are laid now form three contiguous zillâs. Many of the palaces and forts built by those bygone kings still remain, and some are used as law-courts and dwelling-places, but though the strangers from the West who sit in them deal out peace and justice, they can hardly replace in the heart and imagination of the people the stirring times and bold deeds of the rulers of their own race.

MISCELLANEA.

GOLDEN MASKS.

The golden mask found by Dr. Schliemann at Mykênæ has somewhat perplexed *savants*, who find it difficult to account for the presence of such an article where it was found. Without pretending to solve the difficulty, I wish to note a use of golden masks in this country which may perhaps give some clue. In the royal family of Kolhâpur it has been the custom to build temples, dedicated to the tutelary deity of the family, in memory of deceased Râjas. In one instance I know of a golden mask, supposed to represent the Râja whose memory was thus to be perpetuated, being presented to the temple, to be affixed to the head of the image, and I believe this instance is not a solitary one.

In Mr. Nairne's *Historical Sketch of the Konkan* (p. 72) he mentions a temple (at Sindhudurg, on the coast) dedicated to Śivâji where "the idol which represents him has a silver mask for common use, and a gold one for festivals, both bearing the semblance of an ordinary Marâṭhâ face."

Doubtless further investigation would show this custom to be not peculiar to Śivâji's family, but to be widely spread in India. We may have here the survival of an ancient Âryan practice which has died out among the Âryan races in Europe.

EDWARD W. WEST.

Sangli, 12th Oct. 1877.

SEPULCHRAL URNS IN THE DISTRICT OF KOIMBATUR.

In the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VI. p. 279, there appeared an interesting article by the Right Reverend Bishop Caldwell on the sepulchral urns found in various parts of the district of Tinnivelly.[1] A well-informed friend, whose attention I drew to that article, has favoured me with valuable information on similar exhumations

[1] For further information on this subject see *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. pp. 150, 151; vol. II. pp. 7-10, 86-88, 223-228, 275-278; vol. III. pp. 34-36, 53, 54, 277, 278, 306-308; vol. IV. pp. 12, 13, 305; vol. V. pp. 159, 160, 255, 256; vol. VI. pp. 41 and 230.—ED.

made in the district of Koimbatur, a part of the Madras Presidency with which he is intimately acquainted. I subjoin it, in the hope that it will interest your readers :—

"These sepulchral urns are found in vast quantities in the Koimbatur district, but the urns are there of a totally different shape—something like this, and even more pointed at the base, and they generally have a little ornament.

"The places of sepulture are also different. Above ground the spot is marked generally by a circle of rough boulders, and in digging within the circle you come upon a massive stone chest, oblong in shape and composed of ponderous slabs. On removing the covering slab it is found that the chest is sometimes divided into two compartments by a transverse slab in the centre. One of the end slabs always has a hole of about six or nine inches in diameter cut in its centre, the edges of which are polished. In these compartments urns of sizes are found full of mould, in which fragments of bones may be discovered. Other urns contain spear and arrow heads. I think the bodies were burnt and the ashes put in the urns, as the fragments of bones seemed to me partly calcined. The local name for these places of sepulture is *Páṇḍava kúji*; but, notwithstanding, the legend is that they are the habitations of a race of pygmies, and that the circular holes were the entrances to the dwellings."

RÀMA VARMÀ.

Queries.

NAMES OF COUNTRIES ENDING IN 'STÂN.'

We see on maps sundry countries, not now intimately connected with India, and sometimes not now occupied by purely Âryan races, but still mainly on the border-lands of the Âryan, Shemitic, and Turânian peoples, marked by names ending in 'stân.' Thus 'Dâghe*stân*,' 'Kurdi*stân*,' 'Lazi*stân*,' 'Gurji*stân*' (Georgia), &c. The ordinary derivation of 'Hindû*stân*' is from 'Hindû-sthâna,' the 'place of Hindûs,' and here I believe it is universally acknowledged the right one. The same may be said of 'Baluchi*stân*,' 'Sei*stân*,' 'Zabuli*stân*,' Afghâni*stân*,' all of which are near enough to India for the meaning of the word to be known and applied even within historic times.

But I feel doubtful if this can be the case in the instances noted above. Does a Kurd know that 'Kurdi*stân*' means 'place of Kurds,' or one of the Mongolian tribes of the Caucasus recognise 'Dâghe*stân*' as the place of 'Dâghs'? (By the way, does this word indicate the appellation of some obscure or extinct tribe, or is it connected with 'Dâgh' [ڈاغ], 'burnt,' or 'Ḍâgh' [ڈاگ], 'mountain')? Are these designations now used, or not, by the present inhabitants? Or were they once in use, but are not so *now*, but only hold their place in maps and books? Or are they merely conventional terms invented by map-makers and authors, and used for convenience sake for indicating districts designated by other names by those who dwell in them? Does the 'stân' come from some other root, and has it been 'symmetrized' into conformity with 'Hindû*stân*'? Supposing these terms to be in indigenous use, do those using them retain any inkling of the fact of the word 'stân' meaning a 'place'? Are these names traces of the spread of ancient Âryan power,—'survivals,'—the signification of which is unknown to those who apply them to characterize their native countries? Or is it the case that though the exact meaning of 'stân' may be unknown to Georgian or Kurd, yet that there is enough communication with the East to enable them to understand half-instinctively that as 'Afghâni*stân*' and 'Hindû*stân*' mean the 'places' of the Afghâns and the Hindûs, so 'Gurji*stân*' and 'Kurdi*stân*' must mean the 'places' of the Georgians and the Kurds?

The whole subject of the names on the border-land of 'Irân' and 'Turân' is interesting, and I think, if fully gone into by a competent hand, would furnish many facts tending to form materials for another chapter in prehistoric annals, or to illustrate obscure passages of more modern history.

I believe it is pretty certain that the districts in question have had their populations repeatedly changed within comparatively modern times. Now, supposing the names ending with 'stân to have been originally conferred by pre-historic Âryans, is not the transmission of the names by so many different races a striking instance of the vitality of designations? Or have these names been given by Âryan races first occupying them within the comparatively late historic eras only, though when 'stân'* was still in use for the ordinary expression of 'place'? Either conclusion

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* '*Thân*' is still used in India as the designation of the "place" of a horse or other animal. '*Stall*' is the English equivalent. '*Stable*' in English is almost identical, both in sound and meaning, with the Persian 'Istâbal.' '*Thanà*' is Indian for a police '*station*.' All are undoubtedly connected with the Âryan root '*sth*' indicative of *locality*—including I believe, the '*stan*,' in question. The main point is whether the *meaning* of the termination is now understood by people of the localities indicated (either positively, as being known to mean 'place'; or indirectly from deduction and connection), and whether, if so, this knowledge is inherited from their Âryan ancestors, or (supposing a Shemitic or Turânian superposition of people so complete to as be almost a substitution) by tradition communicated from an earlier race of settlers.

if established would demonstrate an interesting example of philological phenomena.

GAIKVÂḌ.

THE DIGAMBARA JAINAS.

At Dehli I visited the two temples of the Digambara Jainas in company with Paṇḍit Viśveśvarnâtha, and was received by their chief priest, the Bhaṭṭârka, and the ascetics (who are called paṇḍits) in a very friendly manner. They readily answered my questions regarding their religion; they showed me one of their libraries which is kept in the temple near the Chândni Chouk, gave me a list of the Bhaṭṭârka's books, and offered to copy anything I might require.

During a fortnight's stay [at Jaypur] I became acquainted with some of the best Digambara paṇḍits, and obtained through them a good foundation for a collection of the works of their sect, and more copious information regarding their faith than has fallen to the share of other Saṅskṛitists. From the statements of the Jaypur paṇḍits, which agree in general with those of their Dehli brethren, it appears that the Digambara Jainas are scattered over a great part of eastern Râjputâna, of the Panjâb, of the North-Western Provinces, and of the Central India Agency, and have even some outlying settlements in Gujarât. They name the following towns as the locations of their *Vidyâsthânas*, or seats of learning:—1 Jaypur, 2 Dehli, and Sonpat (where a large *bhaṇḍâr* is said to exist), 3 Gwâlior, 4 Ajmir, 5 Nâgar in Râjputâna, 6 Râmpur-Bhânpur near Indor, 7 Karangi, and 8 Surat. These cities, together with Karnâta, and a fabulous island Jainabadhri, which is placed 1500 *kos* from Jaypur, beyond Râmeśvaram, are said to contain altogether sixteen *vidyâsthânas*, among which that at Jaypur is the principal one. The list does not fit the state of things in our days. For instance, in Ajmir and in Surat there is now no learning. There are only small Digambara communities, whose spiritual wants are attended to by very ignorant Bhaṭṭârkas. It is also clear that the author of the list had no very clear idea of the extent of the Jaina colonies of Southern India, as one *vidyâsthâna* only is allotted to the Karnâta country. But the list seems to give the *gâdis*, or seats of high-priests, correctly for Central and North-Western India. It is also indisputable that Jaypur is now the chief seat of Digambara learning. The Digambaras called themselves the Mulasamghu, or 'primitive church,' and assert that the Śvetâmbaras seceded from them, while the latter state exactly the opposite.

Like the Śvetâmbaras, they are divided into ascetics and laymen, or Śrâvakas. The former are now divided into Bhaṭṭârkas, or high-priests, and paṇḍits, or common ascetics; and into four *gachhas*, sects or schools, *viz.*, the Nandigachha, the Sarasvatî, the Bhâratîgachha, and the Syenagachha. In older times the Digambara ascetics used to go naked, and from this custom they derive the names Digambara, 'sky-clad,' Nirgranthas, 'without a knot,' Nagnâtas, 'naked mendicants.' Now they make a compromise with the spirit of the times and the British law. They maintain, as formerly, in theory that a man can only obtain salvation when he is perfectly *nirmama*, free from all possessions and all desire to possess, and that hence clothes ought not to be worn by a true ascetic. But the paṇḍits wear the usual dress of the country, and even the Bhaṭṭârkas cover themselves with a *chaddar*, which they put off when eating. At their meals they sit perfectly naked, and a pupil rings a bell to keep off all strangers. The laymen are divided into three *Jatis*, or sub-divisions,—Khandarwâl, Agrawâl, and Bahirwâl,—who will eat with each other. But each marries within his own class. Where, as in Dehli, a portion of the Jainas have left the faith and turned Vaishṇavas, still intermarriages between them and their Jaina caste-fellows may take place. There are, besides, further sub-divisions of the three *Jâts*. Thus among the Jaypur Khandarwâls there are Viśpanthîs and Therâpanthîs. The former worship standing, &c., and the latter seated. The literature of the Digambaras is divided into four Vedas, *viz.*:—

1. The *Prathamânuyoga*, which comprises all works on their *Itihâsa*, their legends and history; to this division belong the twenty-four *Purâṇas*, which give the lives of the twenty-four Tîrthankaras, the *Uttarapurâṇa*, *Harivaṁśapurâṇa*, etc.

2. The *Karaṇânuyoga*, which includes the works describing the origin and the order of the universe, *e.g. Trilokasâra*, *Tulokabhûshana*, *Jotishasâra*, *Bijaganita*, *Chandrarprajnapti*, *Sûryaprajnapti*, etc.

3. The *Drasyânuyoga*, which treats of their doctrine or philosophy. Some of the chief works belonging to it are the *Jomattasâra*, *Prâvachanasara*, *Ashṭasahasri*, *Prameyakamala-Mârtanda*, *Râjavarttika*, etc.

4. The *Charaṇânuyoga*, which treats of the *Achâra*, customs, worship, &c. To this subdivision belong the *Trivarṇâchâra*, *Mulâchâra*, *Jogamula*, *Ashṭapâhuda*, *Padmânanda-pachchisi*, &c.

These divisions are likewise known to the Śvetâmbara Jainas, though they usually prefer to classify their sacred literature as *Angas*, *Upângas*,

Páinnás, Chhedu, and *Múlasútras*. I was particularly anxious to find out whether the Digambaras agreed with the Śvetâmbaras about any of their inspired works. I soon found that the former hold the twelve *Angas*, the *Dvádasángí*, in as high esteem as the latter. A list of the *Angas* which they gave me agreed very nearly with that of the Śvetâmbaras. But they asserted that their *Angas*, though bearing the same names as the Śvetâmbara books, differed in substance. In order to test this assertion, I handed to the pandits a copy of the Śvetâmbara *Bhágawatí*, and they at once conceded that it was the same text which they used every day. In a like manner they recognized the *Jnátádharmakathá*, the *Upásakadasánga*, and the *Avasyahasútras*. But they were very positive in rejecting as spurious the Śvetâmbara *Acháránga*, *Sútra Kritánga*, *Nisítha*, *Raipaseni*, *Kalpa*, *Vrihat Kalpa*, *Nandi*, *Mahánisítha Anuyogadwára*, and *Vyavahárasútras*, as well as ten *Páinnás*. Of some they declared they actually possessed different versions. But, as they produced no manuscripts, I have my doubts on this subject. On the whole it would appear that their libraries are poor in *Angas* and other *Ágamas*, and that they do not explain them daily, as is done by the Śvetâmbaras. But the important point which my inquiries have settled is that some of the *Angas*, at least, are common to both Digambaras and Śvetâmbaras, and that the two sects do not possess entirely different sets of scriptures, as has been hitherto supposed. I secured nearly one hundred Digambara works referring to all the four '*Vedas*', and a few works belonging to their profane literature, among which I may mention copies of Jainendra's Grammar, with a short commentary and a long one. The former was written 1205 A.D. in the neighbourhood of Kolhâpur; arrangements were also made with one of the pandits to get copies made of a number of works which could not be procured at once. He has since sent me several packets of manuscripts. I visited also the library of the Mahârâja of Jaypur, which is extensive, but has, unfortunately, no trustworthy catalogue. I selected a few *Náṭakas* and astronomical works for copying. The collection is rich in the latter, as the Mahârâja Jesingh, the founder of Jaypur, was a great mathematician and astronomer, and many of his manuscripts are still extant.

The libraries of the Digambara and Śvetâmbara Jainas who live there [at Ajmir] are not considerable; still I acquired a few of the common *Sútras* for Cambridge. On the 20th December I proceeded to Merta, the *bhandár* of which town had been mentioned to me in Bikâner as one of the oldest and best of the Śvetâmbaras. It was very fortunate that Mr. A. C. Lyall, the acting Agent Governor General in Râjputâna, whom I met in Ajmir, had given the most distinct orders to the Jodhpur Vakil and Darbâr that the *bhandár* was to be shown to me. For I have seldom met with a more obstinate and intractable set of men than the Merta *Panch*. They first tried to deny the possession of books, then they asked for several delays in order to await the return of certain *śeths* who had gone on a pilgrimage, and finally they flatly refused to show their treasures. Explanations, orders, entreaties by the officials of the town, offers of money, were equally fruitless. They surrendered only when the Jodhpur Minister sent an order that if within twenty-four hours they did not show their books, the Khotwâl was to undertake the task and to open the *bhandár* on the part of the Râja. Thus I was kept waiting for nine days, and had finally the mortification to find that the library was not worth so much trouble. It contained about 800 well-kept and well-written manuscripts, which were neither distinguished by their age nor by their contents. The only interesting news I obtained was the name of the son of the famous Bâṇabhaṭṭa, who continued the *Kádambarí* after his father's death. He was called Bhûshona-bhaṭṭa. After copying the catalogue of the Merta *bhandár* I went straight back to Jaypur, and had again interviews with the Digambara pandits, from whom I collected further information and more books. Among my visitors was also the chief disciple of the present Bhaṭṭârka, who will, in all probability, succeed his master. It is rare that such people leave their *maṭhas*, and I fully appreciated the honour which he did me, though he somewhat diminished it by giving a false name.—*Dr. Bühler in Bombay Administration Report*, 1875-76.

BUDDHISM IN PUTU.

A correspondent of the *North China Herald* gives an interesting account of a visit to the island of Putu, off the China coast, which is entirely given up to Buddhism. No animals are allowed to be killed there, and neither fish nor animal food may be landed. Temples occupy the most beautiful spots, and everywhere shrines are built by the roadside, or Buddhas carved upon the face of the rocks. The government of the island is in the hands of the priests, and the rents from the land all go to the temples; in fact, though presents of tea, &c. are sent to Peking, the island is more like a dependency than an integral part of China. The few graves to be seen suggested to the visitor the practice of cremation; and not far from the largest temple, and near the beach, he found one of the furnaces, which consisted of a

small room in the hill-side, arched overhead, the only peculiarity about it being an excavation in the rocky floor about the size of a small coffin, intended for the fuel, or to create a draught. The following is a brief description of the process, as given by a priest:—Three days after death, the body, seated cross-legged and enclosed in a box, is taken to the furnace. Fuel is placed round it, and after a suitable religious ceremony the torch is applied, and the whole pile is soon wrapped in flames. It requires several hours and 400 pounds of wood to complete the process.—*The Academy.*

NOTES.

Dr. A. Burnell has discovered a MS. of the long-sought *Prâtiśâkhya* of the *Sâma Veda*. It consists of about 280 sûtras with a commentary, and is attributed to Śâkaṭâyana; but, as it is, it is a relatively modern work, and much like the *Atharva-prâtiśâkhya* (edited by Prof. Whitney) in style and conciseness. The copy he has is tolerably correct and he hopes to print it shortly. He has also ascertained the existence of a *Brâhmaṇa*, as yet unknown, which belongs to the Jaiminîya Śâkhâ of the *Sâma Veda*, and expects to have a copy soon and also authentic information respecting the chants of this Śâkhâ, which differ widely from those known already. What he has heard of the Jaiminîya chants makes him think that they are in reality far more simple, and perhaps older, than the others—*e.g.* of the Kauthumas.—*The Academy*

Some new Zend publications have been brought out by two young scholars, K. Geldner and W. Geiger, the first of whom is a pupil of Roth, the second of Spiegel. Geldner deals with the metrical parts of the *Zendavesta*, and proposes a great many ingenious corrections of corrupt passages, while Geiger confines himself to the Pehlavi version of the first *Vêndidâd*. His conclusions show that this version is of no great value for the Zend text.

BOOK NOTICES.

ITER PERSICUM, ou Description du Voyage en Perse entrepris en 1602 par Etienne Kakasch de Zalonkemeny, envoyé comme ambassadeur par l'Empereur Rodolphe II. à la cour du grand-duc de Moscovie et à celle de Châh Abbas, roi de Perse. Traduction publiée et annotée par Ch. Schefer, Premier Secrétaire interprète du Gouvernement, Administrateur de l'Ecole des Langues orientales vivantes. (18mo, pp. xxii and 120. Paris: E. Leroux, 1877.)

After the treaty of Madrid, Francis I. had sought an alliance with the Porte, which power, as well as Franco, had a vital interest in weakening the influence of Austria (then Germany). This alliance continued, in spite of short interruptions, till the peace of Versailles in 1756, and during the reigns of Henry II. and Henry IV. the influence of France in Turkish councils was so great as to force Austria to seek alliances against them. In 1592 the Turks had commenced a war on Austria, that was still being continued in Hungary—which Turkey held from Presburg to the Theiss—when Sir Anthony Shirley appeared at the court at Prague, bearing a letter from Shâh Abbas the Great, proposing an alliance. The emperor Rudolf II. determined to accept the offer, and appointed Stephan Khakhas von Salankhomeny, a Transylvanian, as his envoy to the Shâh. Khakhas took as his secretary a Saxon Protestant named George Tectander von der Jahel, who on his return presented to the Emperor an account of the journey and mission, which he afterwards published under the title of *Iter Persicum*. The embassy left Prague 27th August 1602, and passing through Breslau, Cracow, Warsaw, Wilna, and Smolensk arrived at Moscow on the 9th November, where it was received by the Grand Duke Boris Fedorovich. Leaving this on the 8th December, Salankhomeny and his suite proceeded by Nijni Novgorod to Kazan and down the Volga to Astrakhan, which they reached on 27th May. The author's account of Russia—then separated by the Don from the Turkish Khanate of the Crimea—and of the court of the Grand Duke is full of curious information. In August they landed at Langheran, in the province of Guilan, where, from bad food and water, all fell ill. Robert Shirley met them there to conduct them, but on reaching Lanzan, two miles from Langheran, Salankhomeny died on the 25th October 1603. Tectander and George Agelastes then proceeded to carry out the mission, but the latter also died, of scarlatina, at Kasbin. Tectander found Shâh Abbas at Tabrîz, which he had just taken from the Turks, and he gives an interesting account of that celebrated Sufawi ruler and his court. He accompanied the Persian army for some time during the campaign in Armenia, and then returned with a Persian ambassador through Circassia to Koïs on the Caspian, and thence to Tereka and Astrakhan, finding his way back to Moscow by the route he had come. There he met Henry of Logau, the Austrian ambassador, who left Moscow with him on the 24th August 1604, when Tectander's narrative closes. An appendix of 27 pages contains two letters of Salankhomeny's from Moscow, his address to the Grand Duke Boris, a letter from Boris to Rudolf, and an extract from a report by Henry of Logau.

The original work is very scarce, and M. Schefer has done excellent service in preparing th

French version of so interesting a volume, to which he has added valuable notes, and an introduction containing a short but interesting account of the Shirleys, and a bibliography of European works on the reign of Abbas. The volume forms one of the excellent series of 18mo volumes of M. Leroux's *Bibliothèque Orientale Elzévirienne*, and is illustrated by a curious coloured map of Eastern Europe at the commencement of the seventeenth century, and a facsimile of Sadeler's portrait of Hussain A'li Beg, the Persian sent with Sir Anthony Shirley to the courts of Russia and Germany.

GESTA ROMANORUM, or Entertaining Moral Stories, translated from the Latin, with preliminary Observations and copious Notes, by the Rev. CHARLES SWAN, late of Catharine Hall, Cambridge, and revised and corrected by WYNARD HOOPER, B.A., Clare College, Cambridge. (London: George Bell and Sons, 1877.)

The only fault which we can find with this cheap and carefully annotated translation of the *Gesta* is that, as might be expected in the case of a book published in England, no illustrations whatever are drawn from Sanskrit literature. The literatures of other Oriental countries are by no means neglected. But it is quite clear that for the learned and judicious corrector of Mr. Swan's translation Benfey and Wilson and Weber have written in vain.

We proceed to mention some passages in which illustrations from Sanskrit writers might profitably have been introduced.

The first and most striking parallel that occurs to us is one between the 28th tale in Swan's *Gesta* and the story of Devasmitâ in the 13th *taranga* of the *Kathâ Sarit Sâgara*. This was long ago pointed out by Wilson (*Collected Works*, vol. III. pp. 220ff.). "A Buddhist priestess has been asked by four young merchants to corrupt the wife of a friend named Devasmitâ. The priestess pays her a visit, and gains her confidence. On the day following she pays her a second visit, and gives a bitch which was tied up at her door a piece of meat full of pepper-dust, which made tears trickle copiously from the animal's eyes. She then enters Devasmitâ's room and begins to weep. On Devasmitâ's asking her the reason of her sorrow she replies, 'My friend, look at this bitch weeping outside here. This creature recognized me to-day as having been its companion in a former birth, and began to weep, which made tears of pity flow from my eyes.' When Devasmitâ heard that, and saw the bitch outside apparently weeping, she thought for a moment, 'What can be the meaning of this wonderful sight?' Then the ascetic said to her, 'My daughter, in a former birth I and that bitch were the two wives of a Brâhman. And our husband frequently went about to other countries on embassies by order of the king. Now while he was away from home I lived with other men at my pleasure, and so did not cheat the elements of which I was composed, and my senses of their lawful enjoyment. For considerate treatment of the elements and senses is held to be the highest duty. Therefore I have been born again in this world with a recollection of my former existence. But she in her former life, through ignorance, confined all her attention to the preservation of her character. Therefore she has been degraded and born again as one of the canine race; however, she too remembers her former birth.' The wise Devasmitâ said to herself, 'This is a novel conception of Duty.'"

The 'execrable device' employed in the *Gesta Romanorum* is of a very similar character, and employed for similar purposes. The 'beldam' undertakes to corrupt the wife of a knight. Accordingly she makes a little dog, which she possessed fast for two days, and on the third day gives it bread and mustard. The same results follow as in the Hindu tale, and the beldam expounds them in a similar manner. She asserts that her daughter was turned into this dog to punish her cruelty to her lover. The only difference in the tales is that in the Hindu tale the temptation fails, whereas in the European form of the story it is completely successful.

Another incident in the tale of Devasmitâ may be paralleled from the *Gesta Romanorum*. When Devasmitâ is obliged to separate from her husband, the god Śiva gives each of them a red lotus, saying, "Take each of you one of these lotuses in your hand, and if either of you shall be unfaithful during your separation the lotus in the hand of the other shall fade, but not otherwise."

A somewhat similar incident is found in the *Gesta Romanorum*, tale 69. A carpenter's mother-in-law bestows on him a shirt that possesses this singular property, that as long as he and his wife "are faithful to each other it will neither be rent, worn, nor stained." Many parallels are mentioned in Wilson's note (vol. III. pp. 217 and 218). One that he has not mentioned will be found in *The Wright's Chaste Wife*, edited for the Early English Text Society by Frederick J. Furnivall, lines 58ff. This nearly resembles the story in the *Gesta*, but a rose-garland does duty for the shirt.

Tale XI. in the *Gesta Romanorum* is an account of a superstition familiar to every student of Sanskrit literature. It runs as follows:—"Alexander was a prince of great power, and a disciple of Aristotle, who instructed him in every branch of learning. The queen of the North, having heard of his proficiency, nourished her daughter from the cradle upon a certain sort of deadly

poison; and when she grew up she was considered so beautiful that the sight of her alone affected many with madness.[1] The queen sent her to Alexander to espouse. He had no sooner beheld her than he became violently enamoured, and with much eagerness desired to possess her; but Aristotle, observing his weakness, said, 'Do not touch her, for if you do you will certainly perish. She has been nurtured upon the most deleterious food, which I will prove to you immediately. Here is a malefactor who is already condemned to death. He shall be united to her, and you shall see the truth of what I advance. Accordingly the culprit was brought without delay to the girl, and scarcely had he touched her lips before his whole frame was impregnated with poison, and he expired." The editors of the *Gesta* illustrate this story copiously, but no parallel is adduced from Sanskṛit literature. The notion is a very familiar one in Sanskṛit literature, and readers of the *Mudrá Rákshasa* cannot fail to remember how the *visha kanyá* was employed against Chandragupta. On this occasion Aristotle's place was taken by Chânakya. The king of Banâras employs similar devices against the king of Vatsa in the *Kathá Sarit Ságara* (*taranga* 19, *śl.* 81). Numerous illustrations might be quoted to show that the story is, as the commentators on the *Gesta* seem to suspect, of Indian origin.'

In the 115th tale of the *Gesta* we read of an elephant that no one dared approach, but which was lulled to sleep by two chaste virgins. The same notion of elephants being peculiarly affected by the chastity of women is found in the 36th *taranga* of the *Kathá Sarit Ságara*, where a chaste woman is able to raise up the white elephant Śvetaraśmi, that had fallen down apparently dead.

The 83rd tale in the *Gesta Romanorum* contains an incident found in the *Panchatantra*:—

"A boar devastates a garden belonging to Trajan. It is wounded three times and then killed. When the cook was preparing it for the table, he reserved the heart for his own eating. This annoyed the emperor, and he sent to inquire after the heart. The cook declared that the boar had no heart, and when called upon to justify this statement defended it in the following way:—'The boar in the first instance entered the garden and committed much injury. I, seeing it, cut off his left ear. Now if he had possessed a heart he would have recollected the loss of so important a member. But he did not, for he entered a second time: therefore he had no heart. Besides, if he had had a heart, when I had cut off his right ear he would have meditated upon the matter, which he did not, for he came again and lost his tail. Moreover, having lost his ears and his tail had he possessed a particle of heart he would have thought; but he did not think, for he entered a fourth time and was killed. For these several reasons I am confident he had no heart.' The emperor, satisfied with what he had heard, applauded the man's judgment."

This reminds us in the most forcible way of the second story in the 4th book of the *Panchatantra*. There a jackal persuades an ass to visit a sick lion; the lion wounds him, but the ass escapes. The cunning jackal persuades the ass to visit the lion a second time, when he is killed. The lion then goes to bathe, like a good Hindu lion, before making a meal off him. In the meanwhile the jackal devours the ears and the heart. When the lion taxes him with making his food impure in this way, the jackal replies that the ass had neither ears nor heart, otherwise he would never have run into danger after he had had one narrow escape from destruction. The same story is found in Babrius' fable 95. There the ass is represented by a deer, and the jackal by a fox. The fox devours the heart only, which makes M. Wagener remark that Babrius is *plus conséquent* compared with the Indian fabulist. The fox's defence is most triumphant:—

"Οὐκ εἶχε παντως," φησί·" μὴ μάτην ζήτει.
"ποιην δ'ἔμελλε καρδίην ἔχειν, ἥτις
ἐκ δευτέρου λέοντος ἦλθεν εἰς οἴκους;"

Possibly this story suggested to Shakespeare the lines

"Cæsar should be a beast without a heart
If he should stay at home to-day for fear."

An incident in the 18th tale, p. 46 of the present edition of the *Gesta*, reminds us of the story of Pâṇḍu in the *Mahâbhárata*; and one, in the 5th tale, p. 91, of that of Śrîdatta in the *Kathá Sarit Ságara*, *taranga* 10, *ślokas* 140-150. Numerous other parallels would no doubt present themselves to those better versed than the writer of the present article can pretend to be in Sanskṛit folklore. But we have said enough to show that the fashionable neglect of Sanskṛit literature which prevails in England has detracted considerably from the value of this edition of the *Gesta*.

This collection of tales must always be interesting to Englishmen, as from it Shakespeare drew the plot of at least two of his plays.

The present edition contains much curious and valuable illustrative matter, though, if it had been revised by a scholar well read in Hindu folklore, it might have contained a good deal more.

C. H. T.

[1] This trait recalls the tale of Unmâdinî (*Kathá Sarit Ságara*, *taranga* 15, *śloka* 65).

SANSKRIT AND OLD CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.S.

(*Continued from p.* 19).

No. XXXV.

THIS and the following two inscriptions are the remaining three early Kadamba Sanskrit copper-plate grants, of which I have already made mention at p. 22 of the preceding volume. It appears that they were found in excavating the bed of a tank at Dêvagiri, in the Karajgi Tâlukâ of the Dhârwâd District. They were referred in the first instance to Mr. Pâṇḍuraṅg Veṅkatêś Chintâmanpêtkar, Canarese Translator in the Educational Department, whose paper on them, after being submitted to Government, was made over to Mr. Burgess, as Archæological Surveyor, and sent on to me to be recast for this journal. I found it necessary, however, to wait till I could obtain the originals themselves for inspection. In the meantime Mr. K. T. Têlaṅg has published transcriptions &c., of the same plates in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. XII., pp. 300 *et seqq.* I have found his versions, as well as those of the Canarese Translator, useful to refer to in respect of a few doubtful points.

The present grant is on three plates, about 7″·5 long by 1″·8 broad. The ring connecting the plates is 0″·2 thick, and is an oval,—2″·4 by 1″·8. The seal, also, is oval,—1″·7 by 1″·4. The device on it, a good deal worn, is that of some animal[1] standing towards the proper right, but with its head turned round to the left, with the figure of a god or a man leaning against it or sitting on it.

The grant is by Dêva, or Dêvavarmâ, the son and *Yuvarâja* of the Kadamba *Mahârâja* Kṛishṇavarmâ, and is issued at Triparvata, a locality which I cannot identify. I place these two kings in early times, either slightly antecedent or slightly subsequent to the Kâkusthavarmâ and his successors of Nos. XX. to XXVI. of this Series. But I must abandon the specific argument on which, at vol. VI., p. 23, I arrived at Śaka 360 (A.D. 438) as about the date of Kṛishṇavarmâ. For, in a stone-tablet inscription from Lakshmêśwar, Śaka 890 (A.D. 969-8) is given as the date of Mârasiṁhadêva, the younger brother of the Gaṅga king Harivarmâ of the Merkâra, Nâgamaṇḍala, and Mallôhalli plates. And if, as I think is the case, this date is the true one, and not that of the Merkâra and Nâgamaṇḍala plates, then it follows that the present Kṛishṇavarmâ cannot be the same Kṛishṇavarmâ whose sister, according to the plates, was married to Mâdhava, the grandson of Harivarmâ.

Transcription.[2]

First Plate.

[1] Śrî[3]-vijaya-Triparvvatê Svâmi-Mahâsêna-mâtṛi-gaṇ-a(â)nudhyât-âbhishiktasya Mânavya-sagôtrasya

[2] pratikṛita-svâdhyâya-charchyâ(rchchâ)-pâragasya âdi-kâla-râjarshi-bimbânâṁ âśrita-jan-âmbânâm

[3] Kadambânâṁ dharmma-mahârâjasya aśvamêdha-yâjinaḥ samar-ârjita-vipul-aiśvaryyasya

[4] sâmanta-râjaviśêsha-ratnasu(sya)* Nâgaj-ânâkramya-dây-ânubhûtasya* śarad-amala-

[1] The Canarese Translator takes it to be a horse or bullock. The head, which is the only part at all clear, seems to me more like that of a deer with short horns.

[2] An asterisk, attached to a letter or mark of punctuation in square brackets, denotes that such letter or mark of punctuation is not in the original at all. An asterisk, attached to a mark of punctuation not in brackets, denotes that in the original a mark is used which it is not convenient to represent in the printing, and for which the ordinary mark of punctuation is substituted.

[3] This word,—*śrî*,—is close to the margin of the plate; the vowel is distinct, and parts of the other two letters are clear enough to be read in the original, though not enough so to come out well in the facsimile. In No. XXXVI., l. 2, and No. XXXVII., l. 1, *Vijaya-Vaijayantyâṁ* is not preceded by the honorific prefix *śrî*. But the word can have no other application in the present case; and we have analogous instances in *Śrî-vijaya-Palâśikâyâṁ*, No. XX., l. 3, and No. XXI., l. 9, and in *Śrî-vijaya-Vaijayantî-nivêśi*, No. XXI., l. 12.

[4] This passage is corrupt, and is difficult to deal with. Mr. K. T. Têlaṅg reads *sâmantarâjaviśêsharatnasinâga-jinâkramyadâyânubhûtasya*, and does not offer any explanation of it. But he reads two letters wrongly; for, the fourteenth is *jâ*, not *ji*, and the sixteenth is *kra*, not *ka*. The Canarese Translator is altogether wide of the mark,—*sutâgajânâkramudâyâkabhûtasya*. From the context of the other genitive cases, I have no doubt that we must take the eleventh letter, *su*, to be a mistake for *sya*. And the remaining letters form words intelligible by themselves, though not so as a whole, because there is no apparent reason why persons of Nâga descent should be referred to here. However, I see no other suitable way of explaining the passage. It is, indeed, just possible, as the eleventh letter may be either *su* or *a*, that—1, the *sya* of *ratnasya* has been omitted altogether,—and 2, *jâ* being by mistake for *ma*, the second word should be *anâgaman-âkramya*, &c., *i.e.* 'a heritage, not to be arrived at by title-deeds, but possessed from time immemorial' (see Monier Williams, *s.v. anâgama*); but this is probably going too far for an explanation, and I do not know whether *âgamana* is capable of being used in this technical sense, in the same way as *âgama*.

Second plate; first side.

[6] nabhasy=udita-śaśi-sadriś-aik-âtapatrasya dharmma-mahârâjasya Śrî-Krishṇavarmmaṇaḥ priya-

[8] tanayô Dê[va*]varmma-yuvarâjaḥ sva-puṇya-phal-âbhikâṁkshayâ trilôka-bhûta-hita-dêśinaḥ

[7] dharmma-pravartanasya Arhataḥ bhagavataḥ chaityâlayasya bhagnasaṁskâr-ârchchana-mahim-ârtthaṁ

[8] yâpanîya[sa*]ṅghêbhyaḥ Siddhakêdârê râja-mânêna dvâdaśa nivarttanâni kshêtraṁ dattavân [||*] Yô sya

Second plate; second side.

[9] apaharttâ sa paṁcha-mahâpâtaka-sa(sa ṁ)yuktâ(ktô) || bhavati yô sy=âbhirakshitâ sa puṇya-phalam=aśnutê [||*]

[10] Uktaṁ chaṁ(cha) [|*] Pa(ba)hubhir=vya(vva)sudhâ bhuktâ râjabhis=Sagar-âdibhi(bhiḥ) yasya yasya yadâ bhûmiḥ tasya tasya

[11] tadha(dâ) phala(lam) || Â(a)dbhir=ddattaṁ tribhir=bha(bhu)ktaṁ sadbhiś=cha paripâlitaṁ êtâni na nivarttantê pûrvva-râja-kṛitâni cha [||*]

[12] Svaṁ dâtuṁ su-mahach-chhakyaṁ duḥ[ḥ]kha[m=a*]ny-ârttha-pâlanaṁ dânaṁ vâ pâlanaṁ v=êti dânâch=chhrêyô nupâlana[m^{c}] [||*]

Third plate.

[13] Sva-dattâṁ para-dattâṁ vâ yô harêta vasundharâṁ shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrâṇi narakê pachyatê tu saḥ ||

[14] Śrî-Kṛishṇa-nṛipa-putrêṇa Kadaṁba-kula-kêtunâ raṇa-priyêṇa Dêvêna dattâ bhûmis=Triparvvatê ||

[15] Day-âmṛita-sukh-âsvâda-pûta-puṇya-guṇ-a(ê)psunâ Dêvavarmm-aikavîrêṇa datta(ttâ) Jainâya bhûr=iyaṁ ||

[16] Jayaty=Arhaṁs=trilôk-êśaḥ savva(rvva)-bhûta-hitaṁ-karaḥ râg-âdy-ari-harô nantô nanta-jñâna-dṛig=îśvaraḥ ||

Translation.

At the glorious and victorious (*city of*) Triparvata[7], through a desire for the reward of his own meritorious act, the *Yuvarâja* Dêvavarmâ,—the beloved son of the pious Great King[8] Śrî-Kṛishṇavarmâ, who was consecrated by having meditated on the assemblage of the mothers of Svâmi-Mahâsêna; who was of the kindred of Mânavya; who was thoroughly well versed in the system of private study and inquiry that he had adopted; who was the pious Great King of the Kadambas, who (*in their achievements and behaviour*) are the counterparts of saintly kings[9] of primitive times, and who are as fathers to their dependants; who celebrated horse-sacrifices; who acquired great wealth in battle; who was a very jewel among chieftains and excellent kings[10]; who enjoyed a heritage that was not to be attained by persons of Nâga descent[10]; and who possessed the sole umbrella (*indicative of universal sovereignty*), which was like (*in the purity of its whiteness*) to the moon when it has risen in the cloudless sky of autumn,—gave a field, (*of the measure of*) twelve *nivartanas* by the royal measure, at (*the village of*) Siddhakêdara, to the sects of the Yâpanîyas[11], for the purposes of the glory of repairing anything

[6] A correction has to be made in the transliteration table at vol. VI., p. 136. The diacritical mark of the letter used to represent the ḷ *Jihvâmûlîya* has dropped out in printing; it should be 'ḷ.'

[c] There is a mark below the line, which may, perhaps, be part of this letter,—*m*,—the rest being effaced; but the letter seems rather to have been omitted altogether.

[7] *sc.* 'the city of the three hills.'

[8] This epithet, *dharma-mahârâja*, is also intended to compare him with Dharmarâja, *sc.* Yama, and also Yudhishthira, 'the king of justice.'

[9] *Râjarshi*,—a person of the Kshatriya, or regal and military class, who has also acquired the status of a Rishi, or saint, by devoting himself to religious observances and austerities.

[10] See note 4 to the transcription.

[11] This word, *yâpanîya*, occurred in No. XXI., l. 9, and No. XXII., l. 17, in a way that led me to interpret it as meaning 'to be supported.' It now seems, however, to be the name of a sect, and the translations of those two passages should be altered accordingly. In the translation of No. XXI., instead of 'for the purpose of supporting the Kûrchakas, who are naked religious mendicants', read '(*for the benefit*) of the Yâpanîyas, the Nirgranthas, and the Kûrchakas'; and, in the translation of No. XXII., instead of 'that ascetics should be supported during the four months of the rainy season; that the learned men, the chief of whom was Kumâradatta, * * * *, should according to justice enjoy all the material substance of that greatness;' read 'that the learned men, the chief of whom was Kumâradatta, who are ascetics of the Yâpanîya sect, * * * *, should according to justice enjoy all the material

that may be broken[12] and performing the worship of the temple of the holy Arhat, who points out that which is beneficial to the inhabitants of the three worlds, and who propagates religion.

He, who confiscates this (*grant*), incurs the guilt of the five great sins; he, who preserves it, enjoys the reward of a meritorious act! And it has been said:—Land has been enjoyed by many kings, from Sagara downwards; he, who for the time being possesses land, enjoys the fruits of it! That (*grant*) which is bestowed with libations of water, and that which is enjoyed by three (*generations*), and that which is preserved by good people,—these are not resumed; and, also, (*grants*) that have been made by former kings! It is very easy to bestow one's own property, (*but*) the preservation of the property of others is difficult; (*if the question is*) whether giving or preserving (*is the more commendable act*),—preservation is better than giving! He is tormented in hell for the duration of sixty thousand years, who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another!

Land was given at Triparvata by Dêva, who was the son of the king Śrî-Kṛishṇa, and who was the glory of the family of the Kadambas, and who was fond of war. This land was given to the Jaina[13] by Dêvavarmâ, the bravest of mankind, who desired his meritorious acts and virtues to be purified by tasting the happiness of the nectar of compassion.

Victorious is the Arhat, the lord of the three worlds, the worker of the welfare of all people, the destroyer of passion and other (*mental*) enemies, the eternal one, the lord who knows eternal knowledge!

No. XXXVI.

This grant is on three plates, about 5″·2 long by 2″·3 broad. The ring connecting the plates is about 0″·3 thick, and is almost a circle 2″·3 in diameter. The seal is oval,—1″·5 by 0″·9; whatever device or writing may have been on it is now illegible. The characters are small and neatly cut, and are for the most part very well preserved.

The plates record a grant by Mṛigêśavaravarmâ, the son of Śântivaravarmâ, in the third year of his reign, which was the 'Paushа year.'[14] This Mṛigêśavaravarmâ is undoubtedly the same person as Mṛigêśa, the grandson of Kâkusthavarmâ, who bestowed the grant recorded in No. XXI. of this Series.

Transcription.

First plate.

[1] Siddham || Jayaty=Arhams=trilôk-êśaḥ sarvva-bhûta-hitê rataḥ râg-âdy-ari-harô
[2] nantô nanta-jñâna-drig=îśvaraḥ || Svasti Vijaya-Vaija[ya*]ntyâ[m[15]] Svâmi-Mahâsêna-
[3] mâtṛi-gaṇ-ânuddhyâ(dhyâ)t-âbhishiktânâm[16] Mânavya-sagôtrâṇâm Hâritî-putrâṇâṁ
[4] A(â)ṅgirasâṁ pratikṛita-svâddhya(dhyâ)ya-charchchakânâ[m[17]] sad-dharmma-sad-aṁbâ-
nâ(nâm) Kadaṁbânâṁ anêka-janmântar-ô-
[5] pârjjita-vipula-puṇya-skandhaḥ âhav-ârjjita-parama-ruchira-dṛiḍa(ḍha)-satvaḥ viśuddh-
ânvaya-

Second plate; first side.

[6] prakṛity=ânêka-purusha-para(ram)parâ-gatê jagat-pradîpa-bhûtê mahaty=an[18]dit-ôditê Kâku-
[7] sth-ânvayê Śrî-Śântivaravarmma-tanayaḥ Śrî-Mṛigêśavaravarmmâ âtmanaḥ râjyasya
[8] tṛitîyê varshê Paushê saṁvatsarê Kârttika-mâsa-bahula-pakshê daśamyâṁ
[9] tithau Uttarâbhadrapadê nakshatrê bṛihat-Paralûrê tṛidaśa-pati-makuṭa-paripri(ghri)shta-
[10] châru-charaṇêbhyaḥ param-Ârhad-dêvêbhyaḥ saṁmârjjan-ôpalêpan-âbhyarchchana-bhagna-
saṁskâra-

substance of that greatness during the four months of the rainy season.' *Yâpanîya*, as the name of a sect, is not explained in Monier Williams' *Dictionary*. Mr. K. T. Telang suggests that it may mean 'those who are to go away, *i.e.* mendicants who are going about and not stationary.' The Canarese Translator takes it as equivalent to *Kshapaṇaka*, 'a Jain mendicant, who wears no garments'; but this would only give it the same meaning as *Nirgrantha*, whereas, from the two terms being both used in No. XXI., l. 9, they must have distinct and separate meanings.

[12] *Bhagna-saṁskâra*, here and in No. XXXVI., l. 10, and *bhagna-kriyâ*, in No. XXXVII., l. 24, seem to mean much the same as *khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-jîrṇ-ôddhâra* of other inscriptions.

[13] *sc.* 'the Arhat.'

[14] See the remarks at vol. VI., p. 22*b*, and p. 24*a*, note ‡.

[15] This letter,—*m*,—seems to have been omitted in the original, and the place left blank in which it should have been written.

[16] This letter,—*m*,—is followed in the original by the letter *na*. This last is superfluous and unmeaning, and seems to have been partially erased after having been engraved.

[17] The same remark as note 15 above.

[18] The vowel,—*u*,—is faintly discernible in the original, but does not come out well in the facsimile.

Second plate; second side.

[11] mahim-ârttham grâm-âpara-dig-vibhâga-sîm-âbhyantarê râja-mânêna chatvârimśan-nivarttanam krishṇa-bhûmi-

[12] kshêtram chatvâri[19] kshêtra-nivarttanam[19] cha[19] chaityâlayasya bahiḥ êkam nivarttanam pupp(shp)-ârttham[20]

[13] dêva-kulasy=âṅganam=cha êkam nivarttanam=êva sarvva-parihâra-yuktam dattvân

[14] mahârâjaḥ [॥*] Lôbhâd=adharmmâd=vâ yâ(yô) sy=âbhiharttâ sa pañcha-mahâpâtaka-samyuktô bhavati

[15] yô sy=âbhirakshitâ sa tat-puṇya-phala-bhâg=bhavati [॥*] Uktañ=cha [॥*] Bahubhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ

Third plate.

[16] râjabhis=Sagar-âdibhiḥ yasya yasya yadâ bhûmiḥ tasya tasya tadâ phala[m] [॥*] Sva-

[17] yô harêta vasundharâ(râm) shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrâṇi narakê pachyatê tu saḥ [॥*] Adbhir=ddattam tribhir=bhuktam

[18] sadbhiś=cha paripâlitam êtâni na nivarttantê pûrvva-râja-kritâni cha [॥*] Svan=dâtuṁ

[19] su-mahach-chhakyam duḥkham=any-ârttha-pâlanam dânam vâ pâlanam v=êti dânâch=chhrêyô nupâlana[m] [॥*]

[20] Parama-dhârmmikêṇa Dâmakîrtti-bhôjakêna likhit=êyaṁ paṭṭikâ [॥*] Iti siddhir=astu [॥*]

Translation.

It is accomplished! Victorious is the Arhat, the lord of the three worlds, who delights in the welfare of all people, the destroyer of passion and other (*mental*) enemies, the eternal one, the lord who knows eternal knowledge!

Hail! At the victorious (*city of*) Vaijayantî[21], Śrî-Mṛigêśavaravarmâ,—who was the Great King[22] of the Kadambas, who are consecrated by having meditated on the mothers of Svâmi-Mahâsêna, who are of the lineage of Mânavya, who are the descendants of Hârîtî, who are of the sons of Aṅgiras, who have adopted the system of private study and inquiry, and who are as good fathers to the true religion; who acquired a great quantity of religious merit in many other (*previous*) births; who achieved brilliant and steadfast courage in battle; and who was the son of Śrî-Śântivaravarmâ, in the family of Kâkustha, which has been continued by a succession of many men according to the nature of a pure lineage, and which has become the lamp of the world, and is great, and has risen higher and higher,—in the third year of his reign, in the Paushya year, on the tenth lunar day in the dark fortnight of the month Kârttika, under the Uttarâbhadrapada constellation, at (*the village of*) the greater Paralûra, gave to the divine supreme Arhats, whose beautiful feet are rubbed by the tiara of the lord of the gods (*who bows down to perform obeisance to them*), for the purposes of the glory of sweeping out (*the temple*) and anointing (*the idol with ghee*) and performing worship and repairing anything that may be broken, a black-soil field, (*of the measure of*) forty *nivartanas* by the royal measure, within the boundaries of the western division of the village,—and a field (*of the measure of*) four *nivartanas*[23],—and (*a field of the measure of*) one *nivartana* outside the *chaitya*-hall, for the purpose of (*decorating the idol with*) flowers,—and the courtyard of the temple, (*measuring*) one *nivartana*,—entirely free from taxation.

He, who confiscates this (*grant*) through greed or impiety, incurs the guilt of the five great sins; he, who preserves it, enjoys the reward of that same meritorious act! And it has been said:—Land has been enjoyed by many kings, from Sagara downwards; (&c.)! He is tormented in hell for the duration of sixty thousand years, (&c.)! That (*grant*) which is bestowed with libations of water, (&c.)! It is very easy to bestow one's own property, (&c.)!

[19] Probably what is intended is *chatur-nnivarttanam kshêtram cha*.

[20] This word is followed by a mark, which resembles the letter *ta*, but the meaning of which is not obvious. It may have been engraved by mistake for the letter *dê*, the first of the following word, which was then repeated, and formed correctly, in the next line.

[21] Vanavâsî; the modern Banawâsi.

[22] *Mahârâjah* has to be brought back to this place from l. 14, in order to govern the genitive case *Kadambânâm*.

[23] See note 19 to the transcription.

This charter has been written by the very pious Dâmakîrtti, the *Bhôjaka*. May there be success!

No. XXXVII.

This is another grant of Mṛigêśa, or Mṛigêśavarmâ, as he is here called, on four plates, about 8″·0 long by 2″·5 broad. The ring, on which the plates are strung, is rather bent, but seems to be properly circular, about 2″·5 in diameter; it is 0″·2 thick. The seal is oval,—1″·2 by 1″·0. The device on it is very indistinct, but seems to be a sitting or kneeling figure of a god or man, probably of Jinêndra. The characters are large and bold, and extremely well preserved.

The grant is dated in the fourth year of Mṛigêśa's reign; but, as in the other Kadamba grants, there is no reference to any other era. The grant is also dated in the *eighth* fortnight of the rainy season. I have had occasion to remark on this at vol. VI., p. 28, and should have noted there the expression in No. XXII., l. 17, *yûrshikâṁś chaturô mâsân*, 'during the four months of the rainy season.' A significant trace of the primitive division of the year into three seasons only is to be found in the sacrifices called *châturmâsya*, or 'four-monthly' sacrifices, performed on the full-moons of Phâlguṇa (February-March), Âshâḍha (June-July), and Kârttika (October-November).

It is worthy of remark, in passing, that,—whereas in No. XXXVI. Mṛigêśa's third year is called a 'Pausha year', and in No. XXI. his eighth year is called a 'Vaiśâkha year'—no such term is applied in the present grant to his fourth year.

Transcription.

First plate.

[1] Siddham ‖ Vijaya-Vaijayantyâm Svâmi-Mahâsêna-mâtṛi-gaṇ-a(â)nuddhyâ(dhyâ)t-â
[2] bhishiktasya Mânavya-sagôtrasya Hâritî-putrasya pratikṛita-
[3] charchchâ-pâra[ga*]sya vibudha-pratibimbânâṁ Kadambânâṁ dharmma-mahârâja-
[4] sya Śrî-vijaya-śiva-Mṛigêśavarmmaṇaḥ vijay-âyur-ârôgy-aiś...ryya-

Second plate; first side.

[5] pravarddhana-karaḥ saṁvva(va)tsaraḥ chaturtthaḥ varshâ-pakshaḥ ashṭamaḥ tithiḥ
[6] paurṇṇamâsî [‖ *] Anay=ânupûrvy-ânai(nê)ka-janmântar-ôpârjjita-vipula-pu-
[7] ṇya-skandhaḥ su-viśuddha-pitṛi-mâtṛi-vaṁśaḥ ubhaya-lôka-priya-hita-
[8] kar-ânêka-śâstr-ârttha-tatva-vijñâna-vivêchcha(cha)na-vinivishṭa-viśâl-ôdâra-matiḥ
[9] hasty-aśv-ârôhaṇa-praharaṇ-âdishu vyâyâmikîshu bhûmishu yathâ-

Second plate; second side.

[10] vat=kṛita-śramaḥ dakshô dakshiṇaḥ naya-vinaya-kuśalaḥ nai(anê)k-âha-
[11] v-ârjjita-parama-dṛiḍa(ḍha)-satvaḥ udâtta-buddhi-dhairyya-vîryya-tyâga-sampannaḥ
[12] su-mahati samara-saṅkaṭê sva-bhuja-bala-parâkram-âvâpta-vipu-
[13] l-aiśvaryyaḥ samyak-prajâ-pâlana-paraḥ sva-jana-ku[24]muda-
[14] vana-prabôdhana-śaśâṅkaḥ dêva-dvîja-guru-sâdhujanêbhyaḥ gô-bhû

Third plate; first side.

[15] mi-hiraṇya-śayan-âchchhâdan-ânn-âdi(dy)-nai(anê)ka-vidha-pradâna-nityaḥ vidvat-suhṛi-
[16] t-svajana-sâmâny-ôpabhujyamâna-mahâ-vibhavaḥ âdi-kâla-
[17] râja-vṛitt-ânusârî dharmma-mahârâjaḥ=Kadambânâṁ Śrî-vijaya-
[18] śiva-Mṛigêśavarmmâ Kâlavaṅgâ-grâmaṁ tridhâ vibhajya dattavân [‖*]

Third plate; second side.

[19] Atra pûrvvam=Arhach-chhâlâ-parama-pushkala-sthâna-nivâsibhyaḥ
[20] bhagavad-Arhan-mahâ-Jinêndra-dêvatâ[25]bhyaḥ êkô bhâgaḥ
[21] dvîtiyô Rhat-prôkta-sad-dharmma-karaṇa-parasya[26] Śvêtapaṭa-mahâśra-
[22] maṇa-saṅgh-ôpabhôgâya[26] tṛitîyô Nirgrantha-mahâśramaṇa-saṅgh-ô-
[23] pabhôgây=êti [‖ *] Atra dêva-bhâga-dhânya-dêva pûjâ-bali-charu-

[24] Between the letters *ku* and *mu* there is the letter *ta*, partially engraved and erased as being out of place.

[25] In the original *bhya* was first engraved, and it was then altered into *tâ*, by partial erasure of the *ya* and part of the *bh*, and by the addition of the vowel *â*.

[26] The meaning is clear, but the construction is bad and should be either *karaṇa-parasya śvêtapaṭa-mahâśramaṇa-saṅghasya upabhôgâyâ*, or *karaṇa-para-śvêtavaṭa-mahâśramaṇa-saṅgh-ôpabhôgâya*.

Fourth plate.

[24] dêva-karmmakara-bhagnakriyâ-pravarttan-âdy-artth-ôpayôgâya êtad=êvaṁ
[25] nyâya-labdhaṁ dêva-bhôga-samayêna yô bhirakshati sa tat-phala-bhâ-
[26] g=bhavati yô vinâśayêt=sa pañcha-mahâpâtaka-samyuktô bhavati [‖*]
[27] Uktañ=cha [‖*] Bahubhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhis=Sagar âdibhih yasya yasya
[28] yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ ‖ Naravara-sênâpatinâ likhitâ [‖*]

Translation.

It is accomplished! At the victorious (*city of*) Vaijayantî, (*it was*[27]) the lunar day of the full moon, the eighth fortnight of the rainy season, and the fourth year, productive of victory and long life and health and wealth, (*of the reign*) of the victorious and prosperous Śrî-Mṛigêśavarmâ, who was consecrated by having meditated on the assemblage of the mothers of Svâmi-Mahâsêna; who was of the lineage of Mânavya; who was the descendant of Hâritî; who was thoroughly well versed in the system of inquiry that he adopted; and who was the pious Great King of the Kadambas, who are the counterparts of gods.

The victorious and prosperous Śrî-Mṛigêśavarmâ, the pious Great King of the Kadambas,—who had acquired great religious merit in many other births antecedent to this (*date mentioned above*); who was of a pure lineage on both the paternal and the maternal side; whose great and noble mind busied itself in learning and investigating the true meaning of the many sacred writings which effect that which is pleasant and that which is beneficial in both worlds; who had properly exercised himself in manly sports, comprising the riding on elephants and horses, and the use of weapons, and other things; who was clever; who was skilful; who was expert in the art of government and in propriety of conduct; who acquired great and steadfast courage in many fights; who was possessed of noble intellect and firmness and courage and liberality; who achieved great wealth by the strength and prowess of his own arm in great stress of war; who was devoted to properly protecting his subjects; who was a very moon to cause to blossom the lotuses which were his own relatives; who was constant in making gifts of cows and land and gold and couches and clothing and food and many other things to gods and the twice-born and spiritual preceptors and holy men; whose great wealth was being enjoyed equally by learned men and his friends and his own kindred; and who imitated the conduct of kings of primitive times,—divided the village of Kâlavaṅgâ into three portions, and bestowed it. Among them, firstly, one share was for the holy Arhat and the great god Jinêndra, who inhabited the supreme and excellent place (*called*) 'the hall of the Arhat.' The second was for the enjoyment of the sect of eminent ascetics called Svêtapata[28], which was intent on practising the true religion declared by the Arhat. The third was for the enjoyment of the sect of eminent ascetics called Nirgrantha.[29]

He reaps the reward of that same (*act of piety*), who, on the understanding that it is for the enjoyment of the god, preserves this (*grant*) which has been duly acquired, (*and applies it*) for the use of the grain which is the portion of the god, and the worship of the god, and the oblation, and the *charu*[30], and the performer of the rites of the god, and the maintenance of the repair of whatever may be broken, and other objects; he, who may destroy it, incurs the guilt of the five great sins!

And it has been said:—Land has been enjoyed by many kings, from Sagara downwards; (&c.)!

(*This charter has been*) written by the General, Naravara.

[27] *Âsît*, or *abhût*, has to be supplied after *pauṇṇamâsî* in l. b.

[28] *Svêtapata*, or *Śvêtâmbara*,—a sect of Jain ascetics who wear white clothes.

[29] *Nirgrantha*,—a sect of Jain ascetics who wear no clothes.

[30] *Charu*,—a preparation of rice, barley, and pulse, boiled with butter and milk, for presentation to a god.

WHERE WAS THE SOUTHERN *CHARITRAPURA* MENTIONED BY HIWEN THSANG?

BY A. C. BURNELL, PH.D., M.C.S.

It is well known that Hiwen Thsang mentions[1] two ports on the Coromandel coast both of which he calls Charitrapura, and from which, he informs us, the traffic with the further East was conducted. The most northern of these was in the far north;[2] the southern Charitrapura has been usually asserted to have been what is now called Negapatam, but the reasons for this position appear to me to be without foundation, and the identification seems a mere guess. Hiwen Thsang describes this port as being in the north-east of the kingdom of Malakûta (as Stanislas Julien rightly rendered the name), but this kingdom has not as yet been identified. I shall now show that a Tamil inscription of the 11th century A.D. helps to clear up the matter in a satisfactory way; but it is first necessary to take the excellent Chinese monk's account of the kingdom of Malakûṭa and its surroundings, for his statements in this respect afford substantial proof of the correctness of the new identification which I shall here propose.

He mentions, first of all, the kingdom of Drâviḍa, the capital of which, he says, is *Kien-chi-pu-lo*, which corresponds to Kâñchipura or Conjeveram. This is, therefore, the neighbourhood of the modern Madras, and corresponds to the territory of the Pallava kings, with whom Sir Walter Elliot first made us acquainted. Hiwen Thsang adds of himself: "En partant de ce pays, il fit environ trois mille *li* au sud, et arriva au royaume de *Mo-lo-kiu-ch'a* (Malakûta)."[3]

He says (p. 122): "Au sud . . . . . s'élèvent les monts *Mo-la-ye* (Malayas) . . . . . (p. 124) Lorsqu'on sort de *Malakûṭa* dans la direction du nord-est, sur le bord de la mer, on rencontre une ville (nommée *Che-li-ta-lo*—(Charitrapura); c'est la route des voyageurs qui vont dans le royaume de *Seng-kia-lo* (Simhala—Ceylon), que baigne la mer du midi. Les habitants de ce pays rapportent que, lorsqu'on s'embarque pour le quitter, après avoir fait environ trois mille *li* au sud-est, on arrive au royaume de *Seng-kia-lo* (Simhala—Ceylon)."[4]

It appears that Hiwen Thsang returned to Kâñchipura from Malakûṭa, and thence went to Koṅkaṇapura,[5] the modern Koṅkaṇahalli, in Maisur. It is thus evident that Madurâ and the extreme south of India cannot be intended by Malakûta; and again, if this be assumed to be Madurâ, and Charitrapura be assumed to be Negapatam, it is difficult to understand the statement that Charitrapura was in the north-east of the kingdom.

No doubt the Pâṇḍya kings of Madurâ for some time held in subjection what is now the Tanjor province, and what was once the best part of the Chola kingdom, but how could their northern limit be ever about Negapatam? It must either have been north of the delta of the Kâverî, or have been south of the almost uninhabited country which separates the fertile parts of Tanjor from the fertile parts of Madurâ. Again, Hiwen Thsang (even making great allowances for his necessarily defective geography) could hardly have said that the Malaya mountains are south of Malakûṭa if the last be Madurâ: for if he had visited that place he would have seen them, and would necessarily have put them in the west. Orientals never err in directions, at all events.

Again, if we look at the text of Hiwen Thsang a little closely, it will be evident that in speaking of the kingdoms of the south of India he did not intend that they should be regarded as conterminous. His kingdoms—as the measurements he gives show—were composed of the deltas of rivers and similar fertile tracts; the large extent of barren and almost uninhabited land which then, as now, separated the fertile tracts was regarded by him as neutral land. Thus his Drâviḍa is the small Pallava kingdom composed of the fertile territory near Kâñchipuram; the next kingdom would naturally be in the delta of the Kâverî and Kolerûn.

[1] *Pélerins Bouddhistes*, tom. I. p. 184; tom. III. pp. 90, 124.

[2] *Ché-li-ta-lo* (Charitra)—in Chinese *Fa-hing-ch'ing*—'the city of departure'—in the south-east of the kingdom of *U-ch'a* (Uḍa) is placed by M. de St.-Martin at the northern mouth of the Brâhmaṇî in Orissa; Cunningham supposes it was at Puri (*Anc. Geog.* p. 510).—ED.

[3] *Pélerins Bouddhistes*, tom. III. p. 121.

[4] This is much the same description as is given by Hoei Li—*ibid.* I. pp. 193-4.

[5] *Kong-kien-na-pu-lo* (tom. III. p. 146), which Cunningham tries to identify with Annagundi on the Tungabhadrâ (*Anc. Geog.* pp. 552-3); Fergusson with the capital of the Koṅgû kingdom (*Jour. R. As. Soc. N. S.* vol. VI. pp. 266, 396); and V. de St.-Martin, with Banavâsi (*Péler. Bouddh.* tom. III. p. 401).—ED.

Hiwen Thsang gives his measurements of distance with a great show of accuracy in *li*, but the great difficulty is to ascertain what *li* he used, for the value of this measure has varied enormously in China at different periods. It is also unsafe to attach any great value to these distances given by him, as it is obvious that he could have had no means of accurately determining the distances he travelled, and that he must have used round terms.

Thus the only safe *data* to be derived from Hiwen Thsang's journal as regards the position of this Charitrapura are:—(1) It was in the north-east corner of Malakûta; (2) Malakûta was the kingdom next on the south to the Drâvida kingdom, of which the capital was Kâñchipuram. Other considerations render it very unlikely that Charitrapura is the modern Negapatam,[7] but it is unnecessary to mention them here.

The new information that I am able to bring to bear on this question is derived from the great Tamil inscription of Kulottuṅga (Vîra) Chola which surrounds the shrine of the chief temple at Tanjor. Kulottuṅga (who reigned from 1064 to 1113 A D.) was a great benefactor to this temple, and the inscription records gifts and endowments made by him, as well as others, from about 1067 to the end of the century. Among the endowments by others than the king we find one by the community (*Sabhaiyâr*) of Malakûtachûḍâmaṇichaturvedimaṅgalam, which is said to be in the Avûrkûrram of Nittavinodavaḷanâḍu. The meaning of the name of the village is plain: the Brâhmaṇical settlement of Chaturvedimaṅgalam was 'Malakûtachûḍâmaṇi,' or 'an ornament of (the kingdom of) Malakûta,' and indeed it comes nearly first in the list of endowments by private persons; it was in the subdivision (*kûrram*) of Âvûr, which was, therefore, in Malakûta. Now Âvûr is still a well-known place, and it is situated some five or six miles south-west of Kumbakonam. All the other places mentioned in this part of the inscription are also near Tanjor.

It follows, therefore, that Malakûṭa was the name of the kingdom comprised, roughly speaking, in the delta of the Kâverî; the name itself appears to be that of a former suburb of the actual Kumbakonam, which was probably then the capital; perhaps Suvâmimalai is the modern representative of it. If, then, we look to the north-east of the Kâverî delta, and recollect that Charitrapura is a mere epithet, there can be no difficulty in identifying Hiwen Thsang's port with Kâverîpaṭṭanam, the once famous port at the mouth of the Kâvêrî, and which is mentioned by Ptolemy (in the second century) as *Chaberis emporium*.

Legends of its importance are still current, and it was the native place of a famous Tamil poet—Pattanattu Piḷḷai It seems to have finally ceased to be a place of importance in the fifteenth century, partly owing to the gradual silting up of the bed of the Kâverî; and nothing now remains but a few sandy mounds with fragments of brick strewed over them, and traces here and there of temples. The establishment of Negapatam by the Telugu chiefs of Tanjor as their chief port was probably a result of the decay of the original Pattanam.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

BY M. J WALHOUSE, LATE M.C.S

(*Continued from* p. 26)

No. XVII.—*Some Hindu Snake-notions.*

An attempt is here made to bring together some notions and superstitions respecting snakes that I have met from time to time in India. It is not presumed to do more than touch the deep and difficult subject of the origin and meaning of the old Nâga worship, Nâga races, and Nâga sculptures and mythology. Works like Mr. Fergusson's *Tree and Serpent Worship*, and treatises by great Orientalists, warn amateur intruders from such ground. I would only remark that the dread of the snake is as strong amongst peoples of all nations and colours as ever it was in the ages of fetish or totem worship. Amongst the civilized it is generally a sentiment of unreasoning horror at the sight or idea of any snake, whilst amongst the uncivilized,

[7] I owe this important information to my friend Mr. Groeneveldt

[7] Conf. Cunningham's *Anc. Geog.* p. 550; and *Jour. R. As. Soc. N. S.* vol. VI. p. 266.—ED.

religious awe and veneration are superadded. In all ages and degrees of culture, however, mere observation of a snake is sufficient, to a very considerable extent, to account for this. It is seldom, perhaps, that a snake is seen, especially by Europeans, when unsuspicious and unalarmed. Notice of the neighbourhood of one is always the signal for immediate attack and pursuit. But whoever may have watched a serpent that perceived not that it was observed will know what a different feeling it excites to that aroused by any other creature, however ferocious. The presence of neither tiger, leopard, nor wild elephant calls up a like sort of apprehension. The fixed malicious intelligence of its eyes, so different from the eyes of other animals, the mystery of its motion, and the idea suggested of swift, unescapable deadly attack, all convey a peculiar thrill of alarm. There were three things that were too wonderful even for the wisest of kings, and one of them was "the way of a serpent upon a rock." Weird and unearthly indeed it is, and the serpent-priests of Epidauros and Asia Minor watched for it as they sang their adjuration, "Come! come! come! emerge from thy cavern! Swift one who runnest without feet, captor who takest without hands! Sinuous as the rivers, coil-orbed as the sun, black with spots of gold like the sky sown with stars! Like the tendrils of the vine and the convolutions of the entrails! Unengendered! eater of earth! always young! good to men! Come! come! come! emerge from thy cavern!" Its secret and silent habits and long endurance may have inspired its ancient renown for subtlety above all beasts. From its dwelling in caves and crevices, it knew all the secrets and treasures of the under-world, and often bore the choicest gems upon its forehead; and when men saw the "quick cross lightning" of the storm, or the silent wavering streamers of the evening sky, they believed that serpents were in the gods' world too. Because the cunning of all creatures of the fields, woods, and waters was gathered together in the snake, any one who tasted its flesh or blood forthwith knew the speech of all fowls, and became wise in the ways of beast-kind. So it has always been that men have everywhere looked with fear or veneration upon the snake.[1]

The Hindus have notions of their own too. They say that snakes have twenty-four legs, which are invisible to the eye of men,—possibly taking this idea from centipedes. For twenty-six days after birth, moreover, they have no poison, but on the twenty-seventh day they spread out their hoods to the sun and dance, and the rays striking upon the four upper fangs ripen and fill them with poison. Each of the four fangs has its own name,—Kâli, Kâlasti, Yâman, and Yâmathûtan,—all names of deadly meaning, and each inflicts its own peculiar sort of wound, and the poison from each has its own way of operation. The first-named fang leaves a mark like a cross, and a clear liquid exudes from the wound; the poison instilled (which in all cases remains stationary for a hundred seconds, except in the case of a bite from a young snake whose venom has just been animated by the sun on its twenty-seventh day, when death is instantaneous) rises in the skin. The second fang leaves a triangular wound, whence a yellow fluid issues, and the venom rises in the flesh. The fang Yâman makes a hook-shaped mark; blood comes from it, and the poison rises in the bones. The fourth fang inflicts a curved puncture, a whitish fluid exudes, and the poison goes up into the marrow. Sometimes a small sharp tooth grows with the four fangs; a wound from this, as also from the fourth fang, Yâmathûtan, is always deadly. But it is consolatory to reflect that both are imaginary, and that only two poison-fangs can be found in the jaw of the worst-disposed snake. A bite is held to be fatal on any of these places,—the head, the lip, the chin, the breast, the navel, the palm of the hand, and the sole of the foot; fatal also if inflicted in a ruined house or uninhabited place, in a temple, cemetery, or dry tank, amongst reeds or bamboos, near a banyan or tamarind tree, by an idol-car or cross-ways; at morning, evening, or during sleep. Again, a wound is fatal if, after biting, the snake spreads its hood and dances, lies motionless, or chases the man: also if the wound bleeds and the limbs tremble, it will be fatal; or if the eyes sink and

[1] When it is considered that the deaths from snake-bites officially reported in 1869 in Malabar alone were of men 186, of cattle 625, and the total number of deaths of men in British India in the same year were 11,416; that such totals are concluded from very inadequate returns, and that it is more than probable the annual deaths from bites are not fewer than 20,000,—another great and obvious cause for the dread of serpents will be recognized.

the limbs swell, and the lips, nails, and palms grow dark, death will follow. Effects, too, depend upon the state of the snake; a bite from one laying her eggs causes the eyes of the sufferer to become red and inflamed; if the snake be a strong young female the left eye is lost; if a male, the right eye. A bite from a black snake makes the ears deaf.

There are some other notions respecting snake-bites, so fantastic as to be hardly worth setting down were they not a part of folk-lore. The Tamil people have eight cardinal points, named after eight deities: to wit, Indran (north-east), Varunan (east), Agni (south-east), Yâman (south), Kâtu (south-west), Śivan (west), Niruthi (north-west), Kuveran (north). Now if a messenger bringing intelligence of any person having been bitten comes from Indran, Varunan, Yâman, or Kuveran, the snake that bit was a male; if from Agni, Śivan, or Niruthi, a female; if from Kâtu, a man has not been bitten, but a beast. If a messenger from the east begins his announcement with broad *A*, one fang has entered; if with *U* three fangs; if with long *A*, two; if with *E*, all the four; and so on, with variations according to the point from which the message came. But from whatever point an announcement may come that begins with *O* it is not to be believed. More fantastic still, it is to be understood that no one breathes through both nostrils at the same moment, but alternately, using them in turn for an hour and a half each. Now if a person announcing a snake-bite comes first on the side of the breathing nostril, and then, whilst speaking, crosses over to the other side, the bitten person will have died; if contrariwise,—that is, if the messenger approaches on the side of the stopped nostril, and, after telling his tale, crosses to the breathing side, the bitten one will recover!

There is a great deal of serpent-worship in South Kânara, on the western coast; and on one of the highest mountains of the Ghâts, named Subramanya, there is one of the most famous serpent-temples in India. The locality is extremely wild and feverish, excessively so during the cold and dry seasons; nevertheless great numbers of pilgrims resort thither, especially during the December festival called Kukka Shasti, when a great cattle-fair is also held at the foot of the mountain. The temple has no architectural pretensions, being indeed mostly constructed of laterite, the sanctuary in the centre, containing the idol Subbaraya,[2] being of granite. It is square in form with an open cloister running round the four sides, and numbers of the 'coiling folk' reside in it in holes and crevices made for them. Numbers of persons who have made vows roll and wriggle round the temple serpent-fashion, and some will even roll up to it from the foot of the hill, a mile distant. They also take home with them some earth from the sacred serpent-holes. This earth is believed to cleanse from leprosy if rubbed on the parts affected, and to remove the stigma of barrenness from women if a little be daily put in the mouth. This serpentine body-rolling, called *aṅgâ-pratâchinam*, is practised also further south, where small snake-temples—in Tamil, Nâga-kovil—are not unfrequent. I have seen one not far from the town of Madurâ, on the bank of the Vaigai river; the only images in it were large painted cobras with gaping red mouths; and there are men in Madurâ who for payment will perform any number of rollings round it as proxies for persons who have vowed them. These rollings are done very rapidly, with great fury and vociferation. I may also mention another remarkable serpent-shrine. Deep in the Travankor forests, on the bank of one of the many rivers flowing thence to the western sea, there is a small granite temple wonderfully sculptured, considering its situation; and in the bed of the river opposite there rises a tall rock called Pâmbu-pârer ('Snake-rocks'), a glistening band, suggestive of a serpent's trail, winding round and round it from bottom to top in a very curious manner, apparently caused by micaceous veins in the rock. It is held extremely sacred, but I know not what ceremonies are practised there.

To return to South Kânara: a species of serpent-worship is in use there which I never heard of in the interior districts. The following particulars respecting it were obtained from a very intelligent native. Three afflictions are looked upon as due to the wrath of serpents for having killed a snake in a former life, namely leprosy, childlessness, and sore eyes. People so

[2] *Subbarâya* = serpent-lord; the image is said to be a shapeless block.

afflicted often perform costly ceremonies to remove the curse, which are superintended by the Mâdhava Brâhmans, originally fishermen, and not acknowledged as Brâhmans out of Kânara. There are two ceremonies in ordinary use. The first, generally performed by a childless man, is Sarpa Sampoṡkara, or 'the serpent's funeral.' The fifth, sixth, fifteenth, or thirtieth of the month is chosen, and the family priest called to preside. The childless or afflicted penitent bathes and dresses himself in silk or linen attire, a spot in the house is chosen and the priest sprinkles some consecrated rice about it, to drive away any lurking devil, and then he and the penitent sit side by side on two wooden stools, kneading rice or wheat flour into dough. He then makes the figure of a serpent, and with many muttered holy *mantrams* is believed to animate the figure, and transform it for the time into a live serpent. Milk and sugar are then offered to it, and it is worshipped as a deity. After this other *mantrams* are said, undoing the spell previously wrought, and taking away the life that was given. The serpent being dead, the penitent assumes the garb of mourning, and shaves off his beard and moustaches. He then carries the figure on his head to the bank of a river, where he reverentially places it upon a pile. The figure is then fenced round with chips of sandalwood and camphor, and melted butter poured over all. The pile is then lit with fire brought by the penitent from his own house with a vow that it shall be used only for burning the serpent-god. When burnt the ashes are thrown into the river. The penitent is considered unholy and must not be touched for three days. On the fourth day the funeral of the serpent-god ends with an entertainment to eight unmarried youths below the age of twenty; they are held to represent eight serpents, and are treated with the utmost respect. This curious symbolical ceremony evidently denotes penitence and amends for the supposed killing of one of the sacred creatures in a former life, and the temporary ascription of serpent-nature to the young men seems a trace of the very ancient and widespread idea of the transformation of men into serpents, and serpents into men, which appears almost extinct in Lower India.

The second ceremony, called Nâgamaṇḍala, is resorted to when that first described has failed in producing the hoped-for results. The penitent gives a great feast to his castemen and unmarried youths, who are again supposed to personate serpents. In the evening bruised rice is scattered over a spot previously selected, and the figure of a great serpent traced out in it. The figure is then worshipped, and a band of musicians summoned and well primed with toddy to sustain them in their work. They dress themselves in women's clothes and put on jewels, drumming and piping go on furiously, and the leader imitates the deity, reeling and writhing about frantically, and at times uttering words, which are devoutly attended to as though spoken by the deity; yet the musicians are low-caste people. The wild discordant music is often prolonged throughout the night.[3] In the *Government Annals of Indian Administration in* 1867-68 there is the following notice:—"The Manipuris are nominally Hindus, and their only priests are women called *Naibis*, who are treated as oracles. The Râja's peculiar god is a species of snake called Pakungha, from which the royal family claims descent. When it appears, it is coaxed on to a cushion by the priestess in attendance, who then performs certain ceremonies to please it.

Snake-worship does not appear to be distinctively an Âryan cult; the Brâhmans, who doubtless found it flourishing, allowed and adopted it to a certain extent, but grudgingly.[4] Indications of this may be perceived in the facts that Brâhmans avoid the sight of a snake, and hold meeting one to be the worst of omens, sufficient immediately to stop any undertaking. No Brâhman acts as a priest in any serpent rites, and there are no temples where the walls and pillars are so crowded with snake sculptures as the temples of the Jains in Southern India, ever the deadly foes of the Brâhmans. It is within and around Jaina temples, too, that the 'snake-

[3] Other accounts of snake-worship in India will be found in the *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p 6, and vol. IV. pp 83, 196-7, where it will be seen that in Kâṭhiâvâd the idea of serpent transformation is still in full force. See, too, vol II p 124, and vol. IV. pp. 5-6. To these must especially be added the very full and le ched account of "Serpent-worship in Western India" giv n by Râo Sâheb Vishvanâtha Nârâyana Mandlik at pp. 169 *et seqq.* of vol. IX. of the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*; the ceremonies detailed above are recounted by him so minutely as to render my notice superfluous but for some local variations and particulars. See, too, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, 2nd ed. Appendix D.

[4] Even when depicted in connection with Brâhmanical gods as overshadowing or guarding Śiva, Nârâyana, &c., it is in a subordinate capacity.

stones,' of which a typical collection will be seen delineated at page 5, vol. IV. of the *Ind. Ant.*, are most numerous. These stones, which mostly have an appearance of extreme antiquity, were thought by the late Mr. Boswell to be possibly a remnant of the earliest tribes who preceded the Skythian invaders, and the oldest representations of native art existing in the country (*Ind. Ant.* vol. I. pp. 150, 372). However this may be,—and probably investigation and evidence would fail to support the hypothesis,—there is yet something strange and mysterious about these serpent-stones. They mostly have an appearance of extreme antiquity, blurred, worn, and mouldered by age, and though all castes regard them with some sort of awe or superstitious respect, none appear to claim them as specially pertaining to themselves. None will point at them, as it is believed the finger that so pointed would rot and drop from the hand. Women lay offerings of flowers before them, and touch the sculptured heads with paint, believing they will be thereby blessed with children, but men very seldom appear to offer them any sort of adoration. They seem apart from existing systems, and, as it were, the fossils of an extinct generation. The enigmatical figure, in what Mr. Boswell called a Skythic cap and tunic, that so often accompanies the sculptured serpent, also appears to have nothing in common with Hindus.

It may be observed that in the neighbourhood of Hassan and Hâlabîd, in Maisur, a frequent subject amongst the Jaina remains is the figure of a naked woman twined with a serpent encircling the right thigh. This is *always* accompanied by a smaller figure, clothed as for a cold climate, in a posture of adoration. I have more than once heard stories of snakes showing love for women, and in 1871 the following account appeared in the *Western Star*:—

"A very extraordinary incident was lately reported to have occurred a few miles from Bêpur, in Malabar. A native female of very attractive appearance, whilst sweeping the yard of her house, heard a hissing noise behind her. Turning to see, she found to her terror a large cobra advancing towards her. Before she could fly or call for help, the snake darted at her and coiled round one of her legs, rising swiftly higher and higher till it brought its open hood in contact with her face, there moving it to and fro like a screen. In this pitiable and frightful position she had to remain for nearly two days, without being able to lie down or sleep. None but females could approach her to feel her with milk and plantains, when it is said, the cobra turned its head to one side, allowing her to nourish herself. But on any men coming near the cobra would hiss fearfully and tighten its hold round her body in such a manner as to make her feel breathless. Many conjurors came to relieve her, but none succeeded, till a Nair from the interior, by certain charms and spells, disentangled the poor woman from her venomous lover. The snake then crept back into the bushes whence it came, and the woman is now doing well. The above occurrence is now a general talk amongst the natives."

Such an occurrence, with whatever foundation, real or fancied, may throw some light upon the Jaina sculptures, as well as upon the stories current all over the world of serpent-husbands and serpent-wives, or deities assuming serpent-shape—"a dragon's fiery form belied the god." Numberless kings and conquerors, besides Alexander, sprang from such ancestry, and the mythology and folk-lore on the subject are endless.

No. XVIII.—*Sepulchral Customs, existing & and prehistoric.*

Mr. James Fergusson, in the Introductory Observations to his work *Rude Stone Monuments*, insists forcibly on the unprogressive character of savage tribes, even after long contact with the white man. They are everywhere dying out, and in all the civilized parts of Europe have long been exterminated by the progressive Aryan races, who have usurped their places. The stone implements they used, and the megalithic monuments they raised, remained, and are to-day objects of deep interest to their civilized successors, as the only clues to conjecturing their habits and history. As Mr. Fergusson remarks, it is infinitely more philosophical to reason from the known backwards; and if tribes should be discovered living in primeval wildernesses, where they may well have existed from unknown ages unchanged in habits, aloof from higher races, and if moreover amongst them monuments should be in use much resembling the vestiges of what must have been similar tribes in Europe, all such monuments and ceremonies and usages

connected with them must have a strong interest, as possibly throwing a faint light on the usages of prehistoric Europe. Elsewhere (p. 478) Mr. Fergusson has indicated the central plateau of India, especially the Nizâm's dominions, as containing probably the solution of half the difficulties, ethnological or archæological, that are now perplexing us; and it is on the north and east of that region, in the same ethnic area, that Colonel Dalton, in his *Ethnology of Bengal*, has described existing customs, which may easily have come down unchanged from stone-age periods. As his magnificent quarto, published by the Government of Bengal, is not generally accessible, a few extracts may be anthropologically and archæologically interesting.

"On the death of a respectable Ho or Mûnda,[5] a very substantial coffin is constructed and placed on fagots of firewood. The body, carefully washed and anointed with oil and turmeric, is reverently laid in the coffin, and all the clothes, ornaments, and agricultural implements that the deceased was in the habit of using are placed with it, and also any money that he had about him when he died. Then the lid of the coffin is put on, and fagots placed around and above it, and the whole is burnt. The cremation takes place in front of the deceased's house. Next morning, water is thrown on the ashes, search made for bones, and a few of the larger fragments are carefully preserved, whilst the remainder, with the ashes, are buried. The selected bones are placed in a vessel of earthenware,—we may call it an urn,—and hung up in the apartment of the chief mourner,—generally the mother or widow,—that she may have them continually in view, and occasionally weep over them.[6] Thus they remain till the very extensive arrangements necessary for their final disposal are effected. A large tombstone has to be procured, and it is sometimes so ponderous that the men of several villages are employed to move it; and some wealthy men, knowing that their successors may not have the same influence that they possess, select during their lifetime a suitable monument, and have it moved to a handy position to be used when they die. When required for use, it is brought to the family burial-place, which with the Hos is close to the houses, and near it a deep round hole is dug for the reception of the cinerary urn. When all is ready, a funeral party collect in front of the deceased's house—three or four men with very deep-toned drums, and a group of about eight young girls. The chief mourner comes forth carrying the bones exposed on a decorated tray, and a procession is formed. The chief mourner, with the tray, leads; the girls form in two rows, those in front carry empty and partly broken pitchers and battered brass vessels; and the men with the drums bring up the rear. The procession advances with a very ghostly dancing movement, slow and solemn as a minuet, in time to the beat of the deep-toned drums—not directly, but mysteriously gliding now right, now left, now marking time, all in the same mournful cadence—a sad dead march.

"The chief mourner carries the tray generally on her head, but at regular intervals she slowly lowers it, and, as she does so, the girls also gently lower and reverse the pitchers and brass vessels, and looking up for the moment with eyes full of tears, they seem to say, 'Ah! see! they are empty.'"

In this manner the remains are taken to the house of every friend and relative of the deceased within a circle of a few miles, and to every house in the village; and, as the procession approaches each habitation in the weird-like manner described, the inmates all come out, and the tray having been placed on the ground at their door they kneel over it and mourn, shedding tears on the remains, as their last tribute of affection to their deceased friend. The bones are thus also conveyed to all his favourite haunts, to the fields he cultivated, to the grove he planted, to the tank he excavated, to the threshing-floor where he worked with his people, to the *akhrâ* or dancing arena where he made merry with them, and each spot which is hallowed with reminiscences of the deceased. When this part of the ceremony is completed, the procession returns to the village, and, slowly circling round the great stone slab, gradually approaches its goal. At last it stops; a quantity of rice, cooked and uncooked, and other food, is now cast into the grave, and the charred fragments of bone, transferred from the tray to a new earthen vessel, placed over it. The hole is then filled up and covered with the large slab, which, however, does not rest on the ground, but on smaller stones, which raise it a little. One such slab over the grave of the wife of the head-man of the village of Pokuria measured 7 feet 2 inches in length, its greatest

[5] The Hos and Mûndas, branches of the great Kol family, inhabit Singbhûm and the hilly tracts bordering on Chûtiâ Nâgpûr.

[6] Compare accounts of Toda funerals—*Ind. Ant.*, vol. III. pp. 93 and 274.

width was 9 feet 2 inches, and thickness from ten inches to a foot. Its weight was estimated at about six tons. This slab was procured in the bed of a river about three miles off. It was brought on a wagon constructed for the purpose, from three to four hundred men having been engaged in its transit.

Now here was a stone of truly megalithic proportions, placed over a sepulchral urn, just in the same way as so frequently occurs in the British Islands, Northern and Southern Europe, Northern Africa, Western Asia, and Southern India. In all those regions, however, such monuments are ascribed to prehistoric peoples and periods of which nothing certain is known; but in the wilds of Central India we find them used to-day, with rites nothing inconsistent with what may have prevailed in megalithic periods, by tribes who may in all probability have changed but little since those times, with which these tribes, rites, and monuments may quite possibly display an unbroken thread of connection. Neither does it seem too strained an inference that the urn-covering megaliths in Britain may have been procured and placed in a manner, and with ceremonies, nearly resembling those we hear of prevailing to-day in the most primitive region of the oldest country of Asia.[7]

In addition to the slabs on the tomb, Colonel Dalton reports that "a megalithic monument is set up to the memory of the deceased in some conspicuous spot outside the village. The pillars vary in height from 5 or 6 to 15 feet, and apparently fragments of rock of the most fantastic shape are most favoured. Close to the station of Chaibâsa, on the road to Keonghur, may be seen a group of cenotaphs of unusual size—one 11 feet 2 inches, another 13 feet, and a third 14 feet above the earth, and many others of smaller dimensions. The groups of such stones that have come under my observation in the Mûnda and Ho country are always in line. The circular arrangement so common elsewhere I have not seen."

Colonel Dalton gives a sketch by Mr. Ball, of the Geological Survey of India, of a group of four such memorial stones at Pokuria, near Chaibâsa.[8] They are almost grotesque in appearance, the highest 8 feet 4 inches above ground; the first in the group is to the memory of Khundapâter, the father of Paseng, the present *mânki* (head-man) of Pokuria; the next two are to the memory of Kanchi and Samâri, young daughters of the *mânki*, and the last in memory of his son. This practice of erecting memorial stones may throw some light on the origin of Menhirs and of stone-worship: for it is easy to imagine how worship might come to be paid to the memorial stone of a famous man; and indeed one of the very wildest of these jungle tribes, the Kharrias, are described as "setting up in the immediate vicinity of their houses tall rough slabs of stone, and to these, as representing the deceased, they make daily oblations."

Colonel Dalton also reports another prehistoric practice prevailing amongst the Abors on the Dibong river, in the valley of the Brahmaputra, on the N.E. frontier of India, which European antiquaries will at once recognize as the *contracted* form of burial:—"The rugged rocky soil on which their villages are built has probably originated a unique custom of sepulture, by which very small graves are required. The dead are trussed up so that the chin rests on the knees, and are placed in the small chamber prepared for them, in a sitting posture." Could the desire to save labour, to which Colonel Dalton ascribes this now existing custom, have had any weight in determining the contracted posture and small cists of prehistoric interments in Europe? It is noteworthy that the anti-Brâhmanical sect known as Jangams, Vîra Saivas, or Lingavants, also bury their dead in a sitting attitude. This is noticed by the Roman knight and traveller Pietro della Valle, who, when at the court of Venkatapa Nayik at Ikkeri, writes, under date November 13th, 1623,—"Returning home I met a corpse going to be burned without the city, with drums sounding before it. It was carried sitting in a chair, whereunto it was tied that it might not fall, clothed in its ordinary attire, exactly as if it had been

[7] Elsewhere Col. Dalton describes similar customs prevailing amongst the Oráons or Dhangars of Chûtiâ Nâgpûr, Singbhûm, and Sambalpur. After burning the dead, the fragments of bones are collected and placed in an urn. "The burial-ground is always near a river, stream, or tank. As the procession proceeds with music to this place, offerings of rice are continually thrown over the cinerary urn till it is deposited in the grave prepared for it, and a large flat stone placed over it. Then all must bathe. The money that was placed in the mouth of the corpse, and saved from the ashes, is the fee of the musicians. The person who carried the bones to the grave has to undergo purification by incense and the sprinkling of water."

[8] Figured in *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 292, with account by Mr. Ball.

alive. The seat was covered behind and on the sides with red and other colours. It was open only before, and there the dead person was to be seen. All dead people are carried thus, as well such as are buried (as the *Lingavani*, whom they also put into the earth sitting) as those that are burned." Pietro della Valle is the first European who mentions the Jangams. At Ikkeri, he says, "I saw also certain Indian Friars, whom in their language they call *Giangâma*, and perhaps are the same with the sages seen by me elsewhere; but they have wives, and go with their faces smeared with ashes, yet not naked, but clad in certain extravagant habits, and a kind of hood or cowl upon their heads of dyed linen of that colour which is generally used amongst them, namely, a reddish brick-colour, with many bracelets upon their arms and legs, filled with something within that makes a jangling as they walk. I saw many persons come to kiss their feet, and whilst such persons were kissing them, and, for more reverence, touching their feet with their foreheads, these Giangâmas stood firm with a seeming severity, and without taking notice of it, as if they had been abstracted from the things of the world: just," he adds quaintly, "as our Friars use to do when any devout persons come out of reverence to kiss their habit, but with hypocrisy conformable to their superstitious religion." Whether the good knight meant to include both sorts of friars in '*their*' does not seem clear. He also says that the king, Venkatapa Nâyaka, was a "Giangâmo." So was the last Râja of Kurg, the Râja of Sûndâ, in Kanara, and the Râja of Punganûr, near Chittur. In the days of Haidar Ali, Nanda Râja, ruler of Maisur, was a Liñgavant, and the late Râja of Maisur is stated to have worn the *Liñga* and also the Brâhmanical thread.

HISTORY OF THE KÂNPHÂṬÂS OF KACHH.

BY DALPATRÂM PRÂNJIVAN KHAKHAR, EDUCATIONAL INSPECTOR, KACHH.

The origin and history of the Kânphâṭâs of this province is shrouded, like the origin and history of similar old orders of many countries, in fabulous accounts, specially invented to impose upon the credulity of the ignorant, with a view to inspire them with awe and reverence. However cautious the inventor of the legend may have been in placing the origin of these Kânphâṭâs at a very remote period, and in ascribing to the founder of the sect the miraculous power of turning the sea between Kachh and Sindh into the present Ran, human imperfection has left its mark, to enable the present generation to fix the probable time of the origin of these, in this country at least. The history of the Kânphâṭâs of Dhinodhar is traced to Dharmanâtha, who is said to have been one of the twenty-two disciples of Machhendranâtha, or Matsyendranâtha, among whom was Gorakhnâtha, one of the most celebrated of the nine Nâthas or ascetics of ancient India, and about whose austerities, miracles, and resignation of the world almost every Hindu in India is well acquainted, on account of the interesting stories sung about him by the stray musician.

The genealogy of Machhendranâtha is given as under:—

1 Niranjan Nirûkâr.
2 Adhika Somanâtha.
3 Chet Somanâtha.
4 Omkâranâtha.
5 Achetnâtha.
6 Âdinâtha.
7 Machhendranâtha.

This Machhendra travelled through the world, and visited many holy places, and made a host of disciples.[1] Among these was Gorakshanâtha, who surpassed his *gurû*, or adopted father, in meritorious deeds. He is venerated throughout Hindustân, and there are many religious places where temples are dedicated to him. In Kâthiâwâḍ there is a small temple called Gorak-*Madhi*, where he is worshipped; but the chief places of his worship are in Gorakhapur near Haridwâr, in Nepâl and in the Panjâb. He is the eponymous deity of the Gôrkhâlis, or people of Gôrkhâ, in Nepâl. He came to Kachh also, where there is a well near Dhamadkâ, called after his name. He is said to be *chiranjivi*, *i.e.* 'ever-living.'

The word *Kânphâṭâ* comes from *kân*, 'the

[1] The Nepâlese make him the same as Âryâvalokiteśvara-Padmapâni Bodhisatva. Gorakshanâtha is said to have lived in Nepâl in the time of Râja Baradeva or Bala-deva, about the fifth or sixth century. See Wright's *History of Nepal*, pp. 140-152, where a legend of Padmapâni-Âryâvalokiteśvara-Matsyendranâtha is given; Hodgson's *Essays* (Trübner's reprint), ii. p. 40.—ED.

ear,' and *phâṭâ*, 'to slit,' thus signifying 'a person having his ears slit.' At what time and by whom the practice of slitting the ears was introduced is not known; but most of them declare that they do it after Śiva, whose followers as Yogis they are.

Dharmanâtha is said to have come from Peshâwar to Kâṭhiâwâḍ, and thence to Kachh, in search of a secluded place to perform *tap* or penance. He had with him a *Sâdhaka* (or helping friend) named Sarannâtha, and a disciple named Garibnâtha. Another account gives the name of the latter only. He selected Ryân, on the eastern bank of the river Rukhamâvati, about two miles north of the present town of Mâṇḍavî, where, according to one account, there reigned a chief named Gadhesing, the father of the celebrated Vikrama of Ujayanî, and according to another account one Râmadeva, of the tribe of Châvaḍâ Râjputs. The former is an invention of the people, wherever old coins bearing the device resembling an ass are found; while the latter is more probable, as there appear to have been many small principalities of the Châvaḍâs about the time the ancestors of the present Jhâḍejâs entered the province as adventurers, and even subsequently. This is corroborated by the Bhâts, who are said to possess some rude poetical compositions on the subject.

Having selected an umbrageous tree, as is the case with the people of his order, at some distance from the palace of the Chief, Dharmanâtha made his *dhunî*, or fire, and began to perform his penance, at the same time ordering Garibnâtha to go into the town with his *jholâ*, or wallet, for alms; but the latter found the people so impious and hard-hearted as not to give him any countenance. There was only one woman, of the carpenter caste, who gave him a cake of bread. He had, therefore, recourse to fetching wood from the neighbouring forests and selling it in the town. From the proceeds of this he purchased corn and took it to the old woman, who prepared bread from it, and, adding to it a cake of her own, gave them to him without taking any remuneration. These he took to Dhundhnimall,[2] to which Dharmanâtha had changed his name, and both partook of the frugal meal. They passed twelve years in this manner, Dharmanâtha believing all the while in the charitable character of the people. After the penance was over, one day Garibnâtha was asleep, covered, as usual, with a cloth, to hide an ulcer made by the constant lifting of bundles of wood. The wind blew off the cover, and Dharmanâtha, who happened to see it, was mortified to learn, after much persistence, the cause of the ulcer, in which maggots had begun to appear. He was all wrath, and resolved to test personally the inhospitable and impious character of the people. He found that none but the old woman would give any charitable contribution. He determined to overthrow the whole town, and bury the people in the ruins. He advised the woman to leave the town, with all that she valued. Garibnâtha remonstrated with him, as the loss of so many lives would bring upon him those very sins which he had tried to wash away by penance. Dharmanâtha upset his *pâtiar*, or alms-shell,[3] and pronounced the curse "*Pattan sab dâṭjun!*"—"Be buried all the Pattan cities!" when all the eighty-four Pattans sank underground, with all the people and valuables except the woman. On the ruins is the present village of Chotâ Ryân, repeopled in the time of the first Râo, and given in charity to Châran Dâgchand, whose descendants enjoy it to this day. For about two miles brick foundations of buildings, jars, instruments, &c. have been discovered, and I myself have purchased some old copper and silver coins found in the fields. This same story is told of all the ruined cities in Kachh and Gujarât; but the destruction may have been caused by some violent earthquake, and, as Pattan was a seaport town, the people must have removed themselves to the present site of Mâṇḍavî[4] when they found that the sea had receded on account of the rising of the land.

Dharmanâtha appears to have repented of his rash deed, and resolved to perform a second *tap* or penance. With this view he proceeded to a hill, which could not bear the weight of his sins, and was thence called *Nanau* (नम्यो meaning 'weighed down'). Then he

[2] Some say Dhundhnimall was Dharmanâtha's fellow-disciple and companion.

[3] It is the hard shell of a very large oval fruit from Zanzibar, and used by Yogis, Fakirs, and anchorites as an alms and dinner plate throughout India. Its colour is black, and it is said to be the shell of a poisonous cocoanut, called *jherî nâriyela*. It must be the fruit of a kind of palm.

[4] The town of Mândavi was founded by Râo Khengârji through a Bhâṭiâ named Topan on the 11th of the month of Mâgha, Samvat 1630. Before this there were some fishermen's huts on the site.

repaired to another hill, which broke down with his weight,—hence called *Jhuryo* (झुर्यो) = 'broke'). At last he came to a third hill, which could bear his weight provided he ascended it with his back turned towards it. He did so, and as the hill bore the weight of his sins he called it Dhînodhar (*i.e.* holder of धीरना = *dhîranâ*, or 'patience.' He went to the highest peak and began to perform *tap* standing on his head, which rested on a conical ball of hard stone called *Vajra Sopârî*. He continued in this state for twelve years, during which time Garibnâthâ and a Châran woman called Deval remained beside him, the latter supplying him with milk and ministering to his other wants. When the period of his penance was drawing to a close, the throne of Indra began to shake, and he was alarmed. He went to Bhagavân, who counselled him to devise means to stop his *tap*. Thereupon Bhagavân himself, the nine Nâthas, and the eighty-four Siddhas assembled together and alighted on the hill. They praised the austerity of his penance and besought him to rise, when he said that in whichever direction his eyes would open, that portion of the country would be burnt. Then Gorakhanâtha, one of the nine Nâthas, after consulting the others, told him to open his eyes towards the sea on the north-east. Upon this he turned towards the sea and opened his eyes, when the sea was dried up and all the animals therein destroyed, leaving nothing else but the present Raṇ. When so many lives began to be destroyed, Dharmanâtha declared he was losing the merit of his penance, whereupon Gorakhanâtha asked him to turn his eyes towards his foot, but instead of doing so he turned them to the hill, which split into two valleys, leaving the part obstructed by the nose entire in the shape of the nose, by which name it is known at the present day.

Then Dharmanâtha, with the Nâthas and Siddhas, descended. While doing so they proposed to have a treat of *bhang* (infusion of *Cannabis indica*), but no water was to be had about the hill, when one of them, Pîr Patha (Gopîchand), brought out water by striking his *kunari* or dagger into the side of the hill, and prepared the 'green beverage.' The hole was shown to me by my *cicerone*, but the water does not come out till a stick is thrust into it. The stick, which is a rude branch of a tree, has a knob at the end, which brings out the water, of which there must be a reservoir the level of which must always remain a little below the hole. Those who ascend the hill can find water on their return only when they come to this place. The water is rather brackish, being impregnated with salts. They then came to another place, where all the Siddhas combined got water out miraculously, and called it the Siddh-Vîḍî (सिद्धवीडी), or 'saints' pool.' It is said never to fail, and is held in great reverence; but when I visited it there was no water. My guide looked surprised, and ascribed this to its having been polluted by a low-caste person. The *Pîr*, he said, would come there and burn incense to the Dâdâ or Father Dharmanâtha, who would refill it. Thence they came to the foot of the eastern side of the hill, which they selected as the spot for the present establishments. The Nâthas and Siddhas departed, and Dharmanâtha made his *dhunî* or fire, built the monastery and established the Order of the Kânphâṭâs, and commenced that charitable distribution of food the refusal of which had caused the destruction of the Pattans. Then he went away, no one knows where. He is even said to be still living.

Garibnâtha, thinking that some share of the sin of destroying the Paṭtans must fall to his lot, determined to perform penance by standing for twelve years in Bhadlî, 18 miles west of Bhuj, in a jungle, which is even at the present day very thick and mountainous. At this time the Jats were powerful near the hill of Vârâr. The children of the Jats harassed the ascetic and disturbed his penance by pelting him with mango-stones. Being incensed, he went in search of some warrior tribe to expel these marauders, when, fortunately, the ancestors of the present Jhâḍejâs had just entered the province and were trying to establish their authority. According to one account, Jâm Râyadhan, the son of Lâkhâ Jhâḍeja, who was reigning in the small principality of Lakhiâr Virâ, went to seek his blessing, when he encouraged him by his benediction to expel the Jats out of the province, and in this the Jam was successful. This Râyadhan flourished between Samvat 1231 and 1271 (= A.D. 1175-1215), and there is a couplet on the subject in the Kachhi language:—

गरवो गरीब नाथ. आयो सुख आवाज । कुडा जत
कढि डिन्नो रायधणके राज.

i. e. "Solemn Garibnâtha gave utterance through the mouth, and, expelling the treacherous Jats, gave dominion to Râyadhan."

Another account places him in the time of Jâm Hamirji, the father of the founder of Bhuj, who flourished in Saṁvat 1528-1580 (= A. D. 1472-1524). At this time Hamirji was reigning at Lâkhiâr Virâ, not far from Bhadlî, and his brother Ajoji at Bârâ, near Terâ. The fame of Garibnâtha had excited these predatory chiefs to obtain from him some benediction to extend their dominions. Ajoji used to minister to the wants of the ascetic, and serve him regularly. One day the latter, being pleased with his devotion, ordered him to bring a can of milk early in the morning for his benediction. This a *Langhâ* or musician of Hamirji's happened to hear, and at once reported it to his master, who came to the ascetic early in the morning with the milk. The ascetic, taking him for Ajoji, accosted him as the 'Lord of Kachh.' Subsequently came Ajoji with the milk, when the deceit was discovered, but it was too late, as Garibnâtha's words could not be changed; but he said that Hamirji had practised deceit and he should have deceit in exchange, and his posterity would not be able to rule the province peaceably without the aid of his *Bhâyâds*. These have reference to the murder of Hamirji by Râval Jâm, and to the privilege of the Bhâyâds to sit in the Jhâḍejâ Court. This latter tradition is generally believed, and is corroborated by many facts. Even at the present day the descendants of Ajoji, who enjoy the village of Khedoi, relate the deceit played by Hamirji. Hamirji began to reign at Lâkhiâr Virâ in Saṁvat 1528 (= A. D. 1472), and he could not have received benediction earlier than 1500. Therefore the time of the penance of Garibnâtha being deducted, we come to Saṁvat 1488 (= A. D. 1432), the time when the *dhunî* and the present establishment at Dhinodhar were first instituted. After this Garibnâtha is said to have buried himself alive in a standing posture up to the crown of his head at Bhadlî, where is a small temple which was rebuilt recently. What they call his skull is daubed with red lead and *ghî*, and worshipped at the present day. The temple has no inscription on it. Considering that ascetics live long lives on account of their temperate habits, the time of the destruction of Ryâṇ could not be earlier than 1450. Dharmanâtha, then, must have come to Kachh about Saṁvat 1438, and not in Saṁvat 790 as found from the *Pîr's* genealogy, but he went away after laying the foundation of the present Order. He himself belonged to the sect of Saṅtanâtha, whose places of worship are in Nepâl and in the Panjâb. After the penance he desired the Châran Deval to ask for a reward. She said she was childless; would he be gracious enough to bless her with a son? This he said was not in her lot; when she replied that his word as well as her devoted services were equally lost. On this he said he himself would be born to her from a blister in the palm of her hand, but that she should never think of marrying him. He was afterwards born, and became the celebrated Râval Pîr, who is worshipped in a temple on the coast three miles east of Maṇḍavi.

Garibnâtha obtained as a reward the villages of Bhadlî, Tharâudo, Kotḍo, &c., together with some imposts on the neighbouring villages, from the Jhâḍejâs, which his descendants enjoy at the present day. He had two disciples named Ornâtha and Panthanâtha. The former, becoming a Siddha (deified), has a separate temple in the monastery of Dharmanâtha; while the latter had a disciple named Bhikharinâtha, who was highly revered by Râo Khengârji, who installed him as the first *Pîr* in Saṁvat 1545, on his agreeing to leave his wandering habits and to settle in one place. He also promised to give him a village, but both died soon after. He was succeeded by Prabhâtanâtha, who obtained the village of Ryâṇ, in Saṁvat 1665, as a grant. The village has a temple built by Râo Bhârmalji, in which I found the following inscription :—

संवत १६६५ ना वरषे कारतक सुद १५ पीर श्री
भीषारीनाथ पीर हुआ पीरपंथ नाथना चेला पीर भी-
षारीना चेला पीर परभातनाथ. सध धोरमनाथना पीर आद
नाथ आ पीर परभात राजश्री षेंगारजी सुत राजश्री
भारमलजी वारे पीर आया. गाम रायण षराजत
नुपत धीणोधरजी ये अे पादर--राजश्री षेंगारजीये सदावृ
त हिंदूआणे गाय तरकाणे सुअर जे कोई अे गामना
पचार करे तेहेने गरीबनाथना भवोभवना पाप इ राजश्री
भीमनो धरम छे. आई दावो धीणोधरनो छे. श्री राजश्री भा-

He is said to have also peopled the village of Angio, which they enjoy at present. The present *Pîr*, Hanjanâtha, the 25th in descent, was

installed in Samvat 1920 by His Highness the late Râo Prâgmalji.

The hill of Dhînodhar is situated in the thickest jungle, and surrounded by a tract of country inhabited by pastoral tribes, who are generally very poor. At the foot are situated a number of buildings intended for the residence of the *Pîr* and of disciples, who have always assigned to them some duties. Among these buildings is a small rudely built and domed temple dedicated to Dharmanâtha, on a raised platform facing the east. It is about seven feet square, and its walls are as many feet high. In the temple itself is a marble image of Dharmanâtha, three feet high, with the *darśana* or rings of the sect in the ears. There are, besides, small *liṅgas* of Śiva and images of gods, either of brass or stone. A lamp fed with *ghî* is said to have been first lighted by Dharmanâtha, and to have been kept constantly burning ever since. A man is appointed to make the *pûjâ* twice every day, in the morning and evening; who, after washing the images and offering rice, flowers, or leaves, burns incense mixed with *ghî*, and then waves the *arti* or light amidst the sounds of bell, gong, and drum, and after prostrating himself several times he retires.

In another part is a large *paṇḍâl* in which is the *dhunî*, kept constantly burning since it was first lighted by Dharmanâtha. It is fed with large logs of wood, for which a man is specially kept. There are, besides, four very large cauldrons placed on hearths, each capable of cooking a *khandî* of food. On ordinary days these are worshipped, but on *Gokalaashṭamî* and *Nava-râtrî* days, which are held sacred, more wood is thrown into the *dhunî*, and rice and *lâpsî* (a dish of wheat-flour sweetened with sugar) are cooked in these cauldrons, which never fail for the people who assemble on those days.

There are, besides, several temples as *samâdhs* or tombs of the *Pîrs*, but without any inscription, in the monastery, which is enclosed with a high wall with turrets.

On the highest peak, which is 1268 feet, is the temple of Dharmanâtha, on the spot where he is said to have done penance. It was built by Brahma Kshatri Shet Sundarji Śivaji in Samvat 1877 (= A.D. 1821), after the great earthquake. The materials used are limestone and mud, with a plaster of chunam. It faces the east. It is 6 feet high and $5\frac{3}{4}$ feet square, with a Muhammadan dome. The entrance is only $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet high and 2 feet wide, and has no door. The wall is only a foot in thickness. In the temple is a triangular concave stone, in the cavity of which Dharmanâtha is said to have rested his head at the time of the penance. It is daubed with red lead and *ghî*. Near it is a small stone fixed as a *pâliyâ*. Outside the temple is the original *dhunî*, which is lighted for three days in the month of Bhâdrapada, when the *Pîr* resorts thither for the annual *pûjâ*, and people from the surrounding villages assemble to do homage. Those who cannot come or ascend the hill satisfy themselves by looking at the fire of the *dhunî*, which can be seen from villages several miles round. I saw that the temple was cracked in several places, and in a state of dilapidation; and on my questioning the *Pîr* about repairing it, he said it was very difficult to get water there, on account of the difficulty of access. He said Sundarji, a very rich and great man, could do it, but he himself, though possessed of twelve villages, was unable to defray the expense of the repairs, unless copious rains were sent by the *Dâdâ* ('Father' Dharmanâtha). The peak commands a beautiful view of the surrounding country up to the opposite shore of the Ran. It is composed of basalt, limestone, and sandstone.

Their tenets appear to be those of the Yoga-Śâstra, or the abstract devotion practised by the *Yogîs* of the Nâtha sect, and in which Dharmanâtha and Garibnâtha were well versed; but the *Pîrs* of Dhînodhar, except the first two or three, were ignorant of their tenets. They themselves, being generally converts from the shepherd[5] tribe, are quite illiterate and ignorant, and know nothing but the name of the *Dâdâ*. They worship Śiva and follow the ritual of the Mâtâ, whose *stotra* the *Pîr* repeats on the 2nd of every month.[6] They are celibates, and allow no woman to enter their precincts. I could find no works like those of the Nâthas of the north and the Dekhan

[5] Formerly Meghvâls or Dheds were admitted, and one of their *Pîrs*, Meghnâtha, was of this caste. The *Yogîs* are therefore regarded as very low, though the practice of adopting Meghvâls has long since been discontinued.

[6] On the Kânphâṭâs see H. H. Wilson's *Essays*, vol. I. pp. 212-13, 216-18; *Orient. Mag.* 1824, p. 11; Postans, *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. V. pp. 268-71.—ED.

written by them. Their great aim appears originally to have been to feed suffering humanity, to whatever caste or creed the persons might belong, and for which they had obtained from the former Râos and others villages and lands. In this respect they resemble the order of St. Bernard in Europe, and are regular hospitallers. But after obtaining the grants they gradually lost their character as disinterested *Yogîs*, and brought upon themselves, as it were, the very worldly cares they had renounced. They began to lend money at interest, perhaps originally with the object of relieving the distressed by the accommodation; but at present I found the *Pîr* involved in managing the estates, collecting revenues, litigating about boundary disputes, and collecting outstandings, which are quite incompatible with the doctrine of the *Yoga*. I noticed, however, one feature in the order of Dhînodhar which is wanting in all the others in Kachh. The *Pîr* is a chaste man, and enforces celibacy with strictness among his disciples, by prohibiting any female from entering the precincts of the monastery.

In the large hall of the residence recipients of charity are twice fed, the low castes and Muhammadans being served in the compound. The food consists of *bâjrî* (millet) bread and *khichadî* of *bâjrî* and *math* (*Phaseolus aconitifolius*). I saw the *Pîr* himself serving *ghî* with a ladle of a two-pice measure. Those who cannot partake of the cooked food receive it uncooked. Besides the members of the establishment, I saw about twenty-five persons from the surrounding villages, and stray travellers, answering to the call for dinner, which is loudly made twice a day by a man from an eminence. In times of drought and famine the number increases to three hundred. Besides the food, the *Pîr*, who always sits with a copper canister of opium, treats them to a few grains of it, according to their wants. I saw one paralytic, and another lame, who had sought shelter in the asylum.

The method of adopting disciples is very simple, as may be expected from their general ignorance. Persons of indolent habits, or afflicted with domestic calamities, generally become *Yogîs* at an advanced age, but parents unable to support their children give their young boys to the *Pîr*. Orphans also are received. Before giving him his name he is called *Oghad*, or novice, and his conduct is watched for eight months. His *Gurû*, or spiritual guide, makes him wear while a novice a black *shelî*, or sacred thread of wool with *Rudra* knot, corresponding to the *Yajnopavita* of the Brâhman, round his neck, with a two-inch horn called *Śringi-nâda*, or bugle. Through this bugle he is made to say *Oṁkâra*, *Upadeśa*, and *Âdeśa*, which he has afterwards to repeat twice every day at dinner, before the god and the *Gurû*. In fact it is a form of salutation to the superior. If after the appointed period his conduct is found satisfactory, he is taken before the god Bhairava, where a *brother* slits the cartilage of the ears, in which circular plate-like rings of agate, glass, or horn, called *darśaṇa*, are suspended. After the ears are cured by thrusting in a *nimb* stick, dressing with *nimb* oil, his head, beard, and moustaches are shaved, never to be worn again. The *Gurû* then whispers in his ear the *Upadeśa mantra*, or mystic instruction:—"Be wise, perform religious duties, and keep yourself prompt in the service of the *Gurû*." Now he becomes a *Yogi*, and has a name terminating in *Nâtha*. He spends his life in repeating the name of the *Dâdâ*, serving his *Gurû*, and doing the duty assigned to him. The disciple is the adopted son of the *Gurû*, and he succeeds his father on his death. The *Yogi* is buried, and on the twelfth day after his death a feast is given and alms distributed by the son.

The *Pîr* cannot wear an *'angarakhâ*, or coat, but he throws over his body a red shawl or brick-coloured scarf, has a turban of gold-bordered blue silk, with a *shelî*, and a *laṅgoṭa* with a white *ḍigoji* over the loins. He cannot put on leather shoes, but walks in *châkhadî*, or wooden shoes. This dress is given to him by the Râo at the time of his accession to the Pîrship. He also wears a number of gold ornaments of great value, but of rude old fashion. His *darśaṇa*, or earrings, are covered with gold in which precious stones are set. He is highly respected by the people, and even by the Râo, who first pays a visit to his place (where the Pîr has the privilege of retaining his seat) before the latter comes to him. The dress of the others is simple, and dyed with ochre, but now it appears to be going out of fashion. There are about fifty *Yogîs* in Dhînodhar.

The head of the sect of Dhînodhar is called the *Pîr*, while the heads of the branches

are called *Áyesa*. There are three such branches—the *Áyesa* of Baladhîâ, which is next in importance to Dhînodhar, the *Áyesa* of Arla, and the *Áyesa* of Mathal. The *Pîr* of Shivrâ Maṇḍapa, in Bhuj, is separate. The last place was built by Râo Desalji the elder in Saṁvat 1805, and given to a *Yogi* of Dhînodhar; while the others have received their villages from Dhînodhar on their separation. The *Yogi* of Dhînodhar was expelled the monastery of Shivrâ Maṇḍapa, which was given in charge of Shevânâtha, a *Yogi* from Śrînagar, who was installed as *Pîr* and given a village. These also, like the *Yogîs* of Dharmanâtha, are of the Saṁtanâtha sect, but are Śâktas and worship the horse image of Naklank. They do not have intercourse with the *Yogîs* of Dhînodhar, whom they consider low, but keep it with the *Atîts*. The annual income of Dhînodhar is about 50,000 *koṛis*. There is one monastery of Dharmanâtha in Jodhpur, in Mârwâḍ, held in high honour by the Mahârâja of that place. It was established through the influence of a *Pîr* from Bhuj who had been there.

The only other monastery of Kânphâtâs in Kachh is that of Kanthaḍnâtha of Manpharo. Their origin is from Kanthaḍnâtha, who was residing in Kanthkot with his *dhunî* about Saṁvat 900. About this time Mod and Manâi had come into Kachh, after killing their brother Unaḍ in Sindh. Mod had tried to build a fortress on the hill of Kanthkot, but it was thrown down by Kanthaḍnâtha on his being asked to remove his *dhunî* from that part of the foundation which crossed it. On the death of Mod his son Sâḍ appeased the wrath of the Nâtha, and built the fortress and called it Kanthkot, from the *Yogi*. He also built a large temple and dedicated it to him, which was destroyed by the great earthquake, and replaced by a small but beautiful temple. Kanthaḍnâtha's descendants used to tend herds of cattle wandering about the hills, which abound in grass. Generally their *vâṁdha*[1] was near a well called Manphariyo.

The present village of Manpharo was founded by Ude-Kanth. The land was given to him by Râo Bhârmalji in Saṁvat 1705-7 (A.D. 1649). When he was passing by their *vâṁdha*, the Nâtha invited him to dinner, and miraculously fed the whole army from a small dish. On this the Râo installed him as a *Pîr*, and gave him the land about the well Manphariyo for the expense of the establishment.

The *Pîr* removed the monastery from Kanthkot to this place, and began to feed travellers and other needy persons. The monks resemble in their peculiarities, manners, and customs those of Dhînodhar. They call each member a Kanthaḍ, instead of Nâtha; they are selected from Râjpûts, Ahers, &c. They worship Kanthaḍnâtha, and repeat his name with a rosary. They also worship Ganeśa, and are called *Ganeśa upâsi*. They are sworn to celibacy, but their morality is depraved. Their chief temple is at Kanthkot, where one of the members worships Kanthaḍnâtha's image of marble, which sits cross-legged, twice a day. Once these Kânphâtâs were very powerful in Kachh. Besides Kanthkot and Dhînodhar they had the monasteries of Kotesar, and Ajepâl in Âṁjâr, in their possession. They caught *Atîts* and other *Sâdhûs* coming on pilgrimage and forcibly slit their ears. But they were afterwards conquered by the *Atîts* from Junâgaḍh, about three hundred years ago, who took possession of their monasteries of Kotesar from Ringannâtha, and of Ajepâl from the Nâthas of the Râval sect, which have remained in their hands ever since. Their influence declined from that time.

[1] A temporary residence made of rushes and leaves near watering-places.

MISCELLANEA.

AN ADDITIONAL NOTE ON HASTAKAVAPRA—ASTAKAMPRON.

The letter of Major J. W. Watson regarding the identification of Hastakavapra, or Hastavapra, with the modern Hâthab, published in *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 314, imposes upon me the duty of saying a word on the subject. In fact, I ought to have apologized to Major Watson long ago for having omitted to mention that the identification both of Hastavapra and of Kukkata is not my property. I should have done so at once if I had not been convinced that my learned friend is fully aware that the omission of his name was due to no other cause than careless-

ness. In now performing this *prâyaśchitta*, I beg to add a few remarks which, I think, tend to strengthen Colonel Yule's important identification of Hastakavapra with Astakampron.

Major J. W. Watson has suggested in his note (*l. c.*) that Hâthab once must have been an important harbour, and have taken the place which Gundi-Koliak held during the Middle Ages. I am now able to confirm this statement, and to prove that when the place belonged to the kingdom of Valabhî, it certainly was more than a small village. Both in the inscription of Dhruvasena I. and in that of Dharasena II it is asserted that certain villages were situated *hastakavaprâharaṇyâm* or *hastavaprâharaṇyâm*, and I have explained these compounds to mean 'in the territorial division of Hastavapra.' I have now to add that the name occurs in a third inscription, the grant of Dharasena IV., an abstract of which has been published by Prof. Bhâṇḍârkar—*Ind. Ant.* vol. I p. 45. There we read, instead of *Hastavaprâharaṇi*, *Hastavaprâhâra*,[1] and it is stated that the village of Yodhâvaka was included in it. Now three unpublished Valabhî grants, which have been discovered at Âlînâ, in the Kheḍâ Zillâ, show the word *Kheṭakâhâra*, and mention three different *Pathakas* which formed parts of the *Kheṭakâhâra*. *Pathaka* is known from Valabhî and Chaulukya plates to have had the meaning of 'a small territorial division,' and its modern representative *pathî*, as Mr. W. F. Sinclair informs me, still sometimes occurs in the same sense. If an *âhâra* contained several *pathakas*, it is clear that it must be a larger territorial division, and corresponds to our modern *zillâ*. It follows further from the *varia lectio*—*Hastavaprâhâra*, that the word *âharaṇi* was a synonym of *âhâra*, and that the compound in the two older grants may be translated by 'in the zillâ of Hastavapra.' This being once established, it follows also that if a zillâ was named after Hastavâpra the place must have been of some importance—that, probably, it was not a village, but a town. For territorial divisions are invariably named after the town which at the time when the name was given was the most important in it, and the seat of the local government.[2]

This result agrees very well with Major Watson's theory that Hâthab originally was a harbour which took the place of Gundi-Koliak. It further makes Colonel Yule's identification also with Astakampron more plausible. For, if Hastakavapra during the first centuries of our era was a really important town and a port, it is not astonishing to find that the Greek traders knew it.

The other point to which I wish to call attention is the etymology of the two forms of the town's name. Both are compounds the last part of which is *vapra*, which means 'an embankment, an earth-wall, the steep bank of a river,' &c. The first part, *Hasta* or *Hastaka*, must be a proper noun. For it is a rule in Sanskṛit that common nouns which are used as proper names may receive the determinative affix *ka*. Thus, if *aśva*, 'a horse,' is used as a proper noun, it may be either *aśva* or *aśvaka*. As *hasta* is a common noun, meaning 'the hand,' and as in the compound both *hasta* and *hastaka* occur, it may be safely concluded that it is used as a proper noun. Possibly the whole may mean 'the embankment of Hastaka,' or 'the steep bank on the Hastaka,' according as Hastaka is taken as the name of a man, a river, or a hill. Further investigations regarding traditions or legends current at Hâthab will probably furnish certainty on this point. The Greek word Astakampron, I think, is not derived immediately from the Sanskṛit name of the place, but from an intermediate Old Prâkṛit Hastakâmpra, which had been formed by the contraction of the syllables *ava* to *â*, and the insertion of a nasal, according to the habit of the Gujarâtîs. The loss of the initial *h* may be explained by the difficulty which Gujarâtîs have now, and probably had 1600 years ago, in pronouncing the spirans in its proper place.

The modern Hâthab, for which the lower castes, as Major Watson has informed me, use an older form, Hâthap, I take to be a corruption of the shorter Sanskṛit name Hastavapra.

G. BÜHLER.

MSS. OF THE *MAHÂBHÂSHYA* FROM KAŚMÎR.

We have already (vol. VI. pp. 294-274) given some interesting extracts from Dr. Bühler's *Report* of his *Tour in search of Sanskrit MSS*, and in vol. V. pp. 27-31 a general outline was given of the results; the following further extracts, however, will interest some of our readers.—

"In the collection of grammatical MSS.," says Dr. Bühler,[3] "those belonging to Pânini's school take the precedence. Among the latter the *Vyâḍî-yaparibhâshâvṛitti* (two MSS.)[4] bears the most

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[1] The word is disfigured in the passage quoted by a misprint and a faulty division of the syllables, which make it *Hastava-prâhâra*.

[2] Compare Kheḍâ, Bharuch, &c.

[3] Detailed *Report*, pp. 69-73.

[4] Beginning:—ओं नमो मुनित्रयाय ।
अथ परिभाषासूचनं व्याख्यास्याम । अथेत्ययमधिकारार्थः परिभाषासूचनं शास्त्रमधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् । यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रम-

मिष्यामः । इयमरिमन्सूत्रे सिद्धेयमस्मिन्भिद्धेति । किं कारणम् अत्र हि ज्ञातपरिभाषः स्वयं शास्त्रं पतिपादयितुं समर्थो भवति । स तावत्सुखं ज्ञातपरिभाषो भवति । अतो व्याख्यानं द्रष्टव्यम् । तत्रादित एव तावदियं परिभाषा भवति ॥ अर्थवद्ग्रहणेनानर्थकस्येति ॥

End:—इति व्याडीयपरिभाषावृत्तिः समाप्ता ॥ शुभाय भवतात् ॥—Extract by Vâmanâchârya.

ancient name. The Kaśmirian pandits are unanimous in declaring it to be a production of the author of the *Saṁgraha*. But Dr. Kielhorn, to whom I submitted the book immediately after its discovery, tells me that he cannot discover in it any proof of great antiquity, and that it contains only the well-known *Paribhâshâs*. He thinks it not unlikely that the title has been given to it because some pandit believed the *Paribhâshâs* to belong to Vyâdi. I must leave the question to the decision of those Sanskritists who make the *Vyâkaraṇaśâstra* their speciality."

Three incomplete Śârada paper MSS. (one of I. 1. 103—2. 63, another I. 4—VI. 1) "represent the meagre result of a long and laborious inquiry regarding Patanjali's *Mahâbhâshya*, a work which for the present is, as it were, the corner-stone for the history of Sanskrit grammar and literature. As the controversy regarding the genuineness of our present text of the *Mahâbhâshya* had been going on for some time before my visit to Kaśmîr, I was particularly anxious to obtain a trustworthy and complete Kaśmîrian MS. of the work, in order to ascertain if Kaśmîr possessed a redaction different from the Indian one. When I began my inquiries the pandits told me that the *Bhâshya* was not studied in Kaśmîr, and that they knew only of two complete MSS. of the work. One of these belonged to Pandit Keśavrâm, and the other to the sons of the late Pandit Sâhebrâm. With some trouble I got a sight of both these copies, and found that they were Devanâgarî MSS., brought from India. Keśavrâm's copy had been imported into the Valley by a pandit of Bâramûla who had resided for some time in Banâras. His heirs had sold it for one hundred Kaśmîrî rupees (of ten annas each) to its present owner. After this transfer had been effected, Pandit Sâhebrâm also had found it necessary to procure a copy, and had finally obtained one from the Panjâb. Both these copies are new—not older than fifty or sixty years. They contain Kaiyata's *Pradîpa* also. As soon as the origin of these two MSS. had been determined, I told my friends that I neither desired to acquire them nor to have them copied, and that they must hunt for Bhûrja or old Śârada paper MSS. They grumbled a good deal, and complained of my unreasonableness. But gradually they produced the three MSS. which now belong to the collection. Each of the three is certainly more than a hundred years old, and most probably copied from older Bhûrja MSS. I sent them, immediately after I received them, to Dr. Kielhorn, for comparison with his Indian MSS. He informs me that they do not differ materially from the latter. I think that this fact is not without importance for the question regarding the genuineness of the text of the *Mahâbhâshya*, though it is desirable that it should be confirmed by the discovery and collation of an old Bhûrja MS. Just when I left Kaśmîr I heard that such a MS. had been found in the library of an ignorant Brâhman, who believed it to be a MS. of the *Kathâsaritsâgara*, and used it, as is frequently done with MSS. of that work, for purposes of divination.[5] Efforts have been made to obtain the book, but hitherto without success.

"In connection with the subject of the *Mahâbhâshya* I may also state that I have examined with particular care in all accessible MSS. of the *Râjataraṅgiṇî* the verse I. 176, which refers to its introduction into Kaśmîr. Most MSS. read *chandrâchâryâdibhir labdhvâ deśâttasmât tadâgamam | pravartitaṁ mahâbhâshyaṁ svaṁ cha vyâkaraṇaṁ kṛitam*||. But some, and among them Keśavrâm's *codex archetypus*, read *primâ manu, labdhvâdeśam tasmât*, &c. I think that this is the original but corrupt reading of the MS., and that the vulgata *deśâttasmât* is purely conjectural. The Kaśmîrians felt, and now feel, that the reading *ladhdhvâdeśaṁ* does not readily give any sense. The attempt to restore the passage by writing *deśât tasmât*[6] is, in my opinion, not a happy one. I accept Dr. Kielhorn's[7] emendation, *deśântarât*, as the most probable, both on account of the analogy of the passage in the *Vâkyapadîya* and on account of *Râjat.* IV. 487,[8] where *deśântarat* actually occurs. As to the translation of the word *âgama*, I think with Dr. Kielhorn that it means 'the tradition' or 'the traditional interpretation' of the *śâstra*. I have consulted the most learned grammarians in Banâras, Indor, and other parts of India on this point. All unanimously declare that *âgama* must be taken in the sense for which Dr. Kielhorn contends, and some even go so far as to deny the possibility that *âgama* can ever mean *grantha*. Though they are undoubtedly correct as far as the usage of the *Vaiyâkaraṇas* is concerned, and *âgama* is not used in the sense of a *grammatical* work, still their assertion goes too far. For the Jainas speak of their *forty-five âgamas* or sacred works, and the Śaivas recognize the authority of *eighteen âgamas*. In these two cases the word is certainly used as a synonym of *grantha*, and is frequently, by *lakshaṇâ*, applied to designate MSS. As may be inferred from these remarks, I stand on the side of those who are

[5] A pin is driven into the MS., and the verse in which the point sticks is supposed to give some clue to the future fate of the inquirer. The practice is well known in Europe too.

[6] The copy in the Government collection has *deśe tasmât tadâgamat*. Here the last *t* is a clerical mistake.

[7] *Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. p. 107.

[8] See Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 243.

disposed, until the very strongest proofs to the contrary are adduced, to consider the present text of the *Mahâbhâshya* to be genuine.

"My search for copies of Kaiyaṭa's *Pradîpa* were attended with still scantier results than the inquiry regarding the *Mahâbhâshya*. One MS. (No. 306) of 99 folios of 20 lines each contains a very small portion of the *Navâhnikî*. The MS. dates, I think, from the same time as the pieces of the *Bhâshya*. The Kaśmîrians tell an anecdote regarding Kaiyaṭa, which is perhaps worth mentioning. Kaiyaṭa was, they say, an inhabitant of one of the smaller towns of the Valley,—according to some of Pâmpur, according to others of Yechgâm. He lived in great poverty, and entirely gave himself up to the study of the *Mahâbhâshya* and of grammar. In this *śâstra* he acquired so great a proficiency that at last he could explain the whole *Bhâshya* to his pupils without looking at a MS., and he understood even those passages which Vararuchi (?) had marked by *kuṇḍalas* (O) as unintelligible. Once a foreign pandit from southern India, named according to one authority Krishṇambhaṭṭa, came into Kaśmîr and went to see Kaiyaṭa at his home. He found him sitting before his house engaged in manual labour, and explaining at the same time to his pupils the most difficult portions of the *Bhâshya* from memory. Amazed at the pandit's great learning and his abject condition, the foreigner hastened to the king of Kaśmîr and obtained from him a *śâsana* granting to Kaiyaṭa a village and an allowance of grain. But when he brought the deed to the pandit the latter steadfastly refused to accept the gift, because he considered it unlawful as coming from a king. Later Kaiyaṭa left Kaśmîr and wandered to Banâras. There he vanquished the pandits at a *sabhâ* by his great learning, and composed the *Pradîpa* at the request of the Sabhâpati. According to this story the *Pradîpa* was not written in Kaśmîr, and if the statement that Kaiyaṭa lived at Pâmpur is true it cannot be older than the 9th century. For that town was built by Padma in the reign of Ajitâpida, 844-849 A.D.[9] Dr. Kielhorn has lately stated in his pamphlet on the *Mahâbhâshya* that he does not think Kaiyaṭa an old writer. I agree with him on this point, and do not believe that he is older than the 13th century A.D. The earliest Indian grammarian who quotes him is, as far as I know, Sâyaṇa-Mâdhava. I have heard it asserted by Indian pandits that Kaiyaṭa was a brother of Mammaṭa.

"The small fragment of Chandra's Grammar (one leaf) is more curious than useful. As Chandra was a Kaśmîrian, or at least taught in Kaśmîr, there is no reason to doubt of its genuineness. Dr. Kielhorn thinks that, to judge from the fragment, the arrangement of Chandra's grammar must have resembled that of the *Kaumudî*, or, as Dr. Burnell would say, that of the grammarians of the *Aindra* school.

"The MS. of the *Kâśikâvṛitti* (No. 283)[10] is a real gem. It is the most correct and best-written birch-bark MS. in the whole collection, and almost without a lacuna. I collated a small portion of its contents with Professor Bâlaśâstrî's edition, and found not inconsiderable differences. The readings of the Kaśmîrian MS. appeared to me the better ones. It also gives the correct statement regarding the authors of the work. In the colophons of the first four *adhyâyas* Jayâditya is named as the author, and in those of the last four Vâmana. Professor Bâlaśâstrî told me that he had found the same statement in *one* other MS.[11] He considers the authors to have been *nâstikas* and men of small grammatical learning, who had not penetrated to the deepest depth of the *śâstra*. The Kaśmîrians think that probably Jayâditya is another name of the learned king Jayâpida, and that Vâmana is his minister, who is mentioned by Kalhaṇa. Be that as it may, the *Kâśikâvṛitti* is not a modern work, and most probably has been written by a Kâśmîrian. The Government MS. has been made over to Professor Bâlaśâstrî to be used for his edition of the *Kâśikâ*.

[9] *Rájat.* IV. 693. The date is General Cunningham's correct one.

[10] Beginning:—

स्वस्त्यस्तु ॥ श्रीगणनाथाय नमः ॥ ओं नमो गुरवे ॥ येषो-
स्तु । ओं नमस्सरस्वत्यै ॥ ओं नमः
परमात्मने ॥ ओं नमो ब्रह्मणे नमो नमः ॥
ओं येनाक्षरसमाम्नायमधिगम्य महेश्वरात् ।
कृत्स्नं व्याकरणं प्रोक्तं तस्मै पाणिनये नमः ॥
येन शब्दमहाम्भोधेः × कृतो व्याकरणप्लवः ।
[illegible] चेधिनां लोके तस्मै पाणिनये नमः ॥
अज्ञाननिमिरान्धस्य ज्ञानाञ्जनशलाकया ।
चक्षुरुन्मीलितं येन तस्मै पाणिनये नमः ॥

वृत्तौ भाष्ये तथा धातुनामपारायणादिषु ।
विप्रकीर्णस्य तन्त्रस्य क्रियते सङ्ग्रहः ॥

अथ शब्दानुशासनम् ।

End:—

इति काशिकायां वृत्तावष्टमस्याध्यायस्यस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥ समाप्ता काशिका वृत्तिः ॥ कृतिर्जयादित्यवामनयोः ॥ शुभमस्तु ॥ श्रीमृपतिविक्रमादित्यराज्यस्य गताब्दाः १७१७ श्रीसप्तर्षिमते संवत् ३६ पौषति ३ रवौ तिथ्यनक्षत्रे संपूर्णा समातेति सु [शु] भमस्तु लेखकपाठकेभ्यः ॥

[11] Compare also Dr. Kielhorn's pamphlet on the *Mahâbhâshya*.

"The pieces of Jinendrabuddhi's *Nyâsa* (No. 284, *adhy.* I. II. 2-4; 285, *adhy.* IV.; and 286, *adhy.* VII.) have been transcribed from a dilapidated birch-bark volume belonging to P. Bal Kôl. Other portions of the work have been acquired in former years, in the Dekhan, in Ahmadâbâd, and in Bikâner. But the Government collection does not yet contain copies of the VIth and VIIIth *adhyâyas*. Jinendrabuddhi lived, according to the Kaśmirians, at Varâhamûla-Hushkapurâ. He was a Bauddha ascetic, and is certainly not later than the 12th century, as the *Nyâsa* is quoted by Vopadeva.[12]

"Among the smaller works explaining the appendices to Pâṇini's grammar, the *Dhâtupâṭha*, the *nipâta-avyaya-upasargapâṭhas*, and the *liṅgasûtras*, Kshîrasvâmin's treatises *Avyayavritti*, *Kshîrataraṅgiṇî*, *Kshîrataraṅgîsaṅketa*, and *Nipâtâvyayopasargavṛitti*, are of some interest, as the date of this author is known. He is, according to the perfectly credible Kaśmîrian tradition, the grammarian Kshîra, who instructed king Jayapîḍa.[13] The *Liṅgânuśâsanaṭîkâ sarvârthalakshaṇâ* (Nos. 310-11)[14] shows as authors two well-known names —Śavarasvâmin, the son of Diptasvâmin, and Harshavardhana, the son of Śrîvardhana. The latter appears to have been a prince.[15] I am, however, doubtful if it is permissible to identify him with the patron of Bâṇa and Hiwen Thsang, as the latter's father is called Prabhâkaravardhana. Still it is quite possible that Prabhâkaravardhana may have had a second name. In like manner I am doubtful if the Śavarasvâmin of the *Liṅgânuśâsana* is the same as the famous commentator on the *Mîmâṁsâsûtras*. It is a curious fact that the name of the father of the latter is not mentioned in any of the MSS. of the *Mîmâṁsâbhâshya* accessible to me, and that the best Śâstrîs at Punâ and Bânâras do not know it. This question, too, cannot yet be decided. But I think there is a chance that the MSS. of the *Liṅgânuśâsana* may finally settle the date of the famous Mîmâṁsist."

In M. Rénan's Report to the Société Asiatique special praise is bestowed on M. James Darmesteter's *Ormazd et Ahrîman*, in which the Mazdean dualism is accounted for by a natural development, and not by a violent rupture between the two branches of the Âryans; on M. Bergaigne's thesis on *Les dieux souverains de la religion védique*, which is a complete repertory of Vedic ideas on the physical and moral world; on M. Guyard's *Théorie nouvelle de la métrique arabe*; and the second part of M. de Vogüé's *Syrie centrale*, containing 400 inscriptions from Safa, the relation of the characters of the most puzzling of which to the Himyaritic, M. Rénan fully expects will be cleared up within another year.

BOOK NOTICES.

The Âdi Granth, or the Holy Scriptures of the Sikhs, translated from the original Gurmukhî, with introductory essays: by Dr. Ernest Trumpp, Prof. Reg. Orient. Lang. Munich. Printed by order of the Secretary of State for India. pp. cxxviii. and 715. (London: W. H. Allen & Co., and N. Trübner & Co. 1877.)

We are very thankful for this valuable work. In the nature of things Dr. Trumpp's translation cannot be perfect, as it is a first attempt to render a most difficult book. But it forms an excellent commencement of scientific investigation in a region in which we have hitherto had little else but

"Conjectures, fancies, built on nothing firm."

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[12] Aufrecht, *Oxf. Catal.* p. 176.

[13] *Râjat.* IV. 488: compare also S. P. Pandit, *Trans. Or. Congr.* 1874, p. 252.

[14] The *Liṅgânuśâsanavritti* begins:—

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ओं नमो विघ्नहर्त्रे ॥ ओम् ।
नमो मथितदुर्वारदैत्यचक्राय चक्रिणे ।
समूधरधरारागारस्तम्बी [म्भी] भूतैकबाहवे ॥ १ ॥
मनोरमतमैर्वृत्तैः सज्जनानन्दवर्धनम् ।
लिङ्गानुशासनं स्पष्टं यथाबुद्धि विधीयते ॥ २ ॥
बह्वाचार्यमतैर्व्यापि श्रव्यं लालित्ययोगतः ।
स्पष्टं स्पष्टीकृतैरर्थैरिदं लिङ्गानुशासनम् ॥ ३ ॥
इदानीं स्त्रीप्रकरणमाकारादिक्रमेण दर्शयन्नाह ॥
आदीदूतः स्त्रियां प्रायो गङ्गा लक्ष्मीश्चमूर्यथा ।
पर्यायसहिता भूमिर्वह्निर्विद्युन्नदीदिशः ॥ १ ॥

End: व्याडेः शंकरचन्द्रयोर्वरुचेर्विद्यानिधेः पाणिनेः
सूक्ताल्लिङ्गविधीवि [न्वि] चार्य सुगमं श्रीवर्धनस्यात्मजः ।
श्रव्यं व्यापि च हर्षवर्धन इदं स्पष्टीकृतप्रत्ययं
लिङ्गानामनुशासनं रचितवानर्थ्यार्थसंसिद्धये ॥ ९६ ॥
सूक्ताल्लिङ्गविधीन्विचार्य पर्यालोच्य तेभ्यः सारं गृहीत्वा
सुगमं श्रव्यं व्यापि चेदं लिङ्गानुशासनं रचितवान् ।
अन्यच्च कीदृशं स्पष्टीकृतप्रत्ययम् । अस्पष्टाः स्पष्टीकृताः प्रत्ययाः किन्घञ् ड्डुन् इत्यादयो यत्र । प्रत्ययानां सोदाहरणानां प्रदर्शनात्सुस्पष्टतां पर्यालोच्य मन्दमतयो न मुह्यन्तीति भावः ।
इति भट्टदीप्तस्वामिसूनोर्वर्णवागीश्वरस्य शवरस्वामिनः कृतौ हर्षवर्धन कृतलिङ्गानुशासनटीकायां सर्ववर्णकणायां त्रिलिङ्गप्रकरणम् ॥ समाप्तमिति लिङ्गानुशासनटीकायामिति शुभं भवतु शुभमस्तु ॥

— — — णाप्रतिमः श्रुतेन न मम शौर्येण पार्थोपमः
काव्येनातिमनोरमः प्रणयिनामासन्नकल्पद्रुमः ।
जातः संप्रति हर्षवर्धन इति प्रख्यातकीर्तिः सतां
तेनेदं रचितं परोपकृतये लिङ्गाभिधानं शुभम् ॥ १ ॥

[15] Compare concluding verse of the *Liṅgânuśâsana* quoted in the preceding note.

The *Âdi Granth*, or *Granth Sâhib* as it is often reverentially called, has a twofold claim on attention. First of all, it is invaluable in a linguistic point of view. It is a perfect treasure-house of old Hindî words and forms. It thus gives great assistance in tracing the origin and progress of the modern vernaculars of Northern India. How these arose out of the ancient Prâkrits is still a dark problem, but one on which the *Granth* throws considerable light. Secondly, it gives an authoritative statement of the teaching of the early Sikh *gurus*. Much has been written about Sikhism; but documentary proof has seldom accompanied assertion.

The Indian Government deserves praise for agreeing that the *Granth* should be translated; and it made an excellent selection when it appointed Dr. Trumpp to the performance of the task. Dr. Trumpp is not only a good Sanskritist, but he has made a special study of Sindhî and the cognate dialects of Northern India.

The labour which the rendering of the *Granth* involved was very great. Of the dialect in which it is composed—an old form of Panjâbî[1]—there is neither grammar nor dictionary. The interpretation is very imperfectly known to the most learned Sikh *gurus*; while the Brâhmans, whose acuteness and patience in research would have done excellent service, have never condescended to study so heretical a book. Dr. Trumpp left Germany and proceeded to India to obtain what help he could in his arduous task. He found three commentaries on the *Granth* which were of considerable use; but, on the whole, he worked, we may say, single-handed. He spent seven years in executing the translation.

We do not at present enter into any linguistic inquiries. The volume presents the *Japjî* (more accurately, *Japu-jî*)—the first, and according to the Sikhs the holiest, portion of the *Granth*—in the original. Let us hope that some of the readers of the volume may overcome their repugnance to the Gurmukhî character, which looks so like a perverse metamorphosis of Devanâgarî, and work through these seven pages as a commencement in mastering the language.

In addition to a translation and sufficiently full annotations, Dr. Trumpp has given a short preface and five valuable introductory essays. Thus we have the Life of Bâbâ Nânak translated from the *Janam Sâkhî*; which appears in two forms that are remarkably contrasted. We have next a sketch of the lives of the other Sikh *gurus*; then an outline of the Sikh religion; then a short essay on the composition of the *Granth*; and finally, a dissertation on the language and metres used in it.

[1] There are some *Slokas* of Teg Bahâdur's written in pure Hindî.

Bâbâ Nânak[2] was born A.D. 1469. He was not a man of education, nor possessed of any remarkable force of mind. He was simply a devout mystic. His teaching was chiefly drawn from the writings of the celebrated Kabîr, who lived not very long before him. The sayings of Bâbâ Nânak, which were all preserved in verse, were collected along with those of other holy men by Guru Arjuna, who lived about a century after Bâbâ Nânak (1581-1606). From the time of Guru Arjuna, Sikhism sustained an important change. His predecessors had been quietists, but he was a man of capacity, who affected the pomp of a great leader, and intermeddled with political affairs. The Sikhs gradually grew into a nation of warriors, inflamed with rancorous hostility to the professors of other creeds, especially the followers of Muhammad. The most remarkable of the later *gurus* was Govind Singh, who slighted the *Granth* as infusing a tame humility into the hearts of men. He produced a second *Granth*, called "The book of the tenth king (*or* reign),"[3] which breathes throughout a fierce and warlike spirit. In several points Guru Govind receded from the doctrines of the *Âdi Granth* (the original *Granth*), and turned back towards Hinduism. This last of the great *gurus* died in 1708.

The *Granth* has been said to inculcate Monotheism. But this is a mistake, if the term monotheism is used in its ordinary sense. The teaching of the *Granth* is prevailingly pantheistic. It declares that God and the universe are not distinct; as "in a wave the froth and bubbles are not distinct from the water." The notion that the universe is distinct from God arises from *mâyâ*.

According to Dr. Trumpp there are two forms of Pantheism in the work—a finer and a grosser. The grosser holds that the universe is an expansion of God. The finer considers the universe to be an emanation from God. But the *Granth* is self-contradictory, and occasionally (for instance, when it asserts the Supreme to be distinct from the universe, as the lotus is distinct from the lake it floats in) it is not properly pantheistic. The Supreme God is never—or scarcely ever—prayed to in the *Granth*. The subordinate gods are prayed to; and so is the *guru*. Indeed, the exaltation of the *guru* is one of the most characteristic features of the system. The saints also are to be greatly reverenced. The chief end which man is to desire is the cessation of individual existence; and the great means of attaining this longed-for goal is the repetition of the name of Hari. But the right knowledge and utterance of this all-powerful name can be obtained only from the true *Guru*.

[2] See a sketch of his life, *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. pp. 295-300.
[3] It is written not in Panjâbî, but Hindî.

Caste is slighted rather than attacked.

It is a mistake to suppose that Bâbâ Nânak sought to blend the chief dogmas of Islâm and Hinduism. The Suffism of the Persians is very similar to Vedantism; and the pantheism of the *Granth* may be classed with either system. Dr. Trumpp is more than half disposed to think that Kabîr was originally a Musalmân (see note, p. 682). It is a vexed question, on which we pronounce no judgment. On the whole, however, the effect of Islâm on the Sikh system has been considerable.

No reverence is paid to the holy books either of Hindus or Muhammadans. The *Granth* is an all-sufficient teacher.

It will be seen, even from what has now been said, that the *Granth* contains little or nothing that is really new. The readers of the poets—whether Hindî, Bangâlî, or Marâthi—of the Vaishnava school will very seldom come on a sentiment in this book which is not familiar to them. Indeed, several of the poems of Nâmâ, or Nândev, who was one of the earliest Marâthî poets, are embodied in the *Granth*. This subject deserves the attention of Marâthî scholars. In the mean time we assume that in the form in which they appear in Panjâbî these can only be translations, and are not the original compositions of the tailor poet,* (an Oriental "Alton Locke," shall we say?) who lived at Pandharpur. Moreover, the influence of Kabîr has been very great in the Marâthâ country, as well as in the Panjâb and Northern India generally, so that the coincidences now referred to need excite no surprise.

Dr. Trumpp often speaks disparagingly of the *Granth*. He says, "It is a very big volume, but incoherent and shallow in the extreme, and couched at the same time in dark and perplexing language in order to cover these defects." (*Preface*, p. vii.) Again he says that "as regards its contents, it is perhaps the most shallow and empty book that exists, in proportion to its size." (p. cxxii.) Certainly it cannot be rated high either as a philosophical or poetical production. Yet it has a value. These old *gurus* and devotees were feeling after God. There seems to us earnest religion in Bâbâ Nânak and several of his successors. We confess to a feeling of exceeding sadness as we read the outpourings of their hearts. They hungered for bread, and Hinduism gave them a stone. They needed union with a loving, conscious God in mind, heart, will; and Hinduism told them they must seek to be absorbed and lost in the immeasurable All.

It is difficult to read much of the *Granth* at a sitting. Its repetitions are endless;—the same ideas and even illustrations recur perpetually. Bâbâ Nânak himself is one of the least attractive of the sages of whose sayings the book is made up, being in point of clearness and force decidedly inferior to Kabîr. We are much inclined to agree with him when he says in one place, "O Nânak, the telling of it is hard iron." At least we have felt it oftentimes as difficult to hammer out a definite meaning from his words as to hammer out a piece of hard cold iron! But we shall let our readers judge. Take the commencement and conclusion of the *Japu*:—

"OM! The true name is the creator, the Spirit without fear, without enmity, having a timeless form, not produced from the womb.

"By favour of the Guru!

"*Japu.*—At the beginning is the True One, at the beginning of the Yuga is the True One. The True One is, O Nânak, and the True One also will be.

1. "By meditation (*and*) meditation it (*i.e. the knowledge of the True One*) is not effected, though I meditate a hundred thousand times.

"By silence (*and*) silence is not effected, though I keep a continual absorption of mind. The hunger of the hungry does not cease, though I bind together the load of (*all*) the worlds.

"There may be acquired a thousand, a hundred thousand dexterities; not one goes with (*at the time of death*).

"How does one become a man of truth (*knowing the True One*)? how is the embankment of falsehood broken?

"He who walks in his (*i. e. God's*) order and pleasure, O Nânak! (*and*) with (*whom*) it is (*thus*) written."

* * * * *

38. "Continence is the workshop, patience the goldsmith. Understanding the anvil, the *Veda* the tool. Fear the bellows, the heat of austerities the fire. The vessel is love; in this melt Amṛita (*nectar*). (*Then*) the *śabda* is formed in the true mint. This is the work of those on whom his look and the destiny is (*fixed*). O Nânak, the looker-on is happy by the sight.

"*One śloka.*—Wind is the Guru, water the father, the great earth the mother. Day and night the two are female and male nurse; the whole world sports.

"Dharma-râjâ rehearses the good and bad works in the presence (*of God*). By their own actions some are near, and some are afar off (*from God*). By whom the name (*of God*) has been meditated upon, they are gone (*to the other world*), having cast off their labour.

"O Nânak, their faces are bright, and with them

* Dr. Trumpp (pp. cxix., 93) affirms that he was a calico-printer; the Marâthâs called him a *Simpi*.

(*after them*) how many people are saved (*liberated*)!" (p. 13)

The following two extracts will afford fair specimens of the general style of the *Granth* :—

"O beloved, mutter Hari, Hari! Having taken the wisdom of the Guru, say Hari!

"O mind, if the touchstone be applied to the True One, if he be weighed by a full weight his value is not obtained by any one, O heart! he is a priceless gem." (p. 33.)

"The nectar-speech of the Guru is sweet. Some rare disciple has tasted and seen it. In (*his*) heart there is light; he drinks the great juice (*of Hari*); at the true gate he makes himself heard." (p. 158.)

M.

MÂLAVIKÂ ET AGNIMITRA, Drame Sanscrit de Kalidasa, traduit pour la première fois en Français par PH. ED. FOUCAUX, Professeur au Collége de France, etc. etc. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1877.

Professor Weber and Mr. Shankar P. Pandit, who have dared to reverse the decision of the late Horace Hayman Wilson, that the *Mâlavikâgnimitra* is not the work of the great Kâlidâsa, the author of the *Śakuntalâ*, may claim M. Foucaux as an ally. He gives forth no uncertain sound on this point:—"Sans mettre Mâlavikâ et Agnimitra sur la même ligne que Sakountalâ, nous nous permettons de n'être pas de l'avis de l'illustre Wilson. D'accord avec M. A. Weber, l'auteur d'une élégante traduction allemande du drame si sévèrement jugé; d'accord aussi avec M. Shankar Pandit, l'éditeur du texte Sanskrit de Bombay, nous dirons que dans les pensées, et jusque dans la manière de les exprimer, dans le dialogue et dans les stances tout présente avec le style de *Sakountalâ* et d'*Ourvaçî* un air de famille si marqué, qu'il est impossible de n'y pas reconnâitre le même auteur."

We must confess that this profession of faith on the part of M. Foucaux gives us considerable satisfaction. We have occasionally felt twinges of scepticism on discovering some of the expressions and thoughts, on which Mr. Shankar Pandit lays great stress as characteristic of Kâlidâsa's style, in Sanskrit dramas not ordinarily attributed to the author of the *Śakuntalâ*. The traditional belief is the more comforting doctrine, and it is pleasant to find it supported by such good critical authority.

The translation at present before us is evidently intended for the general reader, and therefore we shall not criticize the transliteration of the Sanskrit names. The spelling 'Sakountalâ' wears a somewhat unlovely aspect to a British eye, but is, we suppose, justified by sound phonetic reasons in the Gallic land. 'Tchandrikâ' is, no doubt, a choice of evils, but we should prefer the other alternative, however terrible it might be.

We feel, too, that our nationality is somewhat in our way in passing judgment upon the translation itself. It seems to us to be full of point and grace, but this is a question which none but Frenchmen are qualified to decide. It is as difficult for a Briton to discover Sanskritisms in French as to point out the objectionable Patavinities in Livy. One thing, however, is certain—that it is a very faithful representation of the original. In one or two points we feel disposed to differ from M. Foucaux. For instance, on page 54 we find the stage direction *Iravati entre en simulant l'ivresse*. This does not seem to us quite literal. We believe that there was no 'simulation' in the case. M. Foucaux seems to agree with us a little further on. We find on the same page Iravati *s'avançant aussi vite que le permet son état d'ivresse*. In a note on the Intermezzo we find the Mandâkinî explained as *L'un des bras du Gange*. Mr. Shankar Pandit's view seems to us the true one:—"There is no doubt that the Mandâkinî of the present passage is a river of the Dekhan. And further it is probable that it may here stand for the Narmadâ, in conformity with a practice, still very common all over India, of designating any sacred river by the most sacred river-name, as Gangâ, &c." He goes on to observe that one of the MSS. he has used gives the Prâkrit equivalent of Narmadâ. This view harmonizes better with the other geographical notices in the play. But both of the passages we have quoted may be literary 'economies.'

It cannot be denied that, among Englishmen at any rate, there exists a belief that no Sanskrit literature will repay perusal. This is due to the fault of the Sanskritists themselves, who, as a general rule, show no judgment in selecting for translation works which possess literary merit and are of general interest. The three Sanskrit compositions which have been selected to form part of the *Bibliothèque Orientale Elzévirienne* are perhaps as favourable specimens of the Hindu muse as could be chosen. The first to appear, viz. the Stanzas of Bhartṛihari, by M. Regnaud, has already been reviewed in our columns.

The *Mâlavikâgnimitra*, though the plot turns on a mere palace intrigue, is interesting as a picture of Indian manners at a time when Buddhism was still a favoured religion, and the Hindu genius possessed an *élan* which is now lost. It is written in a witty and animated style, and is one of the least tedious of Sanskrit dramas. The interest scarcely ever flags, except perhaps in the third act, where the foot-painting process is rather wearisome to a European reader.

M. Foucaux has adopted the admirable expedient of enclosing those passages, which are metrical in the original, in inverted commas. This will enable his readers to form a better idea of the peculiar character of the Sanskrit drama. The notes are just what is required, without any unnecessary parade of learning. We believe that this attractive little volume will do much to interest the European public in Sanskrit literature.

GURJARA GRANTS, No. II.

THE UMETÂ GRANT OF DADDA II.

(*See Ind. Ant. vol. V. p. 110 ff.*)

BY G. BÜHLER.

THE subjoined grant of Dadda II. of Bharoch was discovered in 1875 by the Rev. Joseph Taylor, of Borsûd, in the house of a Vâṇiâ at U m e t â (Kheḍâ zillâ). Mr. Taylor at first presented me with a paper impression of the plates, and later very kindly moved the owner (not without considerable trouble) to lend the original for a few days. During that time I had a half-size photograph taken, which, as the plates were in a very fair condition, came out very distinct and clear. It is from a copy of this photograph that the annexed photozincograph has been prepared.

The measurements of the plates are 12 inches by 17½. The left-hand ring with the seal is still in its proper position. The latter appears to bear the same inscription as that of Dr. Burn's K h e ḍ â plates, *Śrîsâmantaḍaddaḥ*. But the letters on the seal are so much corroded that it would be impossible to decipher them without the help of the earlier grants. Both the plates and the seal are very massive, and the former nearly free from verdigris. They have been well kept, and probably have been cleaned with tamarind juice. The letters are large and deeply incised, with the exception of the last line of Plate I. and of the beginning of the last line of Plate II. For in the latter the strokes intended to form the last syllables of the word *mâdhava* run one into the other, and the name is not clearly distinguishable even on the photograph.

The grant itself closely resembles the I l â o grant, likewise issued by D a ḍ ḍ a II., which has been published by Professor Bhâṇḍârkar in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. X. pp. 19 *seqq.*, as regards both the letters and the wording. As might be expected from the proximity of their dates—Śaka s. 400 and 417—they are both copies of the same model form. Professor Bhâṇḍârkar's remarks on the characters of the I l â o plates are all applicable to the U m e t â grant also. I have only to add that in a few instances the elements of compound consonants are placed not vertically, the one below the other, but horizontally, side by side. Thus we find for *tta*. (Pl. I. l. 14, Pl. II. ll. 5, 13.) Worthy of notice is also the occurrence of the *virâma* in the shape of a horizontal stroke placed below the vowelless consonant (Pl. I. l. 1., Pl. II. l. 13). The peculiar shape of the letters occurring in the signature of the king have been noticed in my article on the Kâvî plate of J a y a b h a t a,[1] and I still adhere to the opinion that these letters represent the forms used in everyday life. I may add that, since the article on the Kâvî inscription was written, I have received news of a Jaina palm-leaf MS., preserved in the Sanghavinâ pâḍâ Bhaṇḍâr at A ṇ h i l v â d-P â t h a ṇ, which dates from the end of the tenth century A.D., and shows the usual Jaina-Devanâgarî forms.[2] The lately published grant of the first Chaulukya king of Pâthaṇ, Mûlarâja I., which belongs to the same period, is written with the much more antique-looking Kâyastha Devanâgarî character. This fact proves that in the tenth century, at least, the characters used for literary purposes differed from those employed for official documents. It consequently confirms the interpretation which, first, Prof. Dowson, and myself later, have put on the occurrence of two alphabets in the Gurjara plates.[3]

The *vaṁśâvalî* furnishes no new information. It gives the well-known three kings of the Gurjara dynasty—D a d d a or D a d a I.,[4] J a y a b h a t a, surnamed V î t a r â g a, and D a d d a II., surnamed P r a ś â n t a r â g a, whose names were first correctly given by Professor Bhâṇḍârkar. Little information regarding the events of their reigns can be gathered from the inscriptions of Dadda II. An allusion to the war with V a l a b h î, of which J a y a b h a t a speaks in the *Kâvî* grant, is, in my opinion, contained in the epithet *payonidhîkṛitobhayataṭavanalekhavihṛitaniraṅkuśadânapravâhapravṛittadig-*

[1] *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 110.

[2] The information comes from Pandit Nârâyaṇśankar of Surat, who spent more than six months at Pâthan and carefully examined the palm-leaf MSS. preserved there.

[3] The spelling is worse in our grant than in the Ilâo *śâsana*. A good many mistakes are due to carelessness on the part of the engraver. Others, *e.g. śamaya* (Pl. I. l. 3) for *samaya*, *nistrimśa* (*ibid.*) for *nistrinśa*, *samvachchhara* (Pl. II. l. 6) for *saṁvaṭsara*, belong probably to the writer of the original, whose ignorance of Sanskrit is also attested by such grammatical mistakes as *grâmaḥ - - pratipâditam*, *likhitaṁśchaitat*, &c.

[4] I consider the latter merely a misspelling. D a d d a corresponds to the modern D â d â-j î, and the first syllable ought therefore to have two consonants.

dantiguṇasamûhaḥ (Pl. II. ll. 9-10).[5] But it is so dark that without the Kâvî plate nothing could be made of it. My explanation of the epithet *adhikagurusnehasampatkavimaladiśodbhâsitajîvalokaḥ*, 'who possesses an exceeding store of affection for his spiritual guide, and has illuminated the world of the living by his pure precepts' (Pl. I. l. 12), especially if taken together with the preceding and following sentences, permits perhaps the inference that Dadda II. was a particularly pious ruler, and something of a religious reformer. But it is impossible to say what he really did in this direction, as it is not even clear to which sect he belonged. It is more satisfactory that the discovery of the situation of Nândîpurî of the Gurjara plates allows us to determine the exact site of the capital of these kings. Professor Bhândârkar asserts that 'the seat of the Gurjara dynasty was Bharoch,' and adds that this appears to have been the name of the city, as well as of the country around it.[6]

The latter statement is quite correct, the former nearly so. The town and the district have, no doubt, borne the same name from very early times. But the Gurjara kings did not reside in the town itself; they lived in a fort just outside the gates. The two Kheḍâ grants of Dadda II. are both dated *nândîpurîtaḥ*, 'from Nândîpurî.'[7] The analogy of the expression *valabhîtaḥ*, 'from Valabhî,' which occurs on many Valabhî grants, led me to conjecture that this must be the name of the Gurjara capital. My inquiries for an old site bearing this appellation remained for a long time without result. At last Râo Sâheb Gopâljî G. Desai, Deputy Educational Inspector of Bharoch, learned from Bharoch Brâhmaṇs that an old fort of this name had existed just outside the Jhadeśvar gate, to the east of Bharoch. This statement, which is said to be supported also by the *Revâmâhâtmya*, fully agrees with the information regarding Dadda's residence derived from the Ilâo and Umetâ plates. Both open with the phrase *Oṁ svasti vijayavikshepât bharukachchhapradvâranâsakât*. It cannot be doubtful that *vâsakât* must be read for *nâsakât*, which latter word is utterly without meaning. The document from which the coppersmith who incised the inscription copied was probably written throughout in the current-hand characters which he has preserved in the signature, and in these the *va* had, without doubt, the form , which appears in *svahasto* and *vitarâga* (Pl. II. l. 16) and on the Râṭhor grants. Thus he came to read and to write instead of . But, independently of this consideration, the correction is made extremely probable by the occurrence of phrases like *jayaskandhâvârât khuddavedîyavâsakât* or *bhadropâttavâsakât* on the Valabhî plates. The meaning of the corrected phrase can only be "*Om*., Hail! From the camp of victory which dwells, *i.e.* is fixed, before the gates of Bharoch."[8] This fits the fort of Nândîpurî, outside the Jhadeśvar gate, exactly. It may therefore be considered certain that the seat of the Gurjara government was located not in Bharoch itself, but close to its eastern gate. I may add that in many other cases the palaces of Hindu râjâs lie just outside the gates of the chief towns of their dominions. A particularly striking instance of this kind is the residence of the Râjâ of Bikâner, which lies at a distance of several hundred yards, and entirely separate from the town, towards the north-west.

The date of the grant, Vaiśâkha Paurṇamâsî or śuddha 15 of Śaka saṁvat 400, teaches us nothing new, as we know from the Ilâo grant that

[5] See below, and *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 111.

[6] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. X. p. 21.

[7] See *Jour. R. As. Soc. N. S.* vol. I. p. 273, where Professor Dowson has mistranslated the word.

[8] Professor Bhândârkar, misled by the unusual expression *vikshepa* for *skandhâvâra*, and the mistake *nâsakât* for *vâsakât*, changes the latter to *nâśakât*, and translates, "Security [freedom] from interruption in the race of victory calculated to violate the gate of the city of Bharukachchha." The objections to this rendering are: (1) That *svasti* at the beginning of inscriptions is always used as an interjection, and never connected with the following words. (2) That *pradvâra* does not mean '*gate*,' but 'the place in front of the gates' (vide *Pet. Dict.* s. v.), and that *pradvâra* on the plate cannot, as he thinks, be read *pû(r)dvâra* also, as *pû* on the Gurjara plates is (vide *pûrita*, Pl. I. l. 5). The form for *pû* is known to me only from the Chaulukya and similar plates in Kâyastha-Devanâgarî, as well as from the Śâradâ and Jaina Devanâgarî MSS. (3) That *nâśakât* does not mean '*calculated* to injure.' (4) That the analogy of numerous other grants, especially of all those issued by Valabhî and Gurjara princes, requires that the place where the grant was issued should be named. With respect to my own translation, I have to state that I have been unable to find a lexicographical authority for the meaning, 'camp,' which I have assigned to *vikshepa*. I base my interpretation chiefly on the fact that the word occupies exactly the place where other inscriptions have *skandhâvâra*, 'camp.' Possibly *vikshepa* may be a hitherto untraced technical word which possesses a meaning slightly different from *skandhâvâra*. It may mean 'cantonment' or 'permanent camp.' The final decision of this question must be reserved for the future. It ought, however, to be noted that *balam nikship* is used in the sense of 'to cause an army to pitch camp' (see *Pet. Dict.* s. v. *kship* + *ni*).

UMLTÁ GRANT. 2ND PLATE.

HALF THE ORIGINAL SIZE.

Dadda II. reigned at least until Śaka saṁvat 417. I have not the slightest doubt that the Śaka era meant here is, as Professor Bhâṇḍârkar has first shown, the era beginning in 78-9 A.D., and that the Umetâ plate is just 1400 years old.

The grantee was a native of Kânyakubja or Kânoj, a Bahvṛicha, *i.e.* Ṛigvedî, Bhaṭṭa Mâdhava, son of Bhaṭṭa Mahîdharâ, who was conversant with all the four Vedas. The village of Niguḍa was granted to him for the purpose of defraying the expenses of an *Agnihotra* and other sacrificial rites. It is a matter of great regret that, in spite of numerous inquiries made in Central and Northern Gujarât, it has been hitherto impossible to identify the Bhukti and the villages mentioned in the grant. I suspect that they were situated in the Gaikvâḍî districts. Of some importance is the name of the official Mâdhavabhaṭṭa, who wrote the grant, as the writer of the Ilâo grant was Reva, the son of Mâdhava. The occurrence of Mâdhava's name on our plate is a strong proof in favour of its genuineness.

In conclusion I will repeat what I have already stated in a note to the article on Jayabhaṭa's Kâvi plate,[9] viz. that the Umetâ *śâsana* possesses great interest, because it is the original according to which a Valabhî grant attributed to Dharasena II. has been manufactured. This forgery belongs to the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, and was first noticed by Dr. Bhâû Dâjî.[10] I have only once been able to get hold of it, for a few minutes. But the first glance satisfied me that it is almost an exact copy of the Umetâ grant, in which nothing but the kings' names seemed to have been altered. The characters even are Gurjara, not Valabhî letters. As this forgery is probably ancient, it may assist in settling the initial date of the era of the Valabhî plates. For it may be presumed that the forger chose the name of a king whose times were not too far distant from those of the real donor.

Plate I.

[1] ओ स्वस्ति. विजयविक्षेपात् भरुकच्छप्रद्वारावसक्त् सकलघनपटलविनिर्गतरज-[11]
[2] निकरकरावबोधितकुमुदधवलयशप्रतापस्थगितनभोमंडलोनेकसमरसंकटप्रमु-
[3] खगतनिहतशत्रुसमंतकुलावधुप्रभातशमयरुदितफलोद्गीयमानविमलनिस्त्रिंशप्रतापो दे-
[4] वद्विजातिगुरुचरणकमलप्रणमोद्घृष्टवज्रामणिकोटिरुचिरादिधितिविराजितमकुटो-
[5] द्भासितशिराः दिनानाथातुरभ्यागतार्थिजनसृष्टपरिपूरितविभवमनोरथोपचीयमानतृ-
[6] विष्टपैकसहायधर्म्मसंचयः प्रणयपरिकुपितमानिनीजनप्रणामपुर्व्वमधुरावचनोपपा-
[7] दितप्रसादप्रकाशिकृतविदग्धनगरकस्वभावो विमलगुणपंजरक्षिप्तबहलकलितिमिरनिचय श्री-
[8] मद्दद्दस्य सूनु समदप्रतिद्वंद्विगजगटाभेदिनिस्त्रिंशविक्रमप्रकटितमृगपतिकिसोरविर्य-
[9] वलेपः पयोनिधीकृतउभयतटप्ररूढधनलेवविहृतनिरंकुशदानप्रवाहप्रवृतदिग्द-
[10] न्तिविभ्रमगुणसमुहः स्फटिककर्पुरपिण्डपण्डुरयशश्चन्दनचर्चिताङ्गसमुन्नतगगनलक्ष्मीप-
[11] योधरोसंगः श्रीजयभट्टस्तस्यत्मज प्रतिहतसकलजगद्व्यापिदोषाधिकारविजृंभितसं-
[12] ततातमोवृत्विरधिकगुरुस्नेहसंपत्कविमलद्दिशोद्भासिताजिवलोकः परमबोधसमनुगंतो
[13] विपुलगुर्ज्जरनृपान्मयप्रदीपतोमुपगतः समधिगतपंचमहाशब्दमहाराजाधिराजश्रीमद्दद्दः

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[9] *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 110.

[10] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. VIII. p. 244.

[11] L. 1, read ओं, वासकात्. The व used here is the current-hand letter: see remarks below. L. 2, read यशःप्र°. L. 3, read प्रमुखा°;—सामंतकुलवधू°. — समय;—निस्त्रिंश°. L. 4, read प्रणामो°; वज्र°;—रुचिरदीधि°;— मुकुटो. L. 5, read दीना°;—तुराभ्यागं°;—क्लिष्ट; विविष्टपै°. L. 6, read पूर्वमधुरवचनो°. L. 7, read प्रकाशीकृत°; नागरक°; °निचय:. L. 8, read सूनु:; घटा°, निस्त्रिंश°; किशोरवीर्या°. L. 9, read °कृतोभय°;—प्ररूढ,—वनलेप according to Prof. Bhândârkar's correction;—प्रवृत्त° according to the same. L. 10, read समूह: कर्पूर°;—पाण्डुर. L. 11, read रोत्संग:;—जयभट°; °स्यात्मज:. विजृम्भित°: L. 12, read °तत°;—वृत्तिर°, according to Prof. Bhândârkar's correction; जीव°. L. 13, read नृपान्वय-प्रदीपतामु°.

[14] कुशली सर्व्वानेव राष्ट्रपतिविषयपतिग्रामकुटायुक्तकानियुक्तकाधिकमहत्तरादीन्समाज्ञापयति[12]
[15] अस्तु वो विदितं यथा मय मातापित्रोरात्मनश्चैवामुष्मिकपुन्ययशोभिवृद्धये कान्यकुब्जवा-
[16] स्तव्यतचतुर्व्वेदसमान्यवशिष्ठसगोत्रबह्वृचसब्रह्मचारिभट्टमहिधरस्तस्य सुनु भट्टमधव

Plate II.

[1] वलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रपञ्चमहायज्ञादिक्रियोत्सर्पणार्थं कमणीयशोडशतं[13]
[2] भुक्त्यन्तःपातिनिगुडग्रामोस्यघटस्थनानि पुर्वस्यं दिशि वघौरिग्रामः दक्षिणस्यां दिशि
[3] फलहवद्रग्रामःप्रतिच्यां दिशि विहाणग्रामः उतरस्यां दिशि दहिथलिग्रामः एवमयं स्वचतुराघट-
[4] नविशुद्धो ग्रामः सोदृङ्ग सपरिकर सधान्यहिरन्यादेय सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिक समस्तराजकियानमप्रवेश्य
[5] अचन्द्रार्कर्ण्णवक्षितिसरित्पर्वतसमकालिन पुत्रपौत्रान्वयक्रमोपभोग्य पुर्वप्रत्तदेवब्रह्मदायव-
[6] र्ज्जमभ्यान्तरसिद्धयशकनृपकालातीतसंवत्सरशतचतुष्टये वैशाखपौर्ण्णमास्यां उदकातिसर्गेण प्रतिपा-
[7] दितं यतोस्योचितय ब्रह्मदायस्थित्या कृषतः कर्षयतो भुंजतो भोजयतः प्रतिदिशतो वा न व्यासेधः
[8] प्रवर्तितव्य तथागामिभिरपि नृपतिभिरस्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैर्वा सामान्यभूमिदानफलमवेत्य विन्दूल्लोलान्य-
[9] नित्यान्यैश्वर्याणि तृणाग्रलग्नजलबिन्दुचञ्चलञ्च जीवितमाकलय्य स्वदायनिर्विशेषोयमस्मद्दायोनुम-
न्तव्यः पा-
[10] लयितव्यश्च तथा चोक्तं बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः यस्यय्रस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्यतस्य
तदा फलं
[11] यश्चाज्ञानतिमिरवृतमतिराच्छींद्यादाच्छिद्यमानमनुमोदेत वा स पञ्चभिर्म्महापातकैश्चरूपपातकैश्च
[12] संयुक्तः स्यदिति उक्तं च भगवता वेदव्याशेन व्याशेन षष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः
आच्छे-
[13] ना चातुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् यानीह दत्तानि पुरातनानि दानानि धर्म्मार्थयशस्कराणि
[14] निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यत्नद्रक्ष नराधि-
[15] पः महीं महीमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं लिखितंश्चैतत्पदानुजीविश्रीबलाधिकृतागिलकसु-
[16] निना माधवभट्टेन स्वहस्तोयं मम श्रीवितरागसूनो श्रीप्रसंतरागस्य

Translation.

Om. Hail! From the camp of victory fixed before the gates of Bharukachchha.[14] There was the illustrious Dada; the splendour of his fame brilliant like the water-lily that uncloses to the rays of the regent of the night when he issues forth from a dense bank of clouds, veiled the firmament;[15] the might of his bright sword was always loudly proclaimed by its result, the morning-wail of the wives of crowds of hostile chieftains who had gone forth to meet him in numerous battles and had been

[12] L. 14, read ग्रामकूटायुक्तकानियु as *áyuktakas* and *niyuktakas* are frequently mentioned together in other grants;—समाज्ञापयति. L. 15 read मया; °पुण्य°. L. 16, read तच्चातार्व्वयसामान्य- वसिष्ठ°;—°महीधरसूनुभट्टमाधवाय.

[13] L. 1, read बलि;—यज्ञादिक्रियो°;—perhaps षोडशन°. L. 2, read °रयाघाटस्थानानि;—पूर्वस्यां. L. 3, read प्रतीच्यां. Possibly विन्हाणग्रामः. Read उत्तरस्यां;—°राघाटन°. L. 4, read सोद्रङ्ग:; सोपरिकर: सधायहिरण्यादेय:—°विष्टिक:—कीयानाम°. L. 5, read आचन्द्रार्काण्णव; कालान:—भोग्य:; पूर्वे°. L. 6, read आभ्यन्तरसिद्धया-.; °सवत्सर°. It ought to be noted that the second *n* in पौर्ण्ण looks like a dental *n*. L. 7, read दित:;—°तया. L. 8, read प्रवर्तितव्य:—सामान्यं. L. 9, read °तृणाग्र°; instead of ग्र in चञ्चल and other words a sign resembling ण occurs on these and on the Ilão plates. Read यमस्मद्दा°. L. 11, read °राच्छिद्या° *Dele* श्च in °महापातकैश्च. L. 12, read स्यादिति; व्यासेन षष्टिं. L. 14, read यत्नाद्र°. L. 15, read प नराधिप;—लिखितंचै°. L. 16, read °नुना;—*mádhava* looks on the facsimile and on the photo. like *mala* श्रीवीतरागसूनोः श्रीप्रशान्त°.

[14] Regarding the translation of this passage see above.

[15] This and the following sentences represent each one *Bahuvrîhi* compound. Professor Bhândârkar takes *yaśah pratâpa* as a Dvandva compound, which is also possible.

slain;[16] on his head glittered a diadem that shone with the refulgent rays of millions of diamonds, polished by his prostrations at the lotus-feet of gods, Brâhmans, and other venerable persons;[17] his store of religious merit, the only friend in heaven, was always being increased in consequence of his liberally fulfilling the desire for wealth of the poor, of the helpless, of the sick, of the wayfarer, of beggars, and of the distressed; he proved his cleverness and polished manners in settling his love-quarrels with proud damsels through prostrations and sweet words; and he threw the dense darkness of the Kali age into the cage of his bright virtues.

His son was the illustrious Jayabhaṭa, who showed the proud valour of a young lion, since by the strength of his sword (*nistriṁśavikrama*) he destroyed troops of hostile elephants mad with rut, just as the lion with fearless stride (*nistriṁśavikrama*) kills numbers of rutting elephants which attack him.[18] He possessed in the highest degree the sportive qualities of the guardian elephants of the quarters of the horizon, because he made expeditions in the jungles growing on both the shores (*of the gulf of Khambay*), just as the elephants roam in the forests growing both on the shores (*of the western and eastern oceans*), and because his bounty flowed constantly and without stint, just as the elephants constantly shed copious ichor (*niraṅkuśaddânapravâhapravṛitta*).[19] He covered with the sandal-ointment of his glory, which was brilliant like crystal or like a lump of camphor, (his own) body and the high bosom (*samunnatapayodhara*) of Fortune who resembles the sky with its high-rising clouds (*samunnatapayodhara*).[20]

His offspring is the great king of kings the illustrious Dadda, who has dispelled the intense darkness that had grown thick through the power of evil and had overspread the whole world[21],—who possesses an exceeding store of affection for his spiritual guide, and has illuminated the world of the living by his pure precepts[22],—who possesses true spiritual knowledge,—who has become the luminary of the extensive Gurjara dynasty, (*and*) who has obtained the five great titles.

(*He,*) being in good health; addresses these commands to all governors of zillâs, governors of tâlukâs, headmen of villages, officials and *employés*, great men, chief men, and others:—Be it known to you, that, for the increase of my parents' and of my own merit in the next world and fame, I have granted, with heartfelt[23] devotion, confirming the gift by a libation of water, on the day of the full-moon of Vaiśâkha, in the year four-hundred of the Śaka era, to Bhaṭṭa Mâdhava, the son of Bhaṭṭa Mahîdhara, an inhabitant of Kânyakubja, who belongs to the Chaturvedîs of that (*town*), and to the Vasishthagotra in general, and studies the Bahvṛicha (*śâkhâ of the Veda*), for the performance of the *Bali, Charu, Vaiśvadeva, Agnihotra*, the five *Mahâyajñas*, and similar rites, the village of Niguḍa, situated in the Kamaṇîyaśodaśata Bhukti, the boundaries of which are—to the east the village of Phalahavadra, to the west the village of Vihâṇa, to the north

[16] Professor Bhândârkar changes *ghala* to *chhala*, I think, unnecessarily. His translation omits the word *pravidhâgata*. *Prabhâtasamagarjadita* refers both to the fact that the widows of Dadda's enemies naturally renewed their lamentations on re-awakening to a consciousness of their sorrows, and to the custom that the kings of ancient India used to be awakened by the hymns of their bards: compare, *e.g.*, *Vikramânkachaṛita* XI. 73 *et seqq.*

[17] The diamonds, I think, received an additional polish not by being rubbed against the feet of gods, &c., but by touching the ground during the king's prostrations. *Guru* includes, besides *preceptors*, parents and other persons to whom reverence is due.

[18] In my opinion *nistriṁśavikrama* is intended to convey a double meaning, though Prof. Bhândârkar renders one only. A pandit would hardly allow to pass so splendid an opportunity for a pun. *Vikrama*, if referred to the lion, may either be translated by 'stride or jump,' or by 'attack.'

[19] Regarding this passage see also *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 111.

[20] Professor Bhândârkar's translation omits the word *anga*, 'body,' which must refer to the king. The links of this chain of puns are the following:—The king gained glory; according to the custom of the Kavis, glory is compared to every substance of white or brilliant colour. To the latter belongs also sandal-ointment. Sandal-ointment is rubbed over the body, especially over the breast. Hence the king's body may be said to be covered with the sandal-ointment of his glory. Lakshmî (Fortune) is, according to Hindu ideas, the spouse of the king. In embracing Lakshmî the king transfers portions of the sandal on his breast to her bosom. The double meaning of *payodhara*, 'cloud' and 'bosom,' finally suggests the comparison of Lakshmî with the firmament, which is considered particularly fitting, because the king's glory may also be said to cover the sky (compare above, the description of Dadda I.).

[21] *Dosha*, which I have translated, with Prof. Bhândârkar, by 'evil,' means, strictly speaking, 'faulty activity,' which prevents the attainment of final emancipation.

[22] My translation differs considerably from Prof. Bhândârkar's, and this difference is partly caused by the new reading *sampatha* instead of *sampanna*. *Vimala*, which Prof. Bhândârkar leaves out, proves, in my opinion, that *diśâ* does not mean '*the quarters*,' but '*precepts*.'

[23] This translation is tentative, and based on the analogy of the phrase *paramabhaktyâ* which appears on the Râṭhor and later plates exactly in the position where the earlier ones have *âbhyantara-siddhyâ*. But I am not in a position to prove that *siddhi* is used elsewhere as a synonym of *bhakti*. Professor Bhândârkar omits the compound from his translation.

the village of Dahithali. (*The grant of*) this village—which is not to be entered by any royal officials, and to be enjoyed by (*the grantees'* sons, grandsons, and (*remoter*) descendants—defined by the (*above-stated*) boundaries, includes the . . . . , the rent paid by outsiders,[24] the income in grain and gold, and the right of forced labour, with the exception of former gifts to gods and Brâhmaṇs, is to be valid as long as moon, sun, sea, earth, rivers, and hills endure. Wherefore nobody is to cause hindrance to him who, by virtue of the rights conferred by this gift to a Brâhmaṇ, cultivates (*the land of this village*), causes it to be cultivated, enjoys it, causes it to be enjoyed by others, or assigns it to others[25] . . . . . and this has been written by the servant (*of the king*) Bhaṭṭa Mâdhava, the son of the illustrious commander of the forces, Gilaka. This is my sign-manual, (*that*) of the illustrious Praśântarâga, the son of the illustrious Vîtarâga.

ADDITIONAL VALABHÎ GRANTS, Nos. IX.-XIV.[1]

BY G. BÜHLER.

The first of the six new grants now published was made over to me by the Editor. The second, which was found in Soraṭh (Kâṭhiâvâḍ), I owe to the courtesy of Mr. Bau'd-dîn, Dîvaṇ of H. H. the Navâb of Junâgaḍh. The remaining four have been procured from a Vâṇiâ in Alînâ (Kheḍâ Zillâ), through the good offices of Mr. Harivallabh, Assistant Deputy Educational Inspector, Kheḍâ and Bharuch. It is stated that these plates had been lying in the Vâṇiâ's shop for some time, and that they were found either in Alînâ or in the neighbourhood.

No. IX.—A Grant of Guhasena.

The plates containing this new grant of Guhasena measure 11·9 inches by 7·7. The rings and seal belonging to them are missing, and verdigris and carbonization have considerably injured them, especially the second.

The characters differ not inconsiderably from those of the other grants issued by Guhasena. They are larger and bolder, and come nearest to the style adopted in the plates of Dhruvasena I.

It is a curious fact that, contrary to the custom observed in all other Valabhî plates, the place whence this grant was issued has not been marked, and that the word *svasti* has been left out.

The *vaṁśâvali*, too, differs from that given on other plates. The description of Guhasena is entirely new, and runs as follows:

"(After him, Dhruvasena rules,) the ardent devotee of Maheśvara, the illustrious Mahârâja, Guhasena, who has removed all stains by the power of his prostrations at that (Dhruvasena's) feet; who resembles Kṛishṇa, as he has defeated the armies of his enemies; who resembles the ocean, since he is replete with pure. . . and valuable gems;[2] who resembles the full moon, as he is lovely in the sight of all mankind."

The most puzzling point in this passage is that Guhasena's own father, Dharapaṭṭa, is not mentioned at all, and that he is placed immediately after his uncle Dhruvasena I. This is so much the more curious as in the grants of Guhasena's son, Dharasena, Dharapaṭṭa is not only named, but receives the title Mahârâja, and is spoken of as if he had really ruled.[3] It is perhaps premature to attempt a solution of this difficulty. But from the analogy of similar cases, *e.g.* that of the omission of Vallabharâja on some Chaulukya plates, I am inclined to conjecture that Dharapaṭṭa reigned for a very short time only, and that the writer for this reason did not think it worth while to insert his name. The date of the new grant—Saṁvat 240, *śrâvaṇa śuddha*—is of some interest, as it reduces the gap between Dhruvasena I. and Guhasena by six years.

The grantee was the community of Buddhist monks residing in the vihâra founded by Dhruvasena's sister's daughter Duḍḍâ in

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[24] I take *soparikara* as the correct form, and dissolve this into *upari-kara-sahita*. *Uparî*, usually spelt *upri*, is a Marâṭha revenue term which denotes 'a temporary holder who cultivates land in a village where he does not reside.' It seems to me very probable that the *upari* of the plates is the same word. Compare the Gujarâtî *uparvâḍiâ* and Hindi *uparvâr*, Wilson, *Glossary Ind. Terms*, sub vv.

[25] The portion not translated contains the usual admonitions addressed to successors, and the comminatory verses against a resumption of the grant.

[1] *See* vol. VI. p. 9.

[2] One epithet of *ratna*, which follows *viśuddha* and looks like *adraṇa* or *âdṛiṇa*, I am unable to make out.

[3] See, *e.g.*, below, grants Nos. 10 and 11.

Valabhî. The monastery is mentioned in several other inscriptions.

The name of the village given has been lost. The purpose is the usual one for which grants were given to Bauddhas, viz. repairs to the vihâra, food, clothing, &c. for the monks, and materials for the worship of the Buddhas. In addition the 'acquisition of books of the holy faith' (*saddharmasya pustakopakra . . .*) (Pl. II. 1. 7) is mentioned.

The fact that the Valabhî monasteries possessed libraries is of some interest.

Transcript.

Plate I.

[1] ओं प्रसभप्रणतामित्राणां मैत्रकाणामतुलबलसंपन्नमण्डलाभोगसंसक्तसंप्रहारशत-

[2] लब्धप्रतापः प्रतापोपनतदानमानार्ज्जवोपार्ज्जितानुरागानुरक्तमौलभृतमित्रश्रेणी-

[3] बल[ा]वाप्तराज्यश्रीः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीसेनापतिभटार्कस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादरजोरूणावत-

[4] पवित्रीकृतशिराश्शिरोवनतशत्रुचूडामणिप्रभाविच्छुरितपादनखपंक्तिदिधितिर्द्धीनानाथकृप-

[5] णजनोपर्जाव्यमानविभवः परममहेश्वरः श्रीसेनापतिधरसेनस्तस्यानुजस्तत्प[ा]-

[6] दाभिप्रणामप्रशस्तत्तरविमलमौलिमणिर्म्मण्वादिप्रणीतविधिविधानधर्म्मा धर्म्मराज

[7] इव विहितविनयव्यवस्थापद्धतिरखिलभुवनमंडलाभोगैकस्वामिना परमस्वामिना

[8] स्वयमुपहितरज्याभिषकः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीमहाराजद्रोणसिंहस्सिह इव तस्या-

[9] नुजस्वभुजबलपराक्रमेण परगजघटानीकानामेकविजयी शरणेषिणाम-

[10] शरणमवबोद्धा शास्त्रार्थतत्वज्ञानां कल्पतरुरिव सुहृत्प्रणयिनां यथाभिलषितका-

[11] मफलोपभोगदः परमभट्टारकपादानुध्यातः परमभागवतः श्रीमहाराजध्रुवसेन-

[12] स्तत्पादाभिप्रणामप्रभावप्रक्षालिताशेषकृष्णः कृष्ण इव निरस्तारातिसनासंगरः

[13] सागर इव विशुद्धाद्रणमहार्हरत्नपूर्णः पूर्णचन्द्र इव सर्व्वजनतादर्शनाभिरामः

[14] परममाहेश्वरः श्रीमहाराजगुहसेन × कुशली सर्व्वानेव – – – – – – – – – – –

[15] – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – – राजस्थानीयामात्यायुक्तकविनियुक्तकद्राङ्गिक चाटभट-

Plate II.

[1] – – – – – – – – । दीन्यांश्च] यथा[सं]बध्यमा[न – – – – – – –

[2] – – – – – [वलभी]पुरे पूज्य दुड्डाकारितवि[हार]स्य – – – – क – – – –[3]

[3] – – – – – प्रत्याय स्तर्व्वहिरण्यादेयः सदशापराधः ।सह – – – र – श्च – –

[4] – – – – – चरोवर्त्तेषु चतुर्षु [मा]तापित्रो ४ पुण्याप्यायननिमित्तमात्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मिक फलावा[प्तये] – – – – – – – –

[5] – – – – – – – – – तस्य गन्धपुष्पधूपदीपतैलादिक्रियोत्सर्पणार्थं सद्धर्म्मस्य पुस्तकोपक – – –

[6] – – – – नादेशसमत्वागताष्टादशनिकाय[ा भ्यन्तरा]र्य्यभिक्षु[संघ]स्य चीवरपिण्डपा[त] – – –

[7] – – – – भ – जायविहारस्य च खण्डस्फुटितविशीर्ण्णप्रतिसंस्कारणार्थमाचन्द्रार्कार्ण्णवक्षि[तिस्थिति]-

[8] [सरि]त्पर्व्वतसमकालीनः भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन सोदकेन कमण्डलुना विसृष्टः यतोस्योचित – – – –

[9] – – – – परिपन्थना वा कार्य्यागामिनृपतिभिश्चानित्यान्यैश्वर्य्याण्यस्थिर मानुष्यं सामान्यं च भूमिदानफ[लम]

[10] [वगच्छ]द्भिरयमस्मद्वायोनुमन्तव्य ४पालयितव्यश्च यश्चाच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्यमानं वानुमोदेत स [पञ्चभि]

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[1] L. 1, several letters are indistinct. L. 2, read °वोपार्ज्जिता°. L. 3, read °शावनत°. L. 4, read दीधिति°. L. 5, read °माहेश्वरः. L. 6, read प्रशस्ततर°; —°मौलि°; —°म्मन्वादि°. L. 7, *dele anusvâra* over मण्डल°. L. 8, read °राज्याभिषेकः; °सिंहः. L. 9, read °नुजः; —शरणेषिणां. L. 12, read °सेना°. L. 13, विशुद्धाद्रण° is certainly corrupt.

[2] L. 2, द indistinct, but not doubtful, on account of parallel passages. L. 4, चरोवर्त्तेषु चतुर्षु indistinct. L. 5, तस्य doubtful. Only the *ra* is visible. L. 6, नानादेश doubtful; read समन्यागत°. L. 7, भवजाय indistinct.

[11] [र्म्महा]पातकैस्सोपपातकैस्संयुक्तस्स्यादपि चात्र श्लोका भवन्ति यानीह दारिद्रभयात्नरेन्द्रै[र्धनानि
[12] [धर्माय]तनीकृतानि निर्म्माल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनरादद्दीत विन्ध्या[टवीश्व]-
[13] [तोयासु]शुष्ककोटरवासिनः कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते पूर्व्वदायं हरन्ति ये ॥ स्वद[त्तां परदत्तां]
[14] [यो हरे]त वसुन्धरां गवां शतसहस्रस्य हन्तुः प्राप्नोति किल्बिषमिति ॥ दूतको[त्र — — —
[15] — — — — — — — पुत्रविष्णुसिंहेनेति ॥[6]
[16] [स्वहस्तो] मम श्रीमहाराजगुहसेनस्य ॥ सं २४० श्रावण शु — — —

No. X.—A Grant of Dharasena II.

This grant of Dharasena II. is written on two plates, each 12·5 inches by 8·5. The right-hand ring, which bears the seal with the usual device and inscription, is in its proper place. The characters resemble those of the grant of Dharasena, published below.

The plates are well preserved, and at present free from verdigris. But it is evident that they have been cleaned by the finder.

The execution is extremely bad and slovenly. No distinction is made between *i* and *î*, *u* often stands for *û*, a *d* standing before *dh* is not marked, and *visarga*, *anuṁsika*, and *d* are frequently left out or misplaced. Besides, there are other numerous mistakes in the spelling, and some little *lacunæ*. In their incorrectness our plates resemble those of Śîlâditya V. published in *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 16. The Sanskrit of the grant is not quite correct. The uncertainty in regard to the gender of many words, and the frequent substitution of *sa* for *sha*, show that the writer was more accustomed to Prâkrit than to Sanskrit.

The *vaṁśâvali* teaches nothing new. But the date—*Vaiśâkha*, *badi* 15, of Saṁvat 252—is historically interesting. For the last known grant of Dharasena's father, Guhasena, is dated Saṁvat 248,[7] and the interval during which the death of the latter and the former's accession to the throne must have taken place is thus reduced to four years.

The objects granted are a field and a well in the village of Sûryadâsa, and two more fields in the villages of Jotipadraka and Leśudaka.

As regards the geographical position of these villages, as well as of those in the other grants now published, a separate article will be published later, when the results of inquiries in Kâṭhiâvâḍ have been received.

The measurements of the fields are given in feet, *pâda*, just as in the grant of Dharasena IV., published in *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 16. The *khattâkhattâdtatithita* (Pl. II. l. 7) is new and unintelligible to me.

The grantees are two Brâhmans, Dûśa and Shashthi (Pl. II. l. 9), belonging to the Śândilya gotra, and students of the *Chhandoga-Kauthuma śâkhâ*, *i.e.* of the Kauthuma school of the Sâmadeva, which at the present day is not unknown in Gujarât. *Shashṭi* occurs as a Brâhmanical name in Kaśmîrian works. *Dûśa* is not a Sanskrit word; possibly it may be a Deśî nickname.

Two sets of officials are mentioned in the list (Pl. II. l. 4), *vartmapâlas* and *pratisarakas*, who do not occur in the other grants. *Vartmapâla* means literally 'a protector of the road,' and probably denotes a watchman who is stationed on the road to prevent robberies. At present, too, the highroads in Kâṭhiâvâḍ and Râjputânâ are guarded by such men, whose huts are placed at intervals of two or three *kos*. *Pratisaraka* means 'watchman' in general, and seems to be used here to designate the night watchmen attached to the villages.

Transcript.

Plate I.

[1] ओं स्वस्ति वलभीतः प्रसभ प्रणतामित्राणा मैत्रकाणामतु[ल]बलसंपन्नमण्डलाभोगसंग्रक्तसप्रहारशत[5] लब्धप्रतापः प्र-

[6] L. 15, विष्णु° indistinct.
[7] *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 207.
[5] L. 1, the plates show no distinction between short and long *i*. Read प्रणतामित्राणां; संप्रहार°.

[2] तापो[प]नतदानमानार्ज्जवोपार्ज्जितनुरगनुरक्तमौलिभूतमित्रश्रेणीबलावप्तरजश्रीः **परममहेश्वरः श्री-**[9]
सेनापतिभटार्क-
[3] स्तस्य सुतस्तत्पदरजोरुणावनतपविव्रीकृतशिरा शिरोवनतपशत्रुचूडमणिप्रभाविच्छुरितपादनखप-
क्तिदीधितिर्दीनानाथकृ-
[4] पणजनोपजीव्यमनविभव **परममाहेश्वरः श्रीसेनापतिधरसेनस्तस्यनुज** त्यपदपणामप्रशस्ततर-
विमलमौलिमणि-
[5] र्म्मन्वादिप्रणीतविधिविधानधर्म्मा धर्म्मराज इव विहितविनयव्यवस्थापधातिराखिलभुवनमण्डलाभोगै-
[क] स्वामिना पर-
[6] मस्वामिना स्वयमुपहित रज्यभिशेको महाविश्रणनावपूतराजश्रीः **परममहेश्वर महाराजाश्री-**
द्रोणसिंहः सिंह इव
[7] तस्यनुजः स्वभुजवलपराक्रमेण परगजघटनीकनामेकविजयी शरणेशिणा शरणमवबोध्या शस्त्रा-
र्त्थतत्वा-
[8] ना कल्पतरुरिव सुहृत्प्रणयिना यथाभिलशितफलोपभोगदः **परमभागवतः महाराजध्रुवसेनस्त-**
स्यातुजः
[9] स्तचरणारविन्दप्रणतिप्रविधौताशेशकल्मशः सुविशुधस्वचरितोदकक्षालितासकलकालिकलंकः प्र-
सभनिजिता-
[10] रतिपक्षप्रथितमहिमा **परमादित्यभक्तः श्रीमहाराजधरपट्टस्तस्यात्मजस्तत्पादसपर्य्यावाप्तपुणोदयः**
शैशवत्पभृति खड्गद्वि-
[11] तीयबहुरेव समदपरगजघटास्फोटनप्रकाशितसत्वनिकशस्तत्प्रभावप्रणतारतिचूडरत्नप्रभसंसक्तस-
ख्यपादनखरश्मि-
[12] संहति सकलस्मृतिपिणीतमार्ग्गसंम्यक्परिपालनप्रजाहृदयरजनादद्वर्त्थराजशब्दो रू[प]कांतिस्थै-
र्य्यगाम्भीर्य्यबुधिसंपद्वि
[13] स्मरशशाङ्कद्रिरजोदधितृदशगुरुधेनेशानतिशयान शरणागताभयप्रदानपरतया तृणवदपास्ताशेषस्व-
कार्य्यफल प्र-
[14] र्त्यनाधिकार्त्यप्रदानानन्दितविद्वसुहृत्प्रणयिहृदय पदचरीव सकलभुवनमण्डलाभोगप्रमोदः **परममा-**
[15] **हेश्वरः श्रीमहाराजगुहसेनस्तस्य** सुतस्तत्पदनखमयुखसंतननिपृतजन्हवीजलौघविक्षालिताशेशक-
[16] ल्मश प्रणयिशतसहस्रोपजीव्यभोगसंपत रूपलोभदिवश्रितः सरसमाभिगमिकैर्गुणै सहजशक्ति-
[17] शिक्षाविशेशविस्मपिताखिलधनुर्धरः प्रथमनरपतिसमतिसृष्टनामनुपालयिता धर्म्म-;
[18] दायानामपकर्त्ता

Plate II.

[1] प्रजोपघतकरिणामुपप्लवान दर्शयिता श्रीसरस्वत्योरेकाधिवासस्य सं[ह]तारतिपक्षल-[10]
[2] क्ष्मीपरिक्षोभदक्षविक्रम क्रमोपसप्रप्तविमलपार्थिवश्रीः **परममाहेश्वरो महाराजश्रीधरसेन**

[9] L. 2, read °पार्जिनानुरागानु°,—°वाप्तराज्यश्रीः; °माहेश्वरः, °भटार्कः. L. 3, read °त्पाद°; शिराः; *dele* प before शत्रु; read चूडा; पङ्क्ति. L. 4, read °जीव्यमानविभवः; °स्तस्यानुजः; त्पादप्र. L. 5, read मर्म्मन्वादि; पद्धति; °स्वामिना L. 6, read °भ्वामिना; °राज्याभिषेक°; °राज्यश्रीः, °माहेश्वरः, महाराज°. L. 7, read तस्या°;—ब° घटानीका°;—शरणैषिणां; °बोद्धा शा°. L. 8, read °नां; हृत्प्रणयिनां; °लाषित°;—महारा-ज°;— *dele visarga* at the end of the line. L. 9, read स्तच्च-र्णा°, °ताशेष°, सुविशुद्ध; °क्षालित°. ल्मषः. L. 10, read °राति; परमादि°, °महाराज°; °पुण्यो°, शैशवात्प्र°. L. 11, read °बाहु°; स्फोटन; सत्त्वनिकष°; °तारातिचूडा°; °प्रभा° सम्य°. L. 12, read सहति:; °प्रणीत°; °सम्यक्°; °प्रजाहृदय-रंजनादत्व°; रूप°; बुद्धिसंपद्वि:. L. 13, read °द्भ्राद्रिरा°;—त्रिदश°, धनेशा; शयानः, फलः प्रा°. L. 14, read विद्वत्सु-हृत्प्र°; °हृदयः पादचारिव. L. 15, read त्पाद°; मयूखसं-तानसिस्तजा°;—°ताशेष°. L. 16, °ल्मषः; °मानभोगसंपद्-रूपलोभादिवा°, सरभसमा°; °भिगामि°, °गैः. L. 17, read °विशेषविस्मा°; सृष्टा°.

[10] L. 1, read °पघातका°; °लवानां दर्श°; °राति°. L. 2, read °दक्षविक्रमो विक्रमोपसंप्राप्त. *Dele visarga* after माहेश्वरो.

[3] ×कुशली सर्व्वानेवायुक्तकद्राङ्गिकः महत्तरचटभट्टध्रुवाधिकरणिकदण्डपाशिकभोगाधरणिकशौ-[11]
[4] ल्किकवर्त्मपालप्रतिसरकराजस्थानीयकुमारमात्यदीनन्याश्च यथासबध्यमानका समाज्ञापयत्य-
स्तु वस्सं-
[5] विदितं यथा मया मतापित्रोः पूण्याप्यायनायात्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मिक यथाभिलशितफलावाप्तये = सुर्य्य-
दासग्रामे दक्षि-
[6] णपूर्वसीम्नि पदावर्त्तशतद्वयः वापी च—जोतिपद्रकग्रमे उत्तरपूर्वसीम्नि क्षेत्रपादावर्त्तशतद्वयः विंशोत-
[7] रः लेश्भुदकग्रामे खट्टखट्टावन्थितपादावर्त्तो पञ्चात्रिंशः एतसोदङ्गं सोपरिकरं सवातभूतधान-
हिरण्या-
[8] देयः सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकः समस्तराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयं भूमिच्छिन्द्रनायेन = शाण्डिल्य-
[9] सगोत्रच्छंदोगकौथुमसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणदुशाय तथा ब्राह्मणषष्ठये ॥ बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रा-
[10] तिथिपचमहायज्ञिकाना क्रियाना समुत्सर्पणार्त्थमाचन्द्रार्कार्ण्णवसारित्क्षितिसमकालीन पूत्रपौत्रान्व-
[11] यभोग्य उदकसर्गेण ब्रह्मदेय निखिष्ट यतो-सोचिताया ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्या भुजतः कृशत,
कर्शयतः
[12] प्रदिशतो व न कैश्चित्प्रतिषेधे वार्त्तितव्यमगामिभद्रनृपतिभिश्चास्मद्वशजैरन्यैश्चय्यर्ण्णस्थिर
मानुश्य सामान्य च
[13] भूमिदानफलमवगच्छद्भिरयमस्मदायोनुमन्तव्यः परिपालयितव्यश्च यश्चैनमाच्छिद्याद्याच्छि-
[14] [द्य]मान वानुमोदेत स पंचभिर्म्महापातकैः सोपपातकैः संयुक्त स्यादित्युक्त च भगवता वेदव्या-
सेन व्यास्येन
[15] षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्टति भूमिदः [।]आच्छेता चानुमतां च तानेव नरके वसेत [॥] पूर्व्वदता
द्विजातिभ्यो
[16] यत्नद्रक्ष यूधिष्टिर महीमहीमता श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनम् । यानीहि दारिद्रभयान्नरेन्द्रैर्द्दत्तानि ध-
[17] र्म्मायतनीकृतानि निर्म्माल्यवातप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधु पुनराददीत लिखितस्सन्धिविग्रहा
[18] धिकृतस्कन्दभटेन=स्वहस्तो मम महाराजश्रीधरसेनस्य ॥ दू=चिह्निर सं २५२ वैशख
ब १५

No. XI.—A GRANT OF DHARASENA II.

The grant of Dharasena II. is written on two plates measuring 12·8 inches by 6·5. The only damage which the plates have sustained is the loss of the two rings which connected them. They were, however, covered with a thick layer of verdigris, which in some places withstood all attempts at removal, and makes a few letters doubtful.

The letters, which resemble those of the plates of Dhruvasena I. and of Guhasena's *sâsana* of Samvat 240, are distinct and well incised. The number of clerical mistakes is not very great.

The *vaṁśâvali* is the usual one. It ought, however, to be noted that Dharasena II. receives in this grant also the epithet *mahâsâmanta*, 'the great feudal chief.' One grant of Dharasena II. being dated Samvat 252,[12] and one Samvat 269,[13] the new date 270 does not add much to our knowledge of the length of the reign of the donor.

[11] L. 3, read द्राङ्गिमहत्तरचाट°; दण्डपाशिक. L. 4, read °वर्त्मपाल°; °रामात्यादीनन्यांश्च; °कान्समा°. L. 5, read माता°; पुण्या°;—°भिलषित°; possibly आर्य्यदास°. L. 8, read *anusvâras* instead of the *visargas*; °च्छिद्रन्यायेन. L. 9, read °च्छन्दोग. L. 10, read पञ्च°; यज्ञादीनां क्रियाणां; °कालीन. L. 11, read भोग्यमु°, देयं; °र्त्तं; यतोस्यो; भुञ्जतः; कृषतः, कर्षयतः. L. 12, read वा; °मागामि°; °द्रंश°; °र्य्याण्यस्थिरं; मानुष्यं सामान्यं. L. 13, read °मवगच्छद्भि°; °द्यायो°; व्यश्च °माच्छिन्द्या° व्यासेन. L. 14, read °मानं, °युक्तः. L. 15, read षष्टिं; तिष्ठति; छेत्ता; °मन्ता;तान्येव; वसेत्; °दत्तां. L. 16, यत्नाद्र°; युधि°; महीं; °मतां; यानीह. L. 17, read °वान्त°; साधुः; न्धिविग्रहा°. L. 18, read चिन्हिरः; वैशाख.

[12] *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 60.

[13] *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 12

The grantee is a Rigvedî Brâhman of the *Sârkarâkshi gotra*—Vishṇumitra, son of . . mitra, who, a native of Ânartapura, had settled in Khetaka (Pl. II. ll. 4-5).

The object granted is the village of Âśilâpallikâ, in the tâlukâ (*pathaka*) of Baṇḍarijidra, which belonged to the zillâ (*âhâra*) of Khetaka. The word *âhâra*, which is closely connected with the *âharaṇî* occurring in the *śâsana* of Dhruvasena I., and Dharasena II. (of Saṁvat 269), and which appears also in a grant of Dharasena IV. (*Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p 45), is evidently a synonym of *vishaya*, 'zillâ,' which here is added to it. *Pathaka*, its sub-division, has been met with in the grant of Dhruvasena II. (*Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 13), and in the inscriptions of the Chaulukyas.[14]

The purpose for which the grant has been given is, as in the case of all Brâhmanical recipients, the performance of sacrifices.

The officers specified by name are the Dûtaka, the Sâmanta or feudal chief Śîlâditya, and the *sândhivigrahika* and *divirapati*, *i.e.* Divân and chief secretary, Skandabhata. Among the officials addressed by the king in the preamble to the grant occurs a new class, the *kâthebarika*. I can only register the word, as I am unable to explain it.

TRANSCRIPT

Plate I.

[1] ओं ॥ स्वस्ति विजयस्कन्धावारात् भर्तृदाहनकवासकात्प्रसभप्रणतामित्राणां मैत्रकाणामतुल-[15]
बलसंपन्नमण्डलाभोगसंस-
[2] क्तसंप्रहारशतलब्धप्रतापः प्रतापोपनतदानमानार्ज्जवोदार्ज्जितानुरागोनुरक्तमौलभृतामित्रश्रेणीबलावप्त-
[3] राज्यश्रीः **परममाहेश्वरः श्रीसेनापतिभटार्कस्तस्य** सुतः स्तत्पादरजोरुणावनतपवित्रीकृतशिरः
शरोवन [त] शत्रु-
[4] चूडामणिप्रभाविच्छुरितदादनखपङ्क्तिदीधितिः दीनानाथकृपणजनोपजीव्यमानविभवः **परममाहे-**
श्वरः श्रीसे-
[5] **नापतिधरसेनः** तस्यनुजः तत्पाद[प्रणाम]प्रशस्ततराविमलमौलिमणिर्म्मन्वादिप्रणितविधिविधान-
धर्म्मा धर्म्म-
[6] राज इव विनयविहितव्यवस्थापद्धतिरखिलभुवनमण्डलाभोगैकस्वामिना परमस्वामिना स्वयमुप-
हितरा-
[7] ज्याभिषेक महाविश्राणनावपूतरज्यश्रीः **परममाहेश्वरः महाराजश्रीद्रोणसिंहः** सिंह इव तस्यानुजः
[8] स्वभुजबलपराक्रमेण परगजघटानीकानामेकविजयी शरणैषिणां शरणमवबोढा शास्त्रार्थतत्वानां
[9] कल्पतरुरिव सुहृत्प्रणयिनां यथाभिलषितकामफलभोगदः **परमभागवतः महाराजश्रीध्रुवसेनः**
तस्या-
[10] नुजः तच्चरणारविंदप्रणतिप्रविधौतावशेषकल्मषः सुविशुद्धस्वचरितोदकप्रक्षालिताशेषकलिक-
लङ्कः प्र-
[11] सभविर्जितारतिपक्षप्रथितमहिमा **परमादित्यभक्तः महाराजश्रीधरपट्टः** तस्य सुतः तत्पादसप-
र्य्यावाप्त-
[12] पुण्योदयः शैशवात्प्रभृति खन्तद्वितीयबाहुरेव समदपरगजघटास्फोटनप्रकाशितसत्वनिकषः तत्प्रभाव-
[13] प्रणतारातिचूडारत्नप्रभासंसक्तसह्यदादनखरश्मिसंहतिः सकलस्मृतिप्रणीतमार्ग्गसम्यक्परिपालन-
प्रजाहृदय-

[14] *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. pp. 194 *et seqq.*

[15] L. 1, read संपन्न°. L. 2, read °पार्ज्जित°; °बाप्त°. L. 3, read सुतस्त°; °शिरा-; शिरो°. L. 4, read °पाद°. L 5, read तस्या°, °प्रणीत°. L. 6, read विधि विनय-°. L 7, read °राज्यश्री- L, 11, read °निर्जितारति°. L. 12, read खड्ग° L 13, read °सह्यपाद°.

[14] रंजानादन्वर्त्यराजशब्दोभिरूपकान्तस्थैर्य्यधैर्य्यगांभीर्य्यबुद्धिसंपद्भि. स्मरशशाङ्कोद्रिराजोदधितृदश-[16] गुरुधनेशानेति-

[15] शयान· शरणागताभयप्रदानपरतया तृणवदपास्ताशेषस्वकार्य्यफलिः प्रार्थनाधिकार्थप्रदानानंदि· तविद्वसु

[16] ह्द-दयः पादचारीव सकलभुवनमण्डलाभोगप्रमोदः **परममाहेश्वरः महाराजश्रीगुहसेन**स्तस्य· सुतस्तत्पादन-

[17] खमयूखसंतानविसृतजाह्नवीजलौघप्रक्षालिताशेषकल्मषः प्रणयिशतसहस्योपर्जाव्यमानभोगसद्रूपलोभा-

[18] विवेश्रितः सरसमाभिगमिकैर्गुणैः सहजशिक्षाशिक्षाविशेषविस्मापिताखिलधनुर्द्धरः प्रथमनरपति-सृष्टानां

[19] अनुपालयिता धर्म्मदायानामपाकर्त्ता प्रजोपघातकारिणामुपप्लवानां दर्शयिता श्रीसरस्वत्योरेकाधिवस-

[20] स्य सँहतारातिपक्षलक्ष्मीपरिभोगदक्षविक्रमः विक्रमोपसंदाप्तविमलपार्थिश्रीः **परममाहेश्वरः**

Plate II.

[1] **महासामन्तमहाराजश्रीधरसेन**× कुशली सर्व्वानेव स्वानायुक्तकविनियुक्तकद्राङ्गिकवाहत्तरभट[17]

[2] चारभटधुवाधिकरणिकशौल्किकचोरोद्धरणिकबण्डपाशिककाथेवरिकविषयपतिराजस्थानीयो .

[3] परिककुमारामात्यहस्त्यश्वारोहादीनान्यांश्च यथासंबद्धयमानकान्समनुदर्शयत्यस्तुवस्संविदितं यथा

[4] मया मातापित्रोः पुण्याप्यायनायात्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मिकयथाभिलषितफलावाप्तये **आनर्त्तपुर**विनि-

[5] **र्गतखेटक**निवासिशार्कराक्षिसगोत्रबह्वृचसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मण – मित्रपुत्रब्राह्मणविष्णुमित्राय **खे-**

[6] **टकाहार**विषये **बण्डरि**जिद्रिपथकान्तर्गत **अशिलापल्लिका**ग्रामः सोदङ्गः सोपरिकरः

[7] सवातभूतप्रत्याय सधान्यभागभोगहिरण्यदेयः सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकः सदशापराधः समस्त-

[8] राजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयः भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रातिथिपंचमहा-

[9] यज्ञिकानां क्रियाणां समुत्सर्पणार्थमाचन्द्रार्कार्ण्णवसरित्क्षितिस्थितिपर्व्वतसमकालीनः पुत्रपौत्रान्वय-

[10] भोग्यः उदकातिसर्गेण ब्रह्मदायो निसृष्टः यतो[स्योचि]तया ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्या भुंजतः कृषतः कर्ष-

[11] यतः प्रदिशतो वा न कैश्चिद्बाधाते वर्त्तितव्यमागामिभद्रनृपतिभिरस्मद्वंशजैरन्यैर्व्वानित्यान्यैश्चर्य्याण्य-

[12] स्थिरं मानुष्यं सामान्यं च भूमिदानफलमवगच्छद्भिरयमस्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्यः परिपालयितव्य-

[13] श्च यश्चैनमाच्छिन्द्यादाच्छिद्यमानं वानुमोदेत स पंचभिर्म्महापातकैस्सोपपातकैश्च संयुक्तस्स्यादि-त्युक्तं च भगव-

[14] ता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन ॥ षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके

[15] वसेन् बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः यस्ययस्य यदा भूमिः तस्यतस्य तदा फलं ॥ विं-ध्याटवी-

[16] ष्वतोयासु=शुष्ककोटरवासिनः कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते ब्रह्मदेयापहारकाः ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा

[17] यो हरेत वसुन्धरा गवां शतमहस्रस्य हन्तुः प्राप्नोति किल्बिषं ॥ पूर्व्वदत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर

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[16] L. 14, रंजाना°; *dele* भि before रूप; read °कान्ति°, —°लिदश°. L. 15, read °फल:, विद्वत्सु°. L. 16, read ह्न्प्रणविह्रदय·; the upper part of the sign after *hri* is not readable, the lower is *ra* or *ri*. L. 17, read °सहस्रो°. L. 18, read °दिवाधित·;—°माभिगामिकै°;—°शक्ति°; °समतिसृष्टानां. L. 19, read °रेकाधिवास°. L. 20, read °संग्राम°.

[17] L. 1 read °महत्तर°; *dele* °भट. L. 2, read °चाट°;—दण्ड, L. 3, read °न्यांश्च. L. 6, read °टकाहारवि°,—बण्डरिजिद्रि is doubtful, possibly it may be बखोरिजिद्रि. L. 7, read °प्रत्याय:;—°ण्यादेयः. L. 9, read सरित्पर्वत-क्षिति°. L. 13, *dele* च after सोपपातकै:. L. 14, read स्वर्गे, L. 17, read वसुंधरां.

[18] महीं महिमतां श्रष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं ॥ यानीह दारिद्र्यभयानरेन्द्रैः धनानि धर्म्मायतनीकृतानि[18]
[19] निर्म्माल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीतेति=स्वहस्तो मम महाराजश्रीधरसेनस्य ॥
[20] दू=सामन्तशीलादित्यः ॥ लिखितं सन्धिविग्रहाधिकरणाधिकृतदिविरपतिस्कन्दभटेन ॥ सं २७० फागुन ब १०—

No. XII.—A GRANT OF DHARASENA IV.

The plates on which this grant is written measure 14·5 inches by 11. The rings and the seal are missing. Otherwise the plates are well preserved. The letters resemble those of the grant published in *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 16, and are very clear and distinct. Very few clerical errors occur, but a considerable portion of the description of Khâragraha I. (Pl. I. ll. 20-23) is merely a repetition of a passage referring to Dharasena II. The error has been caused by the occurrence of the word शतसहस्रो° in both places.

The *vaṁśávali* offers nothing new. The two published grants of the *supreme sovereign, great king of kings, supreme lord and emperor* Dharasena IV. are dated Saṁvat 326 and 328.[19] I have seen two damaged plates, one preserved at Walâ, and one now in the collection of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, which are dated Saṁvat 322 and Saṁvat 328. The date of our grant, Saṁvat 330, is probably not far distant from the end of Dharasena's reign. For an unpublished grant of his successor, Dhruvasena III., is dated Saṁvat 332. The beginning of Dharasena's reign is less certain, as only one grant of his predecessor, Dhruvasena II., dated 310, has been found.

The grantee is a Rigvedî Brâhman of the *Śârkaráksh gotra*, Nârâyaṇamitra, son of Keśavamitra (Pl. II. ll. 15, 16), a native of Anartapura, who dwelt in the village of Kâsara. It is interesting to note that he receives the epithet *Ânartapura-Châturvidya*, 'a Chaturvedî of Ânartapura,' which apparently shows his *bheda*, or the sub-division of the Brâhmanical community to which he belonged. On other plates we have before the word *châturvidya* the word *tat, i.e. tachchâturvidya*.[20] Our grant shows that in every case the *tat* refers to the name of the home of the Chaturvedî.

The object of the grant (Pl. II. l. 17) is the village of Desurakshitijja, situated in the tâlukâ of Simhapallikâ, and in the zillâ of Khetaka. The purpose for which it is granted is the usual one. The two officers named are the dûtaka, the princess Bhûpâ (Pl. II. l. 25), and the divân and chief secretary, Skandabhata. The appearance of a female in an official capacity is rather startling. It is explicable only if we assume that she discharged the duties of her office vicariously.

The Skandabhaṭa mentioned here is not the same as the minister of Guhasena and Dharasena II., as I have formerly conjectured.[21] The proof that they are different persons lies partly in the impossibility that one man could hold office during ninety years, from Saṁvat 240 to Saṁvat 330, and in the fact that Śilâditya I. had Skandabhaṭa's father, Chandrabhaṭṭi, for his Divân in Saṁvat 286.[22]

TRANSCRIPT.

Plate I.

[1] ओं स्वस्ति विजयस्कन्धावाराद्धर — — वासकात्प्रसभप्रणतामित्राणां मैत्रकाणामतुलबल-
[2] [सं]पन्नमण्डलाभोगसंसक्तप्रहारशतलब्धप्रतापात्प्रतापोपनतदानमानाज्जर्ज्जरोपार्ज्जिता-
[3] नुरागादनुरक्तमौलभृतश्रेणीबलावाप्तराज्यश्रियः परममाहेश्वरश्रीभटार्कादव्यवच्छिन्नराजव-
[4] ँशान्मातापितृचरणारविन्दप्रणतिप्रविधौताशेषकल्मषः शैशवात्प्रभृति खड्गद्वितीयबाहुरेव समद-
[5] परगजघटास्फोटनप्रकाशितसत्वनिकषः तत्प्रभावप्रणतारातिचूडारत्नप्रभासंसक्तपादनखरश्मि-
[6] सँहतिः सकलस्मृतिप्रणीतमार्ग्गसम्यक्परिपालनप्रजाहृदयरञ्जनान्वर्त्थराजशब्दो रूपकान्तिस्थैर्य्य-
गाम्भीर्य्य-

[18] L. 18, read महीमतां श्रेष्ठ ; त्नरे°. L. 20, read फाल्गुन.
[19] *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. pp. 15, 45
[20] Compare, *e.g.*, *Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 209, vol. VI. p. 17.
[21] *Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. p. 173.
[22] *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. XI. p. 362.

[7] बुद्धिसम्पद्विः स्मरशशाङ्काद्रिराजोदधिव्रिदशगुरुधनेशानतिशयानःशरणागताभयप्रदानपरतया तृणव-[23]
[8] दपास्ताशेषस्वकार्य्यफल प्रार्त्थनाधिकार्त्थप्रदानानन्दितविद्वत्सुहृत्प्रणयिहृदयः पादचारीव सकलभुवन-
[9] मण्डलाभोगप्रमोदः **परममाहेश्वरः श्रीगुहसेनस्तस्य** सुतस्तत्पादनखमयूखसन्तानविसृतजाह्नवी-
जलौघ-
[10] प्रक्षालिताशेषकल्मषः प्रणयिशतसहस्रोपजीव्यमानसम्पद्रूपलोभादिवाश्रितः सरभसमाभिगामि[कै]-
र्गुणैस्स-
[11] हजशक्तिशिक्षाविशेषविस्मापिताखिलधनुर्द्धरः प्रथमनरपतिसमतिसृष्टानामनुपालयिता धर्म्मदायाना-
मपाकर्त्ता
[12] प्रजोपघातकारिणामुपप्लवानां दर्शयिता श्रीसरस्वत्योरेकाधिवासस्य सँहतारातिपक्षलक्ष्मीपरिभोगद-
[क्ष]विक्र-
[13] मो विक्रमोपसंप्राप्तविमलपार्थिवश्रीः **परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेनस्तस्य** सुतस्तत्पादानुध्यातः सकल-
जगदानन्द-
[14] नाम्नद्भुतगुणसमुदयस्थगितसमग्रदिङ्मण्डलः समरशतविजयशोभासनाथमण्डला[ग्र]द्युतिभासुरत-
रान्स-
[15] पीठो व्यूढगुरूमनोरथमहाभार[ः] सर्व्वविद्यापरापरविभागाधिगमविमलमतिर[पि] सर्व्वतस्सुभाषितल-
[16] वेनापि सुखोपपादनीयपरितोषःसमग्रलोकागाधगाम्भीर्य्यहृदयोपि सुचरितातिशयसुव्यक्तपरमक[ल्या]-
[17] णस्वभावः खिलीभूतकृतयुगनृपतिपथविशोधनाधिगतोदग्रकीर्त्तिर्द्धर्म्मानुपरोधोज्ज्वलतरीकृतार्त्थसुखस-
म्पदु-
[18] पसेवानिरूढधर्म्मादित्यद्वितीयनामा **परममाहेश्वरः श्रीशीलादित्यस्तस्यानुजस्तत्पादानुध्यातः**
स्वयमुपे[द्र]-
[19] गुरुणेव गुरूणात्यादरवता समभिलषणीयामपि राजलक्ष्मीं स्कन्धासक्तां परमभद्र इव धुर्य्यस्तदाज्ञा-
सम्पा [द]-
[20] नैकरसतयेवोद्वहन्खेदसुखरतिभ्यामनायासितसत्वसम्पत्तिः प्रभावसम्पद्व[शी]कृतनृपतिशतसहस्रो-
[21] पजीव्यमानसम्पद्रूपलोभादिवाश्रितः सरभसमाभिगामिकैर्गुणैस्सहजशक्तिशिक्षाविशेषविस्मापिता-
[22] खिलधनुर्द्धरः प्रथमनरपतिसमतिसृष्टानामनुपालयिता धर्म्मदायानमपाकर्त्ता प्रजोपघातकारिणामु-
[23] पप्लवानां दर्शयिता श्रीसरस्वत्योरेकाधिवासस्य सँहतारातियक्षलक्ष्मीपरिभोगदक्षविक्रमो विक्रमो-
[24] संप्राप्तविमलपार्थिवश्रीः **परममाहेश्वरः श्रीखरग्रहस्तस्य** तनयस्तत्पादानुध्यातः सकलविद्याधिगम-
[25] विहितनिखिलविद्वज्जनमनःपरितोषातिशयः सत्वसम्पदा त्यागौदार्य्येण च वि[ग]तानुसन्धानश-
माहितारति-
[26] पक्षमनोरथाक्षभङ्गः सम्यगुपलक्षितानेकशास्त्रकलालोकचरितग[ह्व]रविभागोपि परमभ-
[27] द्रप्रकृतिरकृत्रिमप्रश्रयविनयशोभाविभूषणः समरशतजयपताकाहरण-

Plate II.

[1] प्रयत्नोदग्रबाहुदण्डविध्वन्सितनिखिलप्रतिपक्षदर्पोदयः स्वधनुःप्रभावपरिभूतास्त्रकौ-[24]
[2] शलाभिमानसकलनृपतिमण्डलाभिनन्दितशासनः **परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेनस्तस्यानुजः**
[3] तत्पादानुध्यातः सच्चरितातिशयितसकलपूर्व्वनरपतिरतिदुस्साधानामपप्रसाधयिता विषयाणा मू-
[4] र्त्तिमानिव पुरुषकारः परिवृढगुणानुरागनिर्भरचित्तवृत्तिभिर्म्मनुरिव स्वयमभ्युपपन्नः प्रकृति-

[23] L. 8, read °फल:. L. 14, read °रांस. L. 20, the passage from सहस्रोपजीव्यमान down to पार्थिवश्री: (line 23) has been repeated by a clerical mistake, while the correct description of Kharagraha has been left out. L. 24, read समाहित°.

[24] L. 1, read °विध्वंसित°. L. 3, read °मपि; —विषयाणां.

[5] भिरधिगतकलाकलापः कान्तिमान्निर्वृतिहेतुरकलङ्क × कुमुदनाथ. प्राज्यप्रतापास्थगितदिगन्तरालप्रध्व[25]
[6] स्तितध्वान्तराशिस्सततोदितसविता प्रकृतिभ्यः परं प्रत्ययमर्थवन्तमतिबहुतिथप्रयोजनानुपन्धमागम-
[7] परिपूर्णं विदधानः सन्धिविग्रहसमासनिश्चयनिपुणः स्थानेनुरूपमादेशं ददद्गुणवृद्धिविधानजनि-
तसंस्का-
[8] रस्साधूनां राज्यसालातुरीयतन्त्रयोरुभयोरपि निष्णातः प्रकृष्टविक्रमोपि करुणामृदुहृदयः श्रुतवानप्य-
[9] गर्व्वित· कान्तोपि प्रशमी स्थिरसौहृदय्योपि निरसिता दोषवतामुदयसमयसमुपजनितजननानुरा-
गपरि-
[10] पिहितभुवनसमर्थितप्रथितबालादित्यद्वितीयनामा **परममाहेश्वरः श्रीध्रुवसेनस्तस्य** सुतस्त-
त्पादकम-
[11] लप्रणा [मध] रणिकषणजनितकिणलाञ्छधनललाटचन्द्रशकलः शिशुभाव [एव] श्रवणनिहितमौक्ति-
कालङ्कार-
[12] विभ्रमामलश्रुतविशेषः प्रदानसलिलक्षालिताग्रहस्तारविन्दः कन्याया इव मृदुकरग्रहणादमन्दीकृतानन्द-
[13] र्विधिर्व्वसुन्धरायाः कार्म्मुकधनुर्व्वेद इव सम्भाविताशेषलक्ष्यकलापः प्रणतसामन्तमण्डलोत्तमाङ्ग-
धृतचूडा-
[14] [र] त्नायमानशासनः **परममाहेश्वरः परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरचक्रवर्त्तिश्री-
धरसेन** × कुशली
[15] सर्व्वानेव समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वस्संविदितं यथा मया मातापित्रोः पुण्याप्यायनायानर्त्तपुरविनिर्गत **कासर-**
ग्राम-
[16] निवास्यानर्त्तपुरचातुर्व्विद्यसामान्यशर्क्करराक्षिसगोत्रबह्वृचसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणकेशवमित्रपुत्रब्राह्मणना-
रायणा-
[17] **मित्राय खेटकाहारे सिंहपल्लिकापथके देसुरक्षितिज्जग्रामः** सोदङ्गः सोपरिकरः सभूतवातप्र-
त्यायः सधान्य-
[18] हिरण्यादेयः सदशापराधः सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकः सर्व्वराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयः पूर्व्वप्रत्तदेव-
[19] ब्रह्मदेयब्राह्मणविशुतिरंहि[स्तु]: भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेना चन्द्रार्क्कार्ण्णवक्षितिसरित्पर्व्वतसमकालीनः पुत्रपौत्रा-
[20] न्वयभोग्यः उदकातिसर्गेण धर्म्मदायो निसृष्टः यतोस्योचितया ब्रह्मदेयाग्रहारस्थित्या भुञ्जतः क्र-
षतः कर्षयतः
[21] प्रदिशतो वा न कैश्चिद्वाधासेधे वर्त्तितव्यमागामिभद्रनृपतिभिरप्यस्मद्वंशजैरन्यैर्व्वा अनित्यान्यैश्वर्य्याण्य-
स्थिरं मा-
[22] नुष्यं सामान्यञ्च भूमिदानफलमवगच्छद्भिरयमस्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्यः परिपालयितव्यश्चेत्युक्तञ्च-
[23] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः यस्ययस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्यतस्य तदा फल ॥ यानीह दारि-
द्र्यभया-
[24] न्नरेन्द्रैर्द्दत्तानि धर्म्मायतनीकृतानि निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानितानि को नाम साधुः पुनरादद्दीत ॥ षष्टिवर्ष-
[25] सहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् दूतकोत्र राजदुहितृ-
भूपा ॥ लिखितमि-
[26] दं सन्धिविग्रहाधिकृतदिविरपतिचन्द्रभट्टिपुत्रदिविरपतिश्रीस्कन्दभटेनेति । सं ३३० मार्गशिर शु ३
स्वहस्तो मम =॥॥

[25] L 5, read °पतापस्थगित°. L 6, read प्रध्वंसित°;—°नुबन्ध°. L 16, read °शार्करराक्षि°; °नारायण°. L 19 read च्छिद्र°. L. 23, read फल..

No. XIII.—The Grant of Kharagraha II.

The size of the plates is 15 to 15·5 inches by 12. Both are broader at the end where the rings were fixed than at the other. The rings and the seal are missing. The plates are, on the whole, well preserved, a few spots only being defaced by verdigris. The letters resemble those of the published plates of Śîlâditya II. and Śîlâditya III. With the exception of the last lines of plate II., they are clearly incised and distinct. Clerical errors are numerous. The grant is dated from 'a camp of victory' situated at Pûliṇḍaka, or perhaps Âliṇḍaka.

The *vaṁśâvali* offers nothing new. But the grant is important, as it is the first document issued by Kharagraha II. which has been found. Its date, Saṁvat 337, if taken together with that of the preceding grant of Dharasena IV., Saṁvat 330, and with those of Dhruvasena III., Saṁvat 332, and of Śîlâditya II., Saṁvat 348, shows that the reigns of the two sons of Derabhaṭa were of short duration.

The grantee is (Pl. II. ll. 14-15) a Ṛigvedi Brâhmaṇ of the *Śârkarâkshi gotra*,—Nârâyaṇa, son of Keśava, a native of Ânandapura, who settled in Khetaka. He is also called *Ânandapura châturvidya*, 'a Chaturvedî of Ânandapura.'[26] This is of some interest, because, if this Ânandapura is the same as Vaḍnagar (*vulgo* Barnagar), we have here the first notice of the famous Nâgara Brâhmaṇs, the most distinguished and influential caste which Gujarât contains.

The object granted is (Pl. II. ll. 15-16) the village of Paṅgulapallikâ, situated in the district (*bhûmi*) called Ghṛitâlaya, and in the zillâ of Śivabhâgapura.

The purpose for which the village is given is the usual one, viz. the performance of sacrifices.

The officials named in the grant are the *dûtaka*, Pramâtṛi-Śrînâ, and the Divâṇ, Śrîmad-Anahila, the son of Divâṇ Skandabhaṭa. The former appears to be a female, like the *râjaduhitṛi-bhûpâ* of Dharasena's grant. But I do not know what to make of the epithet *pramâtṛi*, which seems to be composed of *pra* + *mâtṛi*, 'mother,' and not to be derived from *pramâ*, 'to judge rightly.' Professor Bhâṇḍârkar (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. X. p. 71) gives the name of the Divâṇ, which occurs again on the plates of Śîlâditya II. (Saṁvat 348), as Madanahala. That would be a highly indecent name. In favour of my reading, Śrímad-Anahila, 'the illustrious Anahila' (instead of Śrî Madanahila), it may be urged that Aṇahila, or Aṇahilla, is known to have been a Gujarâtî name borne by the shepherd who showed Vánarâja the site of Aṇahalvâḍa-Pâthaṇ, and that it occurs among the Rajputs: see, *e.g*, Tod, *Annals*, vol. I. p. 708; Mad. ed. p. 607.

Transcript.

Plate I.

[1] ओं स्वस्ति विजयस्कन्धावारात् पूलेण्डकवासकात्प्रसभप्रणतामित्राणां मैत्रकाणामतुलबलसंपन्न[27]
म[ण्डलाभोगसंसक्तप्रहारशत]लब्धप्रता-
[2] पात्प्रतापोपनतदानमानार्जवोपार्ज्जितानुरागादनुरक्तमौलभृतश्रेणीबलावाप्तराज्यश्रिय परममाहेश्व-
रश्रीभटार्कादव्यवच्छिन्नराजवंश [ज]-
[3] मातापितृचरणारविन्दप्रणतिप्रविधौताशेषकल्मषः शैशवात्प्रभृति खड्गद्वितीयबाहुरेव समदपरगजघटा-
स्फोटनप्रकाशितशत्वनिकषस्तत्प्र-
[4] भावप्रणतारातिचूडारत्नप्रभासंसक्तपादनखरश्मिसंहति सकलस्मृतिप्रणीतमार्गसम्यक्परिपालनप्रजा-
हृद[यरञ्जना] न्वर्थराजशब्दो रूपकान्तिस्थैर्य्यगाम्भी-
[5] र्य्यबुद्धिसंपद्भि स्मर [शशाङ्काद्रिरा]जोदधिनृदशगुरुधनेशानतिशयानः शरणागताभयप्रदानपरतया
तृणवदपास्ताशेष [स्व] कार्य्यफल प्रार्त्थनाधिकार्त्थप्रदा[ना]-

[26] Compare also above, p. 73, note 20.

[27] L. 1, for पूलेण्डक may be read अलेण्डक. L. 2, read °श्रिय:. L. 3, read °सत्वनिकषस्त°. L. 4, read सँहति:. L. 5, read संपद्भि:;—°विदश°;—°फल:.

[6] नन्दितविद्वत्सुहृत्प्रणयिहृदयः [पादचारीव]सकलभुवनमण्डलाभोगप्रमोद **परममाहेश्वरः श्रीगुह-**[25]
सेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादनखमयूखसन्तानविसृतजाह्नवीज-

[7] लौघप्रक्षालिताशेषकल्मषः प्रणयिशतसहस्रोपजीव्यमानभयद्रूपलोभादिवाश्रित सरभसमाभिगामिकै-
र्गुणै सहजशक्तिशिक्षाविशेषविस्मापि-

[8] ताखिलधनुर्द्धर प्रथमनरपतिसमतिसृष्टानामनुपालयिता धर्म्मदायानामपाकर्त्ता प्रजोपघातकारिण[ः]
मुपप्लवानां [दर्शयिता]श्रीसरस्वत्योरेकाधिवासस्य स-

[9] [ह] तारातिपक्षलक्ष्मीपरिभोगदक्षविक्रमो विक्रमोपसंप्राप्तविमलपार्थिवःश्री **परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेन-**
स्तस्या सुतस्तत्पादानुद्ध्यात सकलजगदानन्दना-

[10] त्यद्भुतगुणसमुदयस्थगितसमग्रदिङ्मण्डलः समरशतवि[जय]शोभासनाथमण्डलाग्रद्युतिभासुरतरासपीठो
वूढगुरुमनोरथमहाभारः सर्व्वविद्यापरापु-

[11] रविभागाधिगाविमलमतिरपि सर्व्वत सुभाषितलवेनपि सुखोपपादनीयपरितोष समग्रलोकागाधगाम्भी-
र्य्यहृदयोपि सुचरितातिशयसुव्यक्तपरम-

[12] कल्याणस्वभाव खिलीभूतकृतकृयुनृपतिपथविशोधनाधिगतोदग्रकीर्त्तिर्द्धर्म्मानुपरोधोज्वलतरीकृतार्त्थ-
सुखरपदुपसेवानिरूढ**धर्म्मादित्य**द्वितीयनामा **परममाहेश्व-**

[13] **रः श्रीशीलादित्य** तस्यानुजस्तत्पादानुद्ध्यातः स्वयमुपेन्द्रगुरुणेव गुरूणात्यादरवता सम[भि]लषणी-
यामपि राजलक्ष्मीं स्कन्धासक्तां परमभद्र इव धुर्य्यस्तदाज्ञासंपा-

[14] दनैकरसतयेवोद्वह खेदसुखरतिभ्यामनायासितसत्वसंपत्ति प्रभावसंपद्वशी[कृ]तनृपतिशतशिरोरत्नच्छा-
योपगूढपादपीठोपि परावज्ञाभिमानरसानालिङ्गितमनो-

[15] वृत्ति प्रणतिमेकां परित्यज्य प्रख्यातपौरुषाभिमानैरप्यरातिभिरनासादितप्रतिक्रयोपाय कृतनिखिलभु-
वनामोदगुणसंहति प्रसभविघटितसकलकलि[विलसित]गतिर्न्नीच-

[16] जनाभिरोहिभिरशेषैर्दोषैरनामृष्टात्युन्नतहृदयः प्रख्यातपौरुषास्त्रकौशलातिशयगणतिथविपक्ष क्षि-
तिपतिलक्ष्मीस्वयंग्राहप्रकाशितप्रवीरपुरुषप्रथमसंख्याधिगम पर-

[17] **ममाहेश्वरः श्रीखरग्रहस्तस्य** तनयस्तत्पदानुध्यात[ः]सकलविद्याधिगमविहितनिखिलविद्वज्जनमन
[ः]परितोषातिशय[ः] सत्वसंपदा त्यागौदार्य्येण च विगतानुसन्धानाशमाहितारातिपक्षम-

[18] नोरथाक्षभङ्गः सम्यगुपलक्षितानेकशास्त्रकलालोकचरितगह्वरविभागोपि परमभद्रप्रकृतिरकृत्रिमप्रश्रय-
विनयशोभाविभूषणः समरशतजयपताकाहरणप्रत्य-

[19] लोदग्रबाहुदण्डविध्वन्सितनिखिलप्रतिपक्षदर्प्पोदयः स्वधनुः प्रभावपरिभूतास्त्रकौशलाभिमानसकलनृप-
तिमण्डलाभिनन्दितशासन **परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेनः**

[20] तस्यानुजस्तत्पादानुध्यात सच्चरितातिशयितसकलपूर्णरपतिरतिदुस्साधानामपि प्रसाधयिता विषयाणां
मूर्तिमानिव पुरुषकार परिवृढगुणानु-

[21] रागनिर्भरचित्तवृत्तिभिमनुरिव स्वयमभ्युपपन्नः प्रकृतिभिरधिगतकलाकलापः कान्तिमान्निर्व्वृतिहेतुर-
कलङ्कः कुमुदनाथ. प्राज्यप्रतापस्थगितदिगन्त-

[22] रालप्रध्वन्सितध्वान्तराशिस्सततोदितस्सविता प्रकृतिभ्य परं प्रत्ययमर्थवन्तमतिबहुतिथप्रयोजनानुबन्ध-
मागम [परिपूर्णं] विदधानः सन्धिविग्रह-

[25] L. 6, read °प्रमोदः. L 7, read °संपद्भू°, °गुणैः L 8, read संहता°. L 9, read °पार्थिवश्रीः; °स्तस्य, °ध्यातः. L. 10, read °रांसपाठोन्यूढ. L 11, read °विभागाधिगमवि°, °मवेतः; °तोषः. L. 12, read भावः; °कृतयुग°, °ज्ज्वल ; सुखसपदु° L 13, read °शीलादित्यः L. 14, °द्वहन्, °पत्तिः. L 15, °वृत्तिः,—पायः, °संहतिः. L 19, read °विध्वसित°; °शासनः. L. 20, read °ध्यातः, सकलपूर्व्वनर°;—°कारः. L. 21. read °वृत्तिभिर्म°. L 22, read प्रध्वसितः प्रकृतिभ्यः after विदधानः half a line has been left out.

[23] समासनिश्चयनिपुणः स्थानेनुरूपमादेशं ददद्गुणवृद्धिविधानजनितसंस्कारस्साधूनां राज्यशालातु-[29]
रीयतन्त्रयोरुभयोर्निष्णातः प्रकृष्टविक्र[मो]
[24] [पि] करुणामृदुहृदयः श्रुतवानप्यगर्व्वित कान्तोपि प्रशमी स्थिरसौहृदप्योपि नि[रसि]ता दोषवता-
मुदयसमयसदुपजनितजनतानुराग-
[25] परिपिहितभुवनसमर्थितप्रथितबालादित्यद्वितीय[नामा] **परममाहेश्वरः श्रीध्रुवसेनस्तस्य** सूनुः
तत्पादकमल [प्रणा]मध-
[26] रणिकषणजनितकिणलाञ्छनललाटचन्द्रश[कलः] शिभु[भाव ए]व श्रवणनिहित[मौक्तिका]लङ्कारवि-
भ्रमामलश्रुतविशेषप्रदान[स]लि-
[27] ल[क्षा]लितामहस्तारविन्द कन्याया इव मृदुकरग्रहणा[दमन्दी]कृतानन्दनि[धि]र्व्वसु[न्धरायाः]का[र्म्मु]के
धनुर्व्वेद इव संशोधिताशेषलक्ष्य-
[28] [कला]पः प्रणतसामन्तमण्डलो[त्तमाङ्गधृतचूडारत्नायमानशासनः] **परममाहेश्वरपरमभट्टारकम-**
हाराजाधिराज[परमेश्वर]

Plate II.

[1] **चक्रवर्त्तिश्रीधरसेनस्तत्पितामहभ्रातृश्रीशीलादित्यस्य** शार्ङ्गपाणेरिवाङ्गज[न्मनो भ]क्तिबन्धुरात्मय-
वकल्पितप्रणतेरतिधवलया दूरं तत्पादा-
[2] रविन्दप्रवृत्तया नखमणिरुचा मन्दाकिन्येव नित्यममलितोत्तमाङ्गदेशस्यागस्त्यस्येव राजर्षेर्द्दाक्षिण्यमा-
तन्वानस्य प्रब[ल]
[3] धवलिम्ना यशसां वलयेन मण्डितककुभा नभसि यामिनिपतेर्व्विनिर्म्मिताखण्डपरिवेषमण्डलस्य पयो-
दश्याम[शि]-
[4] खरचूचुकरुचिरमध्यविन्ध्य—स्तनयुगायाः क्षितेः पत्युः **श्रीदेरभटस्याङ्गजः** क्षितिपसंहतेरनुरागि-
ण्याः गुचियशोशुं-
[5] कभृतः स्वयंवरमालामिव राज्यश्रियमर्प्पयन्त्याः कृतपरिग्रहः शौर्य्यमप्रतिहतिव्यापारमानमितप्रचण्ड-
रिपुमण्डलं मण्डलाग्रमि-
[6] वावलम्बमानः शरदि प्रसभमाकृष्ट[शि]लीमुखबाणासनापादितप्रसाधनानां परभुरौ विधिवदाचरितकर-
ग्रहणः पूर्व्वमेव विवि-
[7] धवर्ण्णोज्वलेन श्रुतातिशयेनोद्भासितश्रवणः पुनः पुनरुक्तेनेव रत्नालङ्कारेणालङ्कृतश्रोत्रः परस्फुरत्कट-
कविकटकीटपक्षरत्नकिर-
[8] णविच्छित्रप्रदानसलिलनिवहावसेकविलसत्रव शैवषैङ्कुरमिवाग्रपाणिमुद्वहनधृतविशालरत्नवलयजलधि-
वेलातटायमानभु-
[9] जपरिष्वक्तविश्वम्भरः **परममाहेश्वरः श्रीध्रुवसेनः** तस्याग्रजोपरमहीपतिस्पर्शदोषतगणधियेव लक्ष्म्या
स्वयमतिस्पष्टचेष्टमाश्लि-
[10] ष्टाङ्गयष्टिमतिरुचिरतरचरितगरिमपरिकलितसकलनरपतिरतिप्रकृष्टानुरागरसरभसवशीकृतप्रणतसा-
मन्तसामन्तचक्रचूडा-

[29] L. 24, read °गर्वित:, समुपजनित°. L. 26, read विशेष:. L. 28, read °रविन्द:.

[30] L. 3, read यामिनीपतेर्विनिर्मिता°; the vowel-signs are very indistinct. L. 4, read °भुचि°. L. 5, °प्रतिहत°, read °भुवां. L. 7, read °ज्ज्वलेन; परिस्फुर°. L. 8, read °सत्रिव शैवलाङ्कार°;—°द्वहन्. L. 9, read °नागनधियेव. L. 10. read °यष्टिर°.

[11] मणिमयूखखचितचरणकमलयुगलः प्रोद्दामोपारदोर्दण्डदलितद्विषद्वर्गदर्पः प्रसर्प्पत्पटीयः प्रतापप्ला-[31]
षिताशेषशत्रुम-

[12] °शः प्रणयिपप्रनिक्षिप्तलक्ष्मीकः प्रेरितगदोत्क्षिप्तसुदर्शनचक्रः परिहृतबालक्रीडोनधः कृतद्विजातिरेकवि-
क्रमप्रसाधितधनिश्रि.

[13] तलोनङ्गीकृतजलशय्योपूर्व्वपुरुषोत्तमः साक्षाद्धर्म्म इव सम्यगुपस्थापितवर्णाश्रमचार. परममाहेश्वर-
श्रीखरग्रह×कुशली

[14] सर्व्वानेव समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वस्संविदितं यथा मया मातापित्रोः पुण्याप्यायनायानन्दपुरविनिर्गतखेट-
कवास्तव्यनन्दपुरचातुर्विद्यसा-

[15] मान्यशार्कराक्षिसगोत्रवह्वृचसब्रह्मचारिब्राह्मणकेशवपुत्रब्राह्मणनारायणाय शिवभागपुरविषये
घृतालयभूमौ पङ्कुलपल्लि-

[16] काग्रामः सोदृङ्गः सोपरिकरः सभूतवातप्रत्यायः सधान्यहिरण्यादेयः सदशापराधः सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकः
सर्व्वराजकीयानामहस्त-

[17] प्रक्षेपणीयः पूर्व्वप्रत्तदेवब्रह्मदेयब्राह्मणविंशतिरहित भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचन्द्रार्कार्ण्णवक्षितिसरित्पर्व्वत-
समकालीनः] पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्य उदकातिसर्गे-

[18] ण धर्म्मदायो निसृष्टः यतोस्यो चितया ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्या भुंजतः कृषतः कर्षयतः प्रदिशतो वा न
कैश्चिद्बाधासेधे वर्त्तितव्यमागामिभद्रनृपतिभिर-

[19] प्यस्मद्वंशजैरन्यैर्व्वा अनित्यान्यैश्वर्य्याण्यस्थिरं मानुष्यं सामान्यञ्च भूमिदानफलमवगच्छद्भिरयमस्म-
दायोनुमन्तव्यः परिपालयितव्यश्चेत्यु-

[20] क्तं च॥ बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः यस्ययस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्यतस्य तदा फलं ॥ यानीह
दारिद्र्यभयान्नरेन्द्रैर्द्दत्तानि धर्म्मायतनीकृतानि

[21] निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधु पुनराददीत षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिद-
आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ दूतकोत्र प्रमातृश्रीना ॥

[22] लिखितमिद सन्धिविग्रहाधिकृतदिविरपतिश्रीस्कन्दभटपुत्रदिविरपतिश्रीमदनहिलेनेति सं ३३७
आषाढ ब ५ स्वहस्तो मम ॥॥

No. XIV.—GRANT OF ŚÎLÂDITYA VI., SURNAMED DHRUVABHAṬA.

The plates are exceedingly massive, and measure each 15 inches by 13·5. The rings and the seal which connected them are missing. The plates are not very well preserved. When I received them, they were covered with caked mud and verdigris, and not a single letter was readable. The cleaning cost, therefore, a great amount of labour and trouble. But, notwithstanding this, a great part of the first plate and the upper portion of the second plate have remained, as a whole, illegible; single letters and words are recognizable, but the context could not be made out without the help of the published grants. Fortunately the most important part of the inscription, the lower half of the second plate, is in a better condition, and can be read with tolerable certainty.

The letters on these plates closely resemble those of the grant of Śîlâditya V. published in *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 16. But they are larger and incised with more care than those of the Luṇâvâḍâ plates. They deserve a careful study on the part of those who are interested in the history of the Indian alphabets.

The text of the grant is not so full of clerical errors as that of the fifth Śîlâditya Still a considerable number of mistakes occur, and several lines have been left out. These lacunæ corro-

[31] L. 11, read प्रोद्दामोदार°; °शत्रुव°श:. L. 12, read प्रणयिपक्ष°,—प्रसाधितधरित्री. L. 13, read °माचार:. L. 14, read °वास्तव्यानन्द°; शार्कराक्षि. L. 17, read रहितो. L. 19, read °गच्छद्भि°. L. 21, read को नामसाधु:. L. 22, read °मिद.

spond exactly with those on the Lunâvadâ plates, and this agreement, as well as the recurrence of a number of phrases and corruptions,[32] prove that both plates were copied from the same MSS. For our grant cannot be copied immediately from the earlier one, because it shows *fewer* mistakes.

The grant is dated from a camp of victory located at Ânandapura. The donor, Śîlâditya VI., is the 19th king of the dynasty of Bhatârka who has become known. Contrary to the usage prevailing in other Valabhî grants, the description of this new ruler is given in poetry. It consists of four verses in the *Vasantatilaka* metre, which are preceded by the word *paramamâheśvarah*, and followed by the usual titles and the name. The former word is, I think, merely due to a mistake of the Kansâr, who, in his impatience to have done, first skipped the whole description, and afterwards neglected to indicate that the word written by mistake is superfluous.

The translation of the passage referring to Śîlâditya VI. (Pl. II. ll. 19-24) is as follows:—

"His (the fifth Śîlâditya's) son is the ardent devotee of Maheśvara, the supreme sovereign, the great king of kings and supreme lord, the illustrious Śîlâdityadeva, who meditates on the feet of the supreme sovereign, the great king of kings and supreme lord, the illustrious Bappa. He is famous on account of his irresistible valour, he is the abode of Fortune; he strives to annihilate hell. He makes it his only purpose to save the earth; his fame shines pure as the full moon. He is made up of the qualities of the famous triad (of powers),[33] he has conquered his enemies. He gives enjoyment to the poor, he always gives happiness. He is the abode of knowledge. All the guardians of the world praise him, the Vidyâdharas serve him. He is famous on earth. He is resplendent with jewels, beautiful in person, a conglomerate of jewel-like qualities. He is endowed with lordliness, valour, and (other great) virtues; he is always engaged in conferring benefits on living beings. A real Janârdana, as it were, he humbles (*ardayati*) the pride of the wicked. He is exceedingly skilful in shaking again and again in battle troops of elephants. He is the abode of spiritual merit, all over the world his great prowess is celebrated in songs. The illustrious Dhrûbhaṭa conquers, he who is born in the line of the kings of kings and supreme lords, he who is supremely happy."

There is only one statement in this long rigmarole which is of great importance, viz. that Śîlâditya VI. was also called Dhrûbhaṭa. This word stands apparently for Dhruvabhaṭa—literally 'the constant warrior.' The first part of the compound has been contracted, because the paṇḍit wanted a long syllable for his metre,[34] and because *Dhrû* was, no doubt, at the time of the composition of this poetry, just as now, the vernacular Gujarâtî for Dhruva. Now this name Dhruvabhaṭa resembles the form *T'u-lu-p'o-po-tu*, which Hiwen Thsang[35] gives as the name of the ruler of Valabhî whom he visited, more than any other royal name which has become known. As the transcription of Sanskrit *Abhidharma* by Chinese *Opi-ta-mo*, of *bhadra* by *Po-ta-lo*, and similar instances show, *T'u-lu-p'o-po-tu* may stand just as well for Dhruvabhaṭa as for Dhruvapatu, the rendering which M. St.-Julien has adopted. Against this it may be urged that the Chinese translation of the word 'Ch'ang-jui,' '*constamment intelligent*,' does not suit the compound Dhruvabhaṭa. But this translation may have been caused by a mistake of Hiwen Thsang's, who may either have mixed up the two words *bhaṭa*, 'a warrior,' and *bhaṭṭa*, 'a paṇḍit,' or have been told the name incorrectly. For the frequent mistakes on the plates by which Bhatârka is changed to Bhattârka, and Derabhaṭa to Derabhaṭṭa, show that the Valabhîans themselves were not very accurate in this respect. If the identity of Hiwen Thsang's contemporary and of Śîlâditya VI. could be proved for certain, we should be able to fix, at least approximatively, the initial date of the eras in which the plates are dated. As our grant is dated 447, and Hiwen Thsang's visit fell in the fifth decade of the seventh century A.D., the year 1 of the era of the plates must fall either shortly before or shortly after the year 200 A.D.

[32] Compare, *e.g.*, समावासित जयस्कंधावारात् Pl. I. l. 1.

[33] Compare *Kâmandaki nîti*, XV. 32.

[34] There is a fine precept which authorizes the distortion of words in order to avoid an offence against the metre, and which deserves to become known. It is as follows:—*mâshamapi masham kuryâd vṛittibhangam na kârayet.*

[35] *Mémoires*, II. 163.

I am at present inclined to believe that this view is the correct one. But, as the question is by no means simple, and as a number of other points have also to be considered, I do not wish to do more, for the present, than to point out that the occurrence of the name Dhrûbhata or Dhruvabhata on our grant requires the consideration of those who wish to settle the beginning of the era of the plates.

The date, Saṁvat 447, Jyeshtha, śuddha 5, or fifth day of the bright half of Jyeshtha, 447, is given both in words and in ciphers, and is therefore indisputable. It settles definitively the question regarding the value of the Valabhî sign ॐ, and proves the correctness of Paṇḍit Bhagvânlâl's and General Cunningham's explanation, who maintained that it stands for 'forty.' This date corroborates also my reading of the figures on the Luṇâvâḍâ plates issued by Sîlâditya V. as Saṁvat 441.

The grantee is (Pl. II. ll. 25-26) Bhaṭṭa Âkhaṇḍalamitra, son of Bhatta Vishṇu, a Ṛigvedî of the *Śârkarâkshi gotra*, a native of famous Ânandapura, and a Chaturvedî of that town.[36]

The object granted is (Pl. II. ll. 26-27) the village of Mahilâbalî, situated in the tâlukâ (*pathaka*) of Uppalaheta (Upleṭâ ?) and in the zillâ (*ahára*) of Śrî Khetaka. The purpose for which the grant was made is the usual one.

The passage regarding the officials (Pl. II. ll. 36-37) is, unfortunately, not quite in order.

I think those mentioned are—

1. The *dûtaka*: the grand chamberlain (*mahâpratihâra*) the illustrious Deṭaha.

2. The *akshapatalika*, or keeper of the records, Daftardâr: *Râjakula*, the illustrious Siddhanâtha, son of the illustrious Śarvata.

3. The writer: Amâtya, *i. e.* councillor Guha, son of Hembata.

The name of the 'grand chamberlain' is a curious one, and I do not consider the reading to be certain.

The word *akshapaṭalika* does not occur on any of the known Valabhî grants, but it is common on those of the Chaulukyas of Aṇhilvâḍ.[37] The word *Râjakula*, which is placed before the name of the Daftardâr, is a title which likewise occurs on the Chaulukya plates.[38] It is probably the Sanskṛit form of the modern *Râul* or *Râval*.

TRANSCRIPT.

Plate I.

[1] ओं स्वस्ति श्रीमदानन्दपुरसमावासितजयस्कन्धावारात्प्रसभप्रणता[मित्राणां मैत्रकाणामतु]लबलसं-
पन्नमण्डला[भोगसंप्रहारशत]लब्धप्र[तापा]-

[2] त्प्रतापोपनतदानमानार्ज्जवोपार्जितानुरागादनुरक्तमौलभृतश्रेणीबलावाप्त राज्यश्रियः परममाहेश्वर-
श्रीमाटार्क्कादव्यवच्छिन्नवंशान्मा-

[3] तापितृचरणारविन्दप्रणतिप्रविविक्ताशेषकल्मषः शैशवात्प्रभृ[ति ख]ड्गद्वितीयबाहु[रे]व समदपरगजघ-
टास्फोटन[प्रकाशितसत्व]निकषः तत्प्र-

[4] भावप्रणताराति चूडारत्नप्रभाससक्तपादनखरश्मिसंहतिः सकलस्मृतिप्रणीतमार्ग्ग[सम्यक्रि]यापालनप्रजा-
हृदयरंजना[न्वर्थराजश]ब्दो रूपैका-[39]

[5] न्तिस्थैर्य्यगाम्भीर्य्यबुद्धिसंपद्भिः स्मरशशाङ्कादिराजोदधितृदशगुरूधनेशानातिशयानः शरणागताभय-
प्रदानःपरतया तृणवद्दपा[स्ताशेषस्व]वीर्य्य-

[6] फलः प्रार्त्थनाधिकार्त्थप्रदानानन्दितविद्वत्सुहृत्प्रणयिहृदय पादचारीव सकलभुवनमण्डलाभोगैप्रमोद-
परम-

[7] माहेश्वरः श्रीगुहसेनः तस्य सुतः तत्पादनखसंतानविसृजजाह्नवीजलौघप्रक्षालिताशेषकल्मषः प्रण-
यिशतस-

[36] Regarding the Ânandapura Chaturvedîs see above.

[37] See "Eleven Land Grants," &c. *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. pp. 194 *et seqq.*

[38] See *loc cit.* p. 206.

[39] L. 4, read चूडारत्न°;—संसक्त. L. 5, read द्वद्वि;—त्रिदश°, प्रदानप°; तृणवदपा°. L. 6, read °हृदयः;—प्रमोदः. L. 7, read नखमयूखसं°; विसृत°.

[8] हस्तोपजीव्यमानसंपद्रूपलोभादि[वाश्रितः सर] भसमाभिगामिकैः गुणैः सहजशक्तिःशिक्षा[वि]शेषवि-
स्मापि[त]योद्धधनुर्द्धरः प्र[थमन-][40]

[9] रपतिसमतिसृष्टानामनुपालयिता धर्म्म[दायाना]मपकर्त्ता प्रजोपघातकारिणां उपप्लवानां शमयिता
श्रीसरस्वत्योरेकाधिवासस्य स[हतारातिप-

[10] क्षलक्ष्मीपरिभोगदक्षविक्रमो विक्रमोपसंप्राप्त[वि]मलपार्त्थि[व]श्रीः **परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेनः** तस्य
सुतः तत्पादानुद्ध्यातः सकलजगदानन्दनात्याद्भु-

[11] तगुणसमुद्रस्थगितसमग्रदिग्मण्डल समरशतविज[य]शोभासनाथमण्डलाग्रद्युतिभासुरान्सपीठो व्यू-
ढगुरुमनोरथमहाभारः सर्व्वविद्यापारपरम-

[12] भागाधिगमविमलमतिरपि सर्व्वतः सुभाषितलवेनापि स्वोपपादनीयपरितोषः समग्रलोकागाधगांभीर्य्य-
हृदयोपि सच्चरितातिशयसुव्यक्तपरम-

[13] कल्याणस्वभावः खिलीभूतकृतयुगनृपतिपथवि[शोधना]धिगतोदग्रकीर्त्तिः धर्म्मानुरोधाज्वलतरीकृतार्त्थ-
संपदुसेवानिरूढधर्म्मादित्यद्वितीयनामा

[14] **परममाहेश्वरः श्रीशीलादित्यः** तस्य सुतः तत्पादानुद्ध्यातः स्वयमुपेन्द्रगुरुणेव गुरुः गुरुणात्यादरवता
स्वयमभिलषणीयानामपि राजलक्ष्मी-

[15] स्कन्धासक्तपरमभद्राणां धुर्य्यस्तदाजासंपादनैकरसतयोद्वाहनखेदसुखरतिभ्यां अनायासितसंपत्ति प्र-
भावसंपद्वशीकृतनृपतिशतशिरो-

[16] रत्नच्छायोपगूढपादपीठोपि परामावज्ञाभिमा[नर]सानालिंगितमनोवृत्तिः प्र[णति]रेकां परित्यज्य प्रख्या-
तपौरुषा[भि]मा[नै]रप्यरातिभिरनासादि-

[17] तप्रक्रितयोपायः कृतनिखिलभुवनामोदविमलगुणसंहतिः प्रसभविघटितसकलकलि[विलसि]तगतिर्न्नी
- - - - - - - रशेषैः दोषैरनामृष्टा-

[18] त्युन्नतहृदय प्रख्यातपारुषः शास्त्रकौशलातिशय गुणगणतिथविपक्षक्षितिपतिलक्ष्मीस्वयंस्वयंग्राहप्र-
काशितप्रवीरपुरुषप्रथम[संख्या]-

[19] धिगमः **परममाहेश्वरः श्रीखरग्रह** तस्य सुतः तत्पादानुद्ध्यातः सर्व्वविद्याधिगम-:पवितनिखिलवि-
द्वज्जनमनः परितोषितातिषय सत्व-

[20] संपत्त्यागैः शौर्य्येण च विगतानुसंधानसमाहितारातिपक्षमनोरथरथाक्षभग स[म्यगु]पलक्षितानेक-
शास्त्रकला[लो]कचरितगह्वरवि-

[21] भागोपि परमभद्रप्रकृतिरकृतृमप्रश्रयोपि विनयशोभाविभूसणः समरशतजय[पता]काहरण[प्रत्यलो]
दग्र [बाहु]दण्डविध्वंसिनविपक्ष-

[22] दर्प्पोदयः स्वधनुप्रभावभूतास्त्रकौशलाभिमानसकलनृपतिमण्डलाभिनन्दितशासनः **परममाहेश्वरः**
श्रीधरसेनः तस्यानुजः त[त्पादानु]

[23] द्ध्यात सच्चरितातिशयितसकलपूर्व्वनरपतिः दुस्साधानामपि प्रसाधयिता विषयाणां मू[र्त्तिमा]
निव पुरु[ष]कारः [परिवृद्ध] गुणानुरा[गनिर्भ-]

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[40] L 8, read शक्ति. L 9, read संहता°. L 10, read °नन्दनात्यद्भु°. L 12, read °कागाध°. L 13, read °संपदुप-सेवानिरूढ° L 14, read तस्यानुज ,—perhaps °वागुरु ,—read °लषणीयामपि °लक्ष्मीं. L. 15, read स्कन्धासक्ता परम-भद्र इव °योद्वहन्.—सत्वसंपत्तिः. L. 16, read परावज्ञाभिमा-नरमानालि°,—प्रणतिमे° L 17, read °प्रतिक्रियोपाय —the six syllables have not been filled in, as it seems clear that the plate did not exhibit the usual reading. L 18, read हृदयः प्रख्यातपौरुष., °तिशय.,—*dele* गुण, *dele* one स्वय. L 19, read °धिगमविहित°—°षातिशयः L. 21, read °कृत्रि-म°;—°विभूषण: L. 22, read °प्रभाव°.

[24] रचित्तवृत्तिः मनुरिव स्वयमुपपन्नःप्रकृतिभिरविगतकलाकलाप कान्तितिरस्कृतसलांछनःकुमुदनाथ प्राज्यप्रतापस्थ[गित]दिग[न्तराल:][41]

[25] [प्र]ध्वंसितध्वान्तराशिः सततो[दि]तसविता प्रकृतिभ्यः पर प्रत्ययमर्त्यवन्तमतिबहुतिथप्रयोजनानुबंधमा· [गम]परिपू[र्णं विदधान]ः सन्धिविग्रह-

[26] समासनि[श्च]य[निपु]ण स्थानमनुपदेशं [ददतं]गुणवृद्धिराजविनितसत्कारसाधूनां राज्य[शालातुरी· [यत] न्त्रयो[रुभयोरपि] निष्णातः प्रकृ-

[27] [तिवि]क्रमोपि करु[णामृ]दुहृदयः श्रु[तवान]प्यगार्व्वितः कान्तोपि प्रशमी शिरसो[हार्दो]पि [निरसिता- दोषवतामुदय]समुपजनि-

[28] [तजनानुरागपरि]बृंहितभुवनसमर्थितप्रथितबालादित्यद्वितीयनामा परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेनः [तस्यसुतः तत्पा] दरदेलप्रणा-

[29] [मधरणिकषणजनित]किणलां[छन]ललाटचन्द्रसकल शिशुभाव एव श्रवणनिहितमौक्तिकालंकारावि- भ्रमामलश्रुतविशेष प्रदानसलि-

[30] [ल क्षा]लिताग्रहस्तार[विन्दः व्यास इ]व मृदुकर[ग्रहणाद]मन्दीकृतानन्दविधि· वसुधरायाः कार्म्मुक- धनुर्व्वे[द इव संभावि[ताशेषलक्ष्यक]लापप्र-

[31] [णत]समस्तसामन्तमण्डलोपमनिभृतचूडामणिनियमनशासनः परमेश्वरः परमभट्टारकमहारा- [जाधिराजपरमेश्वरचक्रवर्त्ति]श्रीधर-

[32] [सेनः] तत्पिता[मह]भ्रातृश्रीशीलादित्यस्य शार्ङ्गपाणेरिवाग्रजन्मनो भक्तिबन्धुरावयवरतिधव[लया] तत्पा[दारविन्द]प्रवि[नया] चरणनखमणि[रू-]

[33] [चा म]न्दाकिन्येव नित्यममलितो[त्तमां]गदेशस्यागस्त्यस्येव राजर्षेः दक्षिण्यमातन्वानस्य प्र[बल]धव- लिम्ना यश[सां] वलयेन म-

[34] [ण्डित]ककुभानवयाथर - - शेषः खण्डपरिवममण्डलस्य पयोदश्यामशिखरचूचुरकचि[स]ह्यविन्ध्या- [स्तनयुगा]याः क्षितेः पत्युः श्री[देरभट]-

[35] स्याग्रजः क्षितिसहतेः - - - स्य शुचिय्यशोशुँकभृतः स्वयंवराभिलाषिणीमिव रा[ज]श्रियमर्प्प- यन्त्या[: कृतपरिग्रहः शौर्यमप्रतिह]

[36] त[व्यापार]मानमितप्रचण्डरिपुमण्डलमण्डलाग्रमिवालं[बमा]नः शरदि प्रसभमाकृष्टशिलीमुख[बाणा- सनापादितप्रसाधनानां]

[37] परभुवां विधिवदाचरितकरग्रहणः पूर्व्वमेव विधिवर्णोज्वलन श्रुतातिशयनोद्भासि[तश्रवणयुगलः पुनः पुनरुक्तेनेव रत्ना]

[38] [लङ्का]रेणालंकृतश्रोत्रः परिस्फुरत्कटकविकटकीटपक्षरत्नकिरणमिवच्छिन्नप्र[दान]मलिलनिवहानवसे- कविलसन्नव[शैवलां]-

[39] कुरमिवाग्रपाणिमुद्वह धृतविशालरत्नवलयजलधिवेलातटायमनभुजपरिष्वक्तविश्वम्भरः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीध्रुवसेनः तस्याग्रजो-

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[41] L. 24, read °धिगत°, °कलाप:; °सलाछनकुमुदनाथः. L. 25, read परं. L. 26, read निपुण: स्थानेनुरूप°; °वृद्धिविधानजनितमं°. L. 27, read स्थिरसौ°. L. 28, read श्रीध्रुवसेन·, — तत्पादकमल°. L. 29, read शकलः; विशेषः. L. 30, read °कलापः. L. 31, read मण्डलोत्तमांग - - मणीक्रियमाण°; परममाहेश्वरः. L. 32, read °वाङ्गजन्मनो; after °रावयव six syllables have been left out. L. 33, read दाक्षिण्य°. L. 34, read नभसि विदलिताखण्डपरिवेश; पयोद°; — रुचिरमह्यविन्ध्य. L. 35, read स्याङ्गजः; क्षितिसं°; °गिण्या·, शुचियशो°. L. 37, read °ज्ज्वलेन; °शयेनां. L. 38, read किरणविच्छिन्न, निवहनाव°. L. 39, read °मिवाग्रमुद्वहेत्; तटायमान°.

Plate II.

[1] [परमहीपति]स्पर्शदोषनाशन[धियेव ल]क्ष्म्या स्वयमतिस्पष्टचेष्टमा[श्लिष्टाङ्ग्या]यष्टिरतिरुचितरचरितग-

रिमपरिकलितसकलनरपतिरति]-

[2] प्रकृष्टानुराग[सरभस]वशीकृतप्रणतसमस्त[सा]मन्तचक्रचूडामणिमयूख[खचितचरणकमलयुगलः प्रो

द्दामोदारदोर्द्दण्डदलितद्विषद्वर्ग्ग-

[3] द]र्प्पः प्रसर्प्पत्पटीयः प्रतापप्रेषिताशेषशत्रुवंशः प्रणयिपक्ष[निक्षिप्तलक्ष्मीकः प्रेरितगदोत्क्षि]प्तसु[दर्शन-

चक्रः परि]हृत-

[4] बालक्रीडोनद्ध कृतद्विजातिरेकविक्रमप्रसाधितधरित्रीतलोनङ्ग्रीकृतजलशय्योपूर्व्वपु[रुषोत्तमः साक्षा.[42]

द्धर्म इव सम्यग्व्य]वस्था-

[5] [पित]वर्णाश्रमाचारः पूर्व्वैरप्युर्व्विपतिभिः तृष्णालवलुब्धैः यान्यपहृतानि दे[व]ब्र[ह्मदे]यानि [तेषा]म

[प्यतिसरलमना]: प्र-

[6] [स]रमुत्सङ्कलनानुमोदनाभ्यां परिमुदिततृभुवनाभिनन्दितोच्छ्रितोकृष्टधवलधर्म्मध्वजःप्रकाशितानिजवँ-

शो [देवद्विजगुरूप्रति यथा]र्थ[मनवरत-

[7] प्रवर्त्तितमहोद्रङ्गादिदानव्यसनानुप[जात]संतोषोपात्तोदारकीर्त्तिः परपरादन्तुरितनिखिल[दिक्चक्रवा]

लः [स्पष्टमेव यथार्थं] धर्म्मादित्य-

[8] द्वितीयनामा **परममाहेश्वरः श्रीखरग्रहः** तस्याग्रजन्मनः कुमुदषण्डश्रीविकासिन्या कलावतश्च-

न्द्रिक[येव कीर्त्या धवलितसकल[दिङ्मण्ड-

[9] लस्य खंडितागुरुविलेपनविडश्यामलविंध्यशैलविपुलपयोधरायाः क्षितेः पत्युः **श्रीशीलादित्यस्य** सूनु-

[र्नवप्रालेयकिरण इव]

[10] प्रतिदिनसंवर्द्धमानहृदयकलाचन्द्रवालः केसरीन्द्रशिशुरिव राजलक्ष्मीं [स]कलवनस्थलीमिवालंकुर्व्वाणः

शिखण्डिकेतन इव रुचिमच्चूडामण्डनः

[11] प्रचण्डशक्तिप्रभावश्च शरदागम इव द्विषतां **परममाहेश्वरः परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमे-**

श्वर श्रीबप्प पादानुध्यातः परमभट्टारकमहारा-

[12] **जाधिराजपरमेश्वरः श्रीशीलादित्यदेवस्तस्य** सुतः परमैश्वर्य्य कोपाकृष्टनिस्तृंशपातविदलितारात्ति-

करिकुंभस्थलोल्लसत्प्रसृत[महाप्रतापानलप्रकारपरिगत]-

[13] जगन्मण्डललब्धस्थितिः विकटनिजदोर्द्दण्डावलंबिना सकलभुवनाभोगभाजा मन्थास्फालनविधुतदु-

ग्धसिन्धुफेनपिण्डपाण्डुरयशो[वितानेन]

[14] विहितातपत्रः **परममाहेश्वरः परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीबप्पपादानुद्धचातः**

परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीशीलादित्य[देवः तत्पुत्रः]

[15] प्रतापानुरागप्रणतसमस्तसामन्तचूडामारिनखमयूखनिचितखजितपादारविन्दः **परमेश्वरः परमभट्टा-**

रकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्री[वप्पपादा]-

[16] **नुद्धचातः परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीशीलादित्यदेव** तस्यात्मजः प्रशमिताशेष-

बलदर्प्पः विपुलजयमंगलाश्रयः श्रीसमा लिं[गनलालि]त-

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[42] L. 4, read °डोनध : कृत. L. 6, read त्रिभुवना°; °गुरून्प्रति. L. 7, read कितिपरंपरा°; °धर्म्मादित्य°. L. 9, read पिण्डश्यामल°. L. 11, after शरदागम इव half a line has been left out. Read श्रीबावपादा°. L. 12, after सुत : two lines have been omitted; read पारमैश्वर्य : ; निस्त्रिंश°. L. 15, read °चूडामणिमयूखनिचित°. L. 16, read °देव :.

[17] वक्षा समपोढनारसिंहविग्रहोर्जितोधुरशक्तिः समुद्धातविपक्षभूभृत्कृतनिखिलगोमण्डलारक्षः पु[रुषो-[13]
त्तम] प्रणतनाभूतपार्थिवकिरीट-
[18] [मा]णिक्यममृणितचरणनखमयूखजिताशेषदिग्वधूमुखः **परममाहेश्वरः परमभट्टारकमहाराजा-**
धिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीबप्पपा-
[19] **दानुद्धरंनः परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीशीलादित्यदेवः** परममाहेश्वरः तस्यात्म-
जः प्रथितदुस्सहवीर्य्यपक्षो लक्ष्म्यालयो
[20] नरकनाशकृतप्रयत्नः[।] पृथ्वीसमुद्धरणकार्य्यकृतैकनिश्चः संपूर्णचन्द्रकरनिर्मलजातकीर्तिः [॥१॥]
ज्ञातत्रयी श्रुणमयोजितवैरिपक्षः संप [न्न]-
[21] निर्द्धनसुखः सुखदः सदैव[।]ज्ञानालय सकलवन्दितलोकपालो विद्याधरैरनुगतः प्रथितः पृथिव्यां
[॥२॥] रत्नोज्वलो वरतनु-
[22] र्गुणरत्नराशिः ऐश्वर्य्यविक्रमगुणैः परमैरुपेतः[।] सत्वोपकारकरणे सततं प्रवृत्तः साक्षाजनार्द्दन
इवार्दितदुष्टदर्पः [॥३॥]
[23] युद्धेः सकृद्रजघटाघटनैकदक्षः पुण्यालयो जगति गीतमहाप्रतापः[।] राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरवंशजन्मा
श्रीधूभटो जयति जा-
[24] तमहाप्रमोदः[॥४॥]**परमेश्वरः परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरामोद्धरश्रीबप्पपापानुद्धचात-**
परामभट्टारकमहाराजा-
[25] **धिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीशीलादित्यदेवः** सर्वानेव समाज्ञाप[य]त्यस्तु वः संविदित यथा मया मातापित्रो-
रात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृ-
[26] द्धये ऐहिकामुष्मिकफलावस्यर्थं **श्रीमदानन्दपुर**वास्तव्यतच्चातुर्विद्यसामान्यशर्क्करक्षिसगोत्रबह्वृचस.
ब्रह्मचारि-
[27] **भट्टाखण्डलभित्राय भट्टविष्णुपुत्राय** बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रक्रतुक्रियाद्युत्सर्पणार्थेश्रीखेटक-
हारे उप्पलहेट-
[28] पथके **महिलाबलीनम** ग्रामः सोद्दृ[ङ्गः] सोपरिकरः सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकः सभूतपातप्रत्यादायः सदा-
शापराधः स-
[29] भोगभागः सधान्याहिरण्यादयः सर्व्वराजकीयानां अहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयः पूर्व्वप्रत्तदेवदायब्रह्मदायवर्ज्जं भूमि-
च्छिद्रन्यायनाचन्द्रार्का-
[30] र्ण्णवक्षितिपर्व्वतसमकालीनः पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्य उपपातिसर्गेण ब्रह्मदायत्वेन प्रतिपादितः यतोस्योचित-
या ब्रह्मदा[यस्थि]
[31] त्या भुंजतः कृषतः कर्षापयतः प्रतिदिशतो वा न कैश्चिद्बाधेयं वर्त्तितव्य ॥ अगामिभद्रनृपतिभिः अ-
[32] स्मद्वंशजैरन्यैर्व्वानित्यानित्यैश्वर्य्याण्यस्थिर मानुष्यकं सामान्यं च भूमिदानफलं अवगच्छद्भिः अयम-
[33] स्मदायोनुमन्तव्यः पालयितव्यश्च उक्तञ्च वदव्यासेनव्यासेनः बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः
[34] यस्ययस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्यतस्य तदा फलं= यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैः धनानि धर्म्मायतनीकृतानि
निर्माल्यवान्त

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[13] L. 17, read °वक्षाः समुपोढनारसिंह°; तोद्धुर°;—समुद्धत°;—पुरुषोत्तमः. L. 19, read °वीर्यपक्षो. L. 20, read° कृतैकनिष्ठः;—गुणमयो. L. 21, read रत्नोज्ज्वलो. L. 22, read साक्षाज्ज. L. 23, read युद्धेसकृद्द°. But the sign which looks like *visarga* may be intended for the *avagraha*. L. 24, read परममाहेश्वरः;—°पादानुध्यातः. L. 25, read संविदितं. L. 28, read °बलीनामा. सभूतवात° L. 29, according to the other plates. Read °प्यादेयः °वर्ज्जं, °न्यायेना. L. 29, read उदकादि. L. 31, read वर्तितव्यम्. L. 32, *dele* first नित्य°; read स्थिरं. L. 33, read वेदव्यासेन. L. 34, read पुरा नरें°.

[35] प्रतिमानि तानि को नाम[सा]धु प्रतिराददीत षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः आच्छेत्ता
चानुमंताच्च तान्येवनर-
[36] के[व]सेत् ॥ भुषुाटवीष्वतोयासु सुष्ककोटरवासिनः कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये ॥
दूतकोत्रमहाप्रतीहा-
[37] रश्रीदेटहाक्षपटलिकत्रराजकुलश्रीसिद्धनाथश्रीशर्व्वटसुतः तथा तन्नियुक्तव्रतिनानर्त्तककुलपुत्र मा-
[38] त्यगुहेन हेम्बट पुत्रेण लिखितमिति ॥ संव[त्स]रशतचतुष्टये सप्तचत्वारिंशदधि[के] ज्येष्ठशुद्धपंचम्यां
अङ्क-
[39] त सवत ४४७ ज्येष्ठ शु ५ ॥
[40] स्वहस्तो मम-

MISCELLANEA.

POLYANDRY IN THE PANJÂB.

SIR,—I have just read in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VI. p. 315, Dr. Muir's paper "On the Question whether Polyandry ever existed in Northern India," and in response to the last sentence of his postscript the making known of a few facts I have gleaned may not be without interest.

Having occasion in 1872 to visit Ropar, a town in the Ambâla District at the point where the Satlaj[1] debouches from the hills, I was induced by hearing that a *dâk* of some kind was procurable at the Sirhind station of the Sindh, Panjâb, and Dehli Railway to alight there, as the most convenient place for getting across the twenty miles between the railway and Ropar No *dâk* of any kind was, however, procurable, and I was compelled to send for a common country-cart to pursue my journey in, and entered into conversation with the driver, a Panjâbî Jaṭ, who was as good-humoured and communicative a man as the majority of his race. He let fall some remarks which induced me to question him on the subject of polyandry (of the existence of which I had not previously the faintest conception), and from his replies, as well as from subsequent inquiries, I have ascertained that there exists *at this present time* a system of polyandry among the Jats. The same institution is not unknown among the Chamârs and other low castes at the foot of the hills and in the lower hills, and its existence in the higher hills is well known My own inquiries have been in the Cis-Satlaj districts of Ambâlâ, Ludhiâna, Firozpûr, and Sirsa, and the Trans-Satlaj districts of Jâlandar and Hoshiârpûr.

Whether the Jats are Âryan or Turânian I do not know, but I have always remarked two distinct kinds of them,—not, however, living apart from each other. One is the typical Sikh, tall and light-complexioned, with a purely Caucasian type of face, and often with an aquiline nose; the other is shorter and darker, and essentially Tatar in feature They are, so to speak, fused together, and the former type generally prevails, although the latter is very strong in particular families. The words of Prof. Weber, vol. VI. p. 317*b*, describe exactly the differences between the Panjâbî Jaṭ and Hindustânî Jât. To such an extent does the former (in every respect the superior and manlier) carry his disregard of Brâhmanism that without the slightest compunction he cuts off *pîpal* branches (*Ficus religiosa*) to feed his camels—an act the Jât would shrink from in horror as nothing less than sacrilege. My Panjâbî camel-men have often been set upon and beaten for this act by the Hindustânî Jâts of the Dehli, Gurgâon, and Rohtak districts.

When a Jaṭ is well-to-do he generally procures a wife for each of his sons, but if he is not rich enough to bear the expenses of many marriages he gets a wife for the eldest son only, and she is expected to, and as a rule does, accept her brothers-in-law as co-husbands. There is no attempt to conceal the fact, and it is even a common thing when women quarrel for one to say to the other, "You are one so careless of your duty as not to admit your husband's brothers to your embraces!" It is true that Brâhmanical influence prevents open cohabitation with an elder brother's wife, but no great pains are taken to conceal it.

The custom of forcing a younger brother to take the elder brother's widow (to raise up seed to his brother) is well known. Many tribes practise it. I have even heard of the thing being done among poor Banyâs in Dehli.

C. S. KIRKPATRICK.

Dehli, 1st January 1878

[35] L. 35, read साधु पुनरा°; षष्टिं;—च. L. 36, read विन्ध्या°;—भुक्क°. L. 37, letters 3—5 uncertain. Probably हाक्षपटालकोत्र to be read. Read °नाथ L. 39, read अङ्क-
[40] त. read संवत्. The त of Samvat stands under the व.

[1] Always pronounced Satluj by natives.

ANCIENT SUPERSTITIONS REGARDING "MEETING EYEBROWS."

Sir Henry Maine's article on South Slavonians and Râjputs has recalled to my mind a curious parallel between Hindu and Slavonian folklore.

In the 20th Lambaka of the *Kathâ Sarit Sâgara* a witch is mentioned who undertook to confer on her disciples the power of flying in the air, by means of *the eating of human flesh* (*mahâmânsa*). She is thus described :—"She was of repulsive appearance. *Her eyebrows met*, she had dull eyes, a depressed flat nose, large cheeks, widely parted lips, projecting teeth, a long neck, pendulous breasts, a large belly, and broad expanded feet."

The only point I desire to call attention to in this inventory of the lady's charms is the fact of her eyebrows meeting. For I find that Mr. Taylor, in his *Primitive Culture*, vol. II. p. 176, speaking of Slavonian superstitions says,—"A man whose eyebrows meet as if his soul were taking flight to enter some other body may be marked by this sign either as a werewolf or a vampire."

In both superstitions we find this notion, that meeting eyebrows are the outward sign of a predilection for human flesh.

C. H. T.

Calcutta, 15th Jan. 1878.

THE BLINDING OF SHÂH MANSÛR BY HIS REBELLIOUS SON.

Let not thy heart the World's vain goods pursue,
For no one yet has found her promise true.
No stingless honey in her mart we buy,
No thornless dates her garden will supply.
If lamp she lights, as soon as it grows bright
The wind extinguisheth the spreading light.
Who careless doth his heart on her bestow,
Behold, he cherishes a deadly foe:
The warlike king, who made the earth his prey,
His sabre dripping from the bloody fray,
Who with one onset put a host to rout,
Or broke a centre with a single shout;
Who chiefs unjustly into prison threw,
Beheading heroes when no crime they knew;
Who made the lioness untimely bear
In deserts when his name but sounded there;
Who made Shirâz, Tabrîz, 'Irâk, obey—
Succumbed at last on his appointed day:
For one who his world-scanning eye made bright
With stabbing awl destroyed that piercing sight.

Bicknell's Selections from Hâfiz.

A Professorship of Zend has been founded at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes, Paris. It is the first chair established in Europe for the special study of the ancient language and literature of Persia. The first professor is M. James Darmesteter, the author of two works of great interest on the old Persian religion,—the first an essay on the mythology of the *Avesta*, entitled *Haurvatât et Ameretât*, published in 1875; and the second a volume, published last year, on the origin and history of the two principles, and styled *Ormazd et Ahriman*.

BOOK NOTICES.

A COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR of the Modern Aryan Languages of India: to wit, Hindi, Panjabi, Sindhi, Gujarati, Marathi, Oriya, and Bangali. By John Beames, Bengal Civil Service, &c. Vol. II. The Noun and Pronoun. (London: Trübner & Co., 1875. pp. 348)

The first volume of Mr. Beames's work was reviewed at considerable length in the *Indian Antiquary* (vol. IV. p. 186). Our notice of the second volume shall be brief.

Mr. Beames speaks of the great and ever-growing pressure of work in Government offices, as "the machinery of Government becomes more complex." This compelled him to lay aside at one time all literary work for six months together. We have reason, then, to congratulate Mr. Beames and the public that the second volume issued from the press only two years and a half after the first. On the score of this pressure of official duty the author asks indulgence for "the disjointed and unfinished appearance of some parts of the work." Certainly there are marks of haste, and a want of artistic finish in the book; but we do not deem these to be unpardonable faults. On the other hand, the merits of Mr. Beames are great. They are such as these—extensive knowledge, great pains and patience in investigation, a quick and generally accurate perception. There are many statements in the book the truth of which we doubt, and some which we feel disposed to deny; but, take it all in all, the production is in a high degree creditable to the author.

The volume contains Book the Second, which comprises four chapters. The three first chapters discuss the Noun; the fourth the Pronoun.

In addition to the seven dialects which formally come under investigation, we have remarks on cognate forms of speech, such as Kaśmîrî, Nepâlî, and the Gipsy language. Mr. Beames thus traverses a very extensive field, in which the report of a pioneer (which in truth he is) cannot reasonably be expected to be either perfectly accurate or exhaustive. But we are very thankful for the mass of information which he has supplied.

In some of his opinions Mr. Beames strongly dissents from the Pandits and even some European scholars. For example, Bangâlî has been represented as the eldest daughter of Sanskrit, and as retaining the mother's character more fully than the younger sisters. But, says he, "it is in truth one of the youngest grand-daughters." Its phonesis and organic structure prove it to be "a very poor and rustic patois" which of late has been deluged with resuscitated Sanskrit words

and forms. We submit the interesting question to those who have studied Bangâlî deeply; but meantime we hold with Mr. Beames, and with him also we reprobate the pedantry of reproducing dead Sanskrit forms in living Bangâlî speech.

The presence of Arabic and Persian words in the vernaculars of India has been to many a stumbling-block, and they have proposed to weed them out as interlopers—as invaders of recent date. Mr. Beames, however, justly reminds us that many of these words were naturalized very long ago. The influence of Arabic in India began with the conquest of Sindh in the early part of the 8th century; in the 11th the expedition of Mahmûd of Ghazni extended the knowledge of Arabic (Mr. Beames should have added, 'and Persian') to all north-western India. The seven sister dialects had foreign elements thus woven into their structures from the very commencement; and often, even in sequestered rural places, the Arabic or Persian term is more familiar to the mass than any synonymous word of Indian origin.

Mr. Beames is much of a utilitarian. In the vast complications of classic grammar he has no complacency; he rejoices in the simplification which marks the modern dialects. English is "our own beautiful and practical language," which has "emancipated itself from awkward and cumbersome swaddling clothes." Thus, in regard to gender, he pities the 'stilted' Marâṭhî and Gujarâtî for having retained masculines, feminines, and neuters;—he thinks that Hindî, Panjâbî, and Sindhî have done well in rejecting the neuter; and that Bangâlî and Oṛiya are to be congratulated on having no gender at all. We hardly know whether he prefers our English mode of designating natural (as distinguished from grammatical) gender to that which prevails in the languages which have retained the distinction he dislikes. For instance, is it better to have *horse* for the masculine and *mare* for the feminine, than with the Marâthî to say *ghoḍâ, ghoḍî?* We cannot think so. Mr. Beames, it is plain, must immensely prefer the constancy with which the English article *the* does duty in all circumstances and connections; while he must pity the ever-shifting forms of its German representative—*der, die, das, des, dem, den.* What say the Germans to this? And will our friends in Western India rejudge his judgment when he ventures to speak of "the usual ill-luck of Marâthî"?

Mr. Beames in his first volume showed a good deal of 'a skipping spirit,' and refreshed himself and his readers with a very passable joke now and then. Hard official work, we fear, is taking the fun out of him; which is a pity on all accounts. In a discussion on the numerals (which, by the by, is one of the most interesting in the volume) he suddenly asks—"Had the Gipsies only learnt to count as far as six when they left India?" This, because above six the resemblance between the Gipsy and other Indian numerals nearly vanishes. Mr. Beames's question, if seriously put, is absurd, and as a joke the thing will hardly pass muster.

But we cannot let our closing remark be one of censure. We must heartily congratulate Mr. Beames on his having, on the whole, well sustained the position—and it was a high one—which he won for himself as an Orientalist by his former volume.

HISTORY OF NEPÂL, translated from the *Parbatyâ* by Munshî Śiva Śankar Singh and Pandit Śrî Gunânand: with an introductory sketch of the country of Nepâl, by the editor, DANIEL WRIGHT, M.A., M.D., late Residency Surgeon at Kâthmândû. Rl. 8vo, pp. 324. (Cambridge University Press, 1877.)

Our information respecting Nepâl is still very defective, and, as Dr. Wright remarks, it is hardly possible to give it any degree of completeness "while our relations with it remain as they are at present," but for this very reason this work is all the more valuable. It is only to be regretted that the editor did not bestow more pains, while in the country, upon the revision of the *Vaṁśâvali* or Genealogical History of Nepâl, according to the Buddhist recension, which he has here edited with only a few notes regarding the customs and places mentioned.

Dr. Wright's sketch of the valley of Nepâl surrounding the capital, about 20 miles in length by 15 in breadth, which is the only portion of the country open to the investigations of Europeans, occupies 75 pages, but, for want of a map, is not always very intelligible. Kâthmâṇḍû, the capital, known also by the names of Yindêsi, Kântipur, and Kâṭhmâḍû, is "said to have been founded by Râja Gunakâmadeva, in the Kaligat (*sic*, for *Kaliyuga*) year 3824 (A.D. 723)." It is built on no regular plan, and its shape is very irregular, but "is said by the natives to resemble the Khora or sword of Devî." Its population is estimated by Dr. Wright at 30,000. "The better class of buildings is elaborately ornamented with plaster and paintings, and the houses in general possess large projecting wooden balconies, which are richly carved;" the temples "are several stories in height and profusely ornamented with carvings, painting, and gilding," but the carvings on many, and even on private houses, contain most obscene groups, the only reason assigned for which filthy custom being 'that such figures are supposed to protect the buildings from being struck by lightning" (pp. 9-10). The streets are narrow and the whole town is very dirty: in short "Kâthmâṇḍû may be said

to be built on a dunghill in the midst of latrines"! (p. 12).

Pâṭan, the next city, about two miles S.E. of Kâṭhmâṇḍû, was built by Râja Bîr Deva in the "Kaligat" year 3400 (A.D. 299), and is called by the names of Yellondêsi and Lalita Pâṭan. Its population "is said to be 30,000" (p. 16). Bhâtgâon, about nine miles E. from the capital, was founded by Râja Ânand Malla, A D. 865, and was at first named Bhaktâpur, but was also known as Dharma Pâtan and Khopodêsi: its population is also "estimated at about 30,000."

The principal races of Nepâl are the Gôrkhâs or Gôrkhâlîs, Nêwârs, Gûrungs, Limbûs, Kirâtîs, Bhôtiyâs, and Lepchâs. The Gôrkhâlî is the dominant race, and derives its name, says Dr. Wright, "from the town of Gôrkhâ," which is about 60 miles W.N.W. from Kâṭhmâṇḍû, but this again is derived from the eponymous deity of the royal family, viz. Gôrkhânâtha. They conquered Nepâl in 1768. "The Limbûs and Kirâtîs occupy the hilly country to the eastward of the valley," and are famous as hunters. "They are both short, flat-faced people, powerfully built, and decidedly Mongolian in appearance" (p. 27). Like the Nêwârs and Bhotiyâs, they are Buddhists. In very early times the chronicle relates that the Kirâtîs came from the east and conquered the Ahir prince, establishing a dynasty which gave 29 princes to the throne, but was at last overthrown by the Somavañśi Râjputs.

The second chapter of the introduction concludes with a very brief account of 22 of the principal *jatrâs;* the third gives some account of the occupations of the people, laws and punishments, trade and manufactures, agriculture, revenue, &c.; the fourth sketches briefly the history of the country during the past hundred years; and the last remarks on the political aspect of matters in Nepâl, and the penurious, avaricious, rude, and jealous character of the Gôrkhâs.

The 'History' is sadly deficient in details and dates. The valley, we are told, was formerly known as Nâg Hrad—'the tank of the serpent.' In the Trêtâyuga, Visvabhu Buddha came from a country called Anûpam to worship Svayambhu Buddha, and showed his disciples the place through which the waters of the Nâg Hrad should be made to run out. In later times the Ṛishi Nê performed his devotions at the junction of the Bâgmatî and Kêśâvatî rivers, and ruled over the country, which derived its name from him. After this Manjûśrî came from Mahâ-chîn, and cut through the mountain and let the water run out with several Nâgas and other animals, but he persuaded Karkôṭak, king of the Nâgas, to remain, and pointed out to him a large tank (called Tandâh) to live in; but afterwards Dânâsur dammed up the passage again, and Bhima the Pâṇḍava came from Dolkhâ and amused himself in a stone boat upon the lake. Vishnu re-opened the passage, and a thousand years after, Râja Svayambrata was made king. Vir Vikramâditya took service under him, and ultimately became king and "ruled a thousand years," leaving the kingdom to his son Vikrama Kêśarî. Later still Rânî Pingala, the wife of Sudatta of Mârwâḍa, came and performed penances to Guhajêśvari, but was taken back by her husband (pp. 104 5). These events, however, are all relegated to very early ages. Nê Nurmi installed a cowherd named Bhuktamâna as king, who founded a Gupta dynasty. We could have wished for a better chronology than Kirkpatrick's, but that does not seem available; in fact the earlier dynasties have either been manufactured, or, which is quite as probable, and of which the case of the Simraun dynasty is an instance, two or more of them were contemporary, and none of them of any very great antiquity. The following are the lists of the dynasties with the dates derived by Mr. Prinsep from Kirkpatrick—and his names[1] —where they differ from the *Vaṁśâvali*:—

1. *Gupta Dynasty, 521 years.*

B.C. 3803 Bhuktamânagata, reigned 88 years (K. Burimahâgâh, 18 years; Prinsep supposes about B.C. 844).

3795 Jaya Gupta, his son, ruled 72 years.
3722 Parama Gupta „ 80 „
3631 Bhimagupta 93 (Śrî Harkh 67) „
3564 Bhimagupta „ 38 „
3526 Maṇigupta „ 37 „
3489 Vishṇugupta „ 42 „
3423 Yaksha Gupta „ 71 „ (Jayagupta II. overcame the Râjpûts near Janakpur about B.C. 700 ?)

2. *The Ahîr Dynasty from Hindustân.*

B.C. 3351 ?[2] Vara Siñha, Ahir (Bal Siñha, descendant of Mahipa Gopâla).

3302 Jayamati Siñha.

3281 Bhuvana Siñha, overcome by Kirâtîs from the east.

3. *Kirâtî Dynasty.*

B.C. 3240 Yalambara, 13 years, Yellang (Prinsep B.C. 646 ?).

3150 Pavi (Daskham), in whose reign the Kaliyug began, B.C. 3102).

—— *Skandhara.*[3]

3113 Valamba (Balâncha).

3086 Hriti (Kingli).

[1] Thomas's ed. of Prinsep's *Essays*, vol. II. *Useful Tables*, pp. 268-71.

[2] Prinsep by a clerical error has 3211 here.

[3] The names in italics are wanting in Kirkpatrick.

B.C. 3040 Humati (Henanter).
2990 Jitêdâsti (Tuskhah joined in the Mahâbhârata).
2949 Gali (Srupast).
2910 Pushka (Parb).
2854 Suyarma (Jotydâstri).
2794 Parva (Panchem).
2723 Bunka (King-king-king).
2667 Swananda.
2627 Sthunko (Thuṅhu, cotemporary with Aśoka, B.C. 260 ?).
2558 Gighri (Jaigri).
2498 Nanê (Jenneo).
—— *Luk.*
2365 Thôra.
2294 Thôkô (Thamu).
2211 Varmâ.
2138 Guja (Gunjeh).
—— Pushkara (Kashkûn).
2065 Keśû (Teṣhû).
2019 Suga (Sungmia).
1950 Sansa (Jusha).
1887 Gunan (Gontho).
1813 Khimbu or Shimbu.
—— *Paṭuka* attacked by the Somavaṅśa Râjputs.
1739 Gasti (Galijjang subdued by the Somavaṅśîs).

4. *Somavaṅśa Dynasty.*

B.C. 1658 Nimika or Nimisha' (Nevesit, B.C. 178).
1608 Matâksha (Mattarâtio).
1517 Kâka-varmâ.
1441 Paśupresha-deva rebuilt the temple of Paśupati K.Y. 1234 (Paśupushadeva).
1385 Bhâskara-varmâ, a great conqueror.

5. *Sûryavaṅśa Dynasty, ruling at Bâneśvara.*

B.C. 1311 Bhumi-varmâ, a Khetri, crowned in K.Y. 1389.
1270 Chandra-varmâ.
1249 Chandra-varmâ (Jaya-varmâ).
1187 Varsha-varmâ (Vṛisha-varmâ).
1130 Sarva-varmâ.
1081 Pṛithvî-varmâ.
1025 Jyeshṭha-varmâ.
977 Hari-varmâ (Kuvera-varmâ).
901 Kuvêra-varmâ (Hari-varmâ).
824 Siddhi-varmâ.
763 Haridatta-varmâ built the temple of Nîlakaṇṭha Nârâyaṇa.
724 Vasudatta-varmâ.
691 Pati-varmâ (Srîpatri-varmâ).
B.C. 688 Śivavṛiddhi-varmâ.
611 Vasanta-varmâ.
550 Śiva-varmâ (Deva).
—— *Rudradeva-varmâ.*
493 Vṛiksha-deva-varmâ; Śankarâchârya visited Nepâl.
436 Śankara-dêva Râja.
386 Dharma-deva (Brahmadeva).
335 Mân-dêva.
297 Mahâdeva.
247 Vasantadeva-varmâ II. crowned K. Y. 2800
190 Udayadêva-varmâ.
143 Mânadeva-varmâ II.
98 Guṇakâmadêva-varmâ (Sukam).
48 Śivadeva-varmâ removed the capital to Deva Pâṭan.
B.C. 6 Narêndradeva-varmâ, brother of Śivadeva.
A.D. 27 Bhîmadeva-varmâ (displaced by the Ahirs).
43 Vishnudeva-varmâ (Vishṇu-gupta).
117[4] Viśvadeva-varmâ contemporary with Vikramâditya, gave his daughter in marriage to Ansuvarmâ, a Ṭhâkuri or legitimate Râjput (Kṛishṇagupta).

6. *The Ṭhâkurî Dynasty, capital Madhyalakhu* (p. 133).

A.D. 259 Anśu-varmâ (Anghu-varma) Bibhuvarmâ built an aqueduct on the left side of the road leading southward to Rânî-pokhrî; in his time 3000 years K.Y. had elapsed B.C. 101.
301 Kṛita-varmâ.
319 Bîmârjuna-deva.
358 Nanda-dêva. Śâlivâhana Śaka introduced into Nepâl.
299[5] Vîra-deva (Śiva-deva 371) founded Lalitpur.
—— *Chandrakêtu-deva,* the country suffered from invaders.
387 Narêndra-deva, 7 years (37 years).
424 Vara-deva, 8 years (Bala deva, 17 years); moved his capital to Lalit-Pâṭan; Gorakhnâth came to Nepâl; 12 years' drought; Machchhîndranâtha came to Nepâl K.Y. 3623, A.D. 522.[5]
441 Śankara-deva, 12 years.
453 Varddhamâna-deva, 13 years (Bhima Arjuna 16 years).
469 Bali-deva 13 years (Jaya-deva, 19 years).
488 Jaya-deva, 15 years (Sribala-deva, 16 years).
504 Bâlârjuna-deva, 17 years (Kandara-deva, 27 years).
(807 Vikrama-deva, 12 years.)[6]

Kirkpatrick gives Bhûmi-gupta A.D. 178 as the 3rd Ahir king expelled by Śivadeva-varmâ A.D. 218, adjusted by Prinsep to A.D. 470.

[5] These dates cannot both be correct; if we accept the second it would tally well enough with the next date under Gunakâma-deva K.Y. 3824,—only that date is perhaps considerably too early.

[6] Kirkpatrick's lists supply after Kondara—A.D. 531 Jaya-deva II.; 574 Bala-deva III.; 585 Balârjun-deva; 622 Raghoba-deva (said to have introduced the Newâr era, adjusted to A.D. 880); 685 Śikar-deva; and 773 Soho-deva. After Vikrama he gives 808 Narendra-deva; 810 Gunakâmadeva; 895 Udaya-deva; 901 Narbhay-deva.

A.D. 810 Gunakâma-deva, 51 years; founded Kântipur or Kâṭhmâṇḍu as his capital K.Y. 3824, A.D. 723.

908 Bhôja-deva, 8 years (Bhojadevabhadra).

917 Lakshmîkâma-deva, 22 years.

938 Jayakâma-deva, 20 years; he died without issue, and the Vaiśya Ṭhâkurîs of Noâkôṭ elected from among themselves.

958 Bhâskara-deva (Udaya-deva).

966 Bala-deva.

977 Padma-deva.

984 Nâgârjuna-deva.

987 Śankara-deva, expelled by

The restored Râjput Dynasty.

A.D. 1004 Vâma-deva.

1006 Harsha-deva.

1022 Sadâśiva-deva; restored the Paśupati temple K.Y. 3851, A.D. 750.

1050 Mâna-deva ruled 10 years (Indra-deva 12 years).

1062 Narasiñha-deva 22 years (Mân-deva 5 years)

1067 Nanda-deva 21 years (Narendra-deva 6 years).

1073 Rudra-deva 7 years (80 years).

1153 Mitra-deva 21 years (Amrita-deva 3 years).[7]

—— Ari-deva 22 years.

—— Abhaya-Malla, introduced the new Samvat A.D. 880?

1246 Jaya-deva Malla 10 years.

1280 Ânanda Malla. brother, 25 years; founded Bhâtgâon A.D. 865, where he ruled.

Kârnâṭakî Dynasty, capital—Bhaktopur or Bhâtgâon.

1 Nânya-deva came from Kârnâṭaka, bringing Newâras from Nâyêra, and defeated the Malla râjas A.D. 889; ruled 50 years.

2 Gangâ-ḍeva 41 years.

3 Narasiñha-deva 31 years; founded Châpâgâon A.D. 991.

4 Śakti-deva 39 years.

5 Râmasiñha-deva 58 years.[8]

6 Hari-deva removed to Kântipur; invaded and slain by Mukunda-sena, whose troops were destroyed by pestilence. Then the Vaiśya Ṭhâkurîs of Noâkot established many petty chiefships and ruled 225 years.

Ayodhya Dynasty.

A.D. 1324, Harisiñha-deva of Simraungaṛh, 28 years.

A.D. 1352 Matisiñha-deva 15 years.

1367 Śaktisiñha-deva 22 „

1389 Śyâmasiñha-deva 15 years; a great earthquake in A.D. 1408 (1398?) destroyed the temple of Machchhindranâtha, &c.

Restored Malla Dynasty of Bhâtgâon.

1 Jayabhadra Malla 15 years, son-in-law of Śyâmasiñhadeva.

2 Nâga Malla 15 „

3 Jayajagat Malla 11 „

4 Nâgêndra Malla 10 „

5 Ugra Malla 15 „

6 Aśoka Malla 19 „

7 1386 (?)[9] Jayasthiti Malla 43 years, a legislator.

8 1429[9] Yaksha or Jayayaksha Malla 43 years. kingdom divided.

9 1472[9] Râya Malla, eldest son of Gaksha, 15 years.

10 Suvarna Malla 15 years.

11 Prâṇa Malla 15 years.

12 Viśva Malla 15 „

13 Trailôkya Malla 15 „

14 Jagatjyoti Malla 15 „

15 Narêndra Malla 21 „

1653 Jagatprakâśa Malla[10] 21 years.

1674 Jitâmitra Malla 21 „

1695 Bhûpatîndra Malla 34 „

1721 Raṇajît Malla; Narbhûpâla of Gôrkhâ invaded Nepâl 1729.

Râja of Baṇêpa.

9 Râna Malla, second son of Yaksha Malla, 21 years.

Râjas of Kâṭhmâṇḍû.

9 Ratna Malla, youngest son of Yaksha, 71 years.

10 Amara Malla, 47 years.

11 Sûrya Malla.

12 Narêndra Malla.

13 Mahindra Malla; temple of Tuljâdevi built at Kâṭhmâṇḍû A.D. 1519, and of Nârâyaṇa at Lalit-Pâṭan 1566.

14 Sadâśiva Malla, expelled.

15 Śivasiñha Malla, his brother; temple of Changu Nârâyaṇa repaired 1585, and that of Svayambhu 1594.

16 Lakshmînârâyaṇa Malla, became insane.

[7] After this Kirkpatrick's lists differ greatly from these, and it is evident that previous to the time of Harisiñhadeva, A.D. 1324, the chronology is inextricable confusion; from that date Dr. Wright's book helps greatly to rectify our previous knowledge. This dynasty is doubtless placed three centuries too early by the *Vaṁśavali*, which apparently makes Gunakâma-deva of a previous list contemporary with Sadâśiva-deva of this one.

[8] It will be observed that this Kârnâtakî dynasty presents us with the same names in nearly the same order as they occur in the Samangaṛha or Simraun dynasty, viz. 1, Nânyupa deva, who, according to Hodgson, founded Simraun A.D. 1097; 2, Ganga-deva; 3, Narasiñha-deva; 4, Râmasiñha-deva; 5, Śaktisiñha-deva; 6, Harasiñha-deva.

[9] The dates of the inscription Newâr Sam. 542, the Kotyâhuti-yajna 515, and Jayasthiti's death 549 (pp. 183, 187), are probably in error by 100 years. Prinsep places the accession of Jayayaksha in Newâr Sam. 371, or A.D. 1610, but this appears to be too late.

[10] Three dates are cited in this reign—S. 775, 782, 787 (pp. 191-2)—but the accuracy of them is questioned by Dr. Wright; they are in accordance, however, with what follows.

17 Pratâpa Malla A.D. 1639[11]; abdicated for a time in favour of his sons:—

A.D. 1666 Pârthipendra Malla 1 year.

1667 Nṛipendra Malla 1 year.

1668 Mahîpêndra Malla 1 year.

1669 Chakravartendra Malla 1 day—died.

1689 Mahindra or Bhûpâlendra Malla 5 years.

1694 Śrî Bhâskara Malla 8 years; a plague raged for two years.

1702 Jagajjaya Malla, a distant relative.

1732 Jayaprakâśa Malla A.D. 39 years; war with Pṛithvinârâyaṇa, who took Kântipur in 1768.

Kings of Pâṭan.

Hariharasiñha Malla, son of Śivasiñha, No. 15 of Kâṭhmâṇḍû.

1654 Siddhi-narsiñha Malla.

1657 Śrînivâsa Malla (Nirman Indra Malla).

1702 Yoganarendra Malla.

1706 [12] Mahîpatîndra or Mahîndra Siñha Malla of Kâṭhmâṇḍû,

1722 Jayayoga prakâśa Malla.

1729-31 Śrî Vishṇu Malla, grandson of Yoganarendra.

1742 Râjya Prakâśa Malla.

—— Raṇajît Malla of Bhâtgâon 1 year and expelled.

—— Jayaprakâśa Malla of Kântipur 1 or 2 years and expelled.

1749-50 Viśvajît Malla, grandson of Vishṇu Malla, 4 years; murdered.

Dalmardan Śâh, a Gôrkhâlî of Noâkôt, 4 years; expelled.

Tej Narasiñha Malla, 3 years; expelled by Pṛithvînârâyaṇ.

Gôrkhâlî Râjas claiming descent from the Udayapur family (p. 276).

1 Michâ Khân ruled at Nuvâkôṭ.	4 Michâ Khân.
2 Jayan Khân.	5 Vichitra Khân.
3 Sûrya Khân.	6 Jagdeva Khân.

7 Kulmandan Śâh ruled over Kâskî.

8 Yaśôvam Śâh, Râja of Lamjung.

A.D. 1559 Śrî Drabya Śâh, subdued Gôrkhâ, Śaka 1481, and reigned 11 years.

1570 Śrî Purandar Śâh, his son, 35 years.

1605 Śrî Chhatra Śâh, his son, 7 months.

1606 Śrî Râma Śâh, his brother, 27 years.

1633 Śrî Dambar Śâh, son, 9 years.

1642 Śrî Kṛishṇa Śâh, son, 11 years.[13]

1653 Śrî Rudra Śâh, son, 16 years (11 on p. 290).

1669 Srî Pṛithvipati Śâh, son, 47 years.

A.D. 1716 Narbhûpâla Śâh, his grandson, 26 years 8 months.

1743 Pṛithvînârâyana Śâh, his son, 32 years; conquered Nepâl A.D. 1768.

1775 Pratapasiñha Śâh, son, 2 years 9 months.

1778 Raṇa Bahâdur Śâh, son, 22 years; retired to Banâras; assassinated A.D. 1804.

1799 Girvânyuddha Vikrama Śâh, son, 17 years.

1816 Râjêndra Vikrama Śâh, son, 30 years 5 months, resigned.

1847 Śrî Surêndra Vikram Śâh, son, the present ruler.

The appendices contain lists of musical instruments, agricultural implements, coins, weights and measures, a vocabulary of Parbatiya and Newârî words, 5 Newârî songs with interlinear versions, a recapitulation of the lists of rulers, and a catalogue of about 360 MSS. procured by Dr. Wright for the University of Cambridge, some of them apparently of great age. All the older among them are on palm leaves and are dated in the Nepâlese Samvat. Among them may be noted two copies of *Ashtasâhasrikâ* dated respectively in the 3rd and 5th years of the Nepâl Samvat, or A.D. 883 and 885, and a third A.D. 1008, also a copy of the *Kâsya Kâṇḍa-kramâvali* dated in the 10th year of the era. There is also a fine copy of Yaśomitra's commentary on the *Abhidharmakôśa* of Vasubandhu. The Tantra literature is especially well represented; and among others is a copy of the *Árya-Manjuśrimalatantra*, the historical value of which was noticed by Burnouf.

The book is well got up and illustrated by sixteen plates: four are portraits from photographs of Nepâlese celebrities; one double-page coloured plate gives the Five Buddhas, their Târâs or female counterparts, and Bodhisatvas, scarcely differing from the same figures as given by Mr. Hodgson;[14] another double-page plate gives the prayer of Pratâpa Malla to Kâlikâ (dated New. Sam. 774) inscribed in fifteen different languages; a lithograph is given of the *pâdukâs* of Buddha and Manjuśrî (p. 78), and the rest (nine) are views chiefly of temples.

Dr. Wright, in his part of the work, does not show much acquaintance with what has been before written on the subject by Kirkpatrick, Dr. Buchanan Hamilton, and especially Hodgson. To none of these authorities does he even refer, and this must be felt as a defect by every one interested in the subject, who will have to fall back on these earlier writers for fuller information.

[11] Dr. Wright gives a facsimile of the Mantra composed by him and inscribed on the temple of Jagannâth, dated N.S. 774, or A.D. 1653.

[12] This date and that of his death, 1722, do not accord with the rule of Mahindra 1689-1694, but Kirkpatrick gives 1685, Nirman Indra Malla; 1689, Yoganarendra Malla; 1695, Mahipatindra; 1696, Jayavîra Mahendra; 1706, Jayaindra Malla-deva; 1715, Hridiya Narasiñha; 1716, Rishi Nirmal-deva to 1722.

[13] Thus on p. 279, but 16 years on p. 290.

[14] *Trans. As. Soc.* vol. II. p. 233.

THE WIVES OF MUḤAMMAD.

BY J. D. BATE, ALLAHÀBÂD.

WHEN the manner of Muḥammad's relationships with persons of the gentler sex is subjected to investigation as a historical study, the topic naturally divides itself into several sections.

I. We may enumerate, in the first place, his lawfully-married wives.

1. The first of these was Khadîja, daughter of Khawailid. At the time of his marriage to this lady, in 595 A.D., Muḥammad was in his twenty-fifth year, and Khadîja was a widow of forty. Before this marriage she had been twice a widow, her first husband having been Abû Hâlah, and her second Alîq bin 'Âbad: some of the Moslim historians reverse the order of these two names. By each of her former husbands Khadîja had borne two children,—a son and a daughter,—who had all of them died before her third marriage. By this marriage six children were born to Muḥammad, the first and the last of whom were boys, and the remainder girls. There is a want of harmony in the statements of Muḥammadan historians in regard to this point, some of them affirming that Muḥammad had at least four sons by this marriage: the above-mentioned statement, however, is the one upon which there is a pretty general agreement, and according to that statement the names of the children, in the order of birth, are given thus:—the eldest, Qâsim; then, the girls, Zainab, Ruqaiyya, Fâtima, and Umm Qolthûm; then, lastly, 'Abd-Manâf, who is called also 'Abdu'l-lâh, Tayib, and Tâhir. The male children died in early childhood; the girls grew up, and at length married. When Muḥammad was fifty years of age he lost Khadîja: she died at the age of sixty-five, in December 619, in the month of Ramazân, and was interred near Makka. Her tomb, which is enclosed by a square wall, is still in existence, and is regularly visited by pilgrims to Makka, especially on Friday morning.

Khadîja is known in Moslim legend under the title of 'the chief of women,' she having been the first of her sex (as she was, indeed, also the first human being) who avowed herself a believer in the mission of Muḥammad. There is also a legend that Muḥammad considered her one of the only four perfect women that ever lived,—the other three being Asia wife of Pharaoh, Mary the mother of Jesus and daughter of 'Imrân, and his own daughter Fâtima.

2. His second wife was Sauda, daughter of Zam'ah. Sauda was a widow at the time of her marriage to Muḥammad, but she had been only once married. Her husband, Sakrân bin'Umar, was her paternal cousin. Like Khadîja, Sauda was of Qoraishite blood, but through a stock remote from that of Muḥammad, and, with her husband, was among the earliest adherents of Islâm: they were among those who, on account of the persecutions of the Muhammadans at Makka, fled to Abyssinia as exiles. Sauda may therefore be regarded as having been more than ordinarily devoted to the cause of the new faith. There is some uncertainty about the question of Sauda's offspring by the first marriage: the best authorities, however, seem agreed that she had had but one child,—a son 'Abdu'r-rahmân, whose death is believed to have occurred before that of her husband. It is related that when her husband Sakrân lay ill on his dying bed, Sauda mentioned to him one morning a dream from which she had just awoke;—'the prophet of God' had approached her and placed his foot on her neck. Her husband replied, "I am about to die; thou wilt soon be the wife of another." Her marriage with Muḥammad took place in February 620, within two months of the death of his first wife. For three or four years Sauda continued to be the only woman with whom he cohabited. There was no issue by this marriage; though it is said that motives of affection, rather than of worldly self-interest, dictated the union. However this may have been, the Moslim historians relate that when age began to advance upon Sauda, Muḥammad was on the point of divorcing her. It seems a doubtful point whether the desire to divorce Sauda was occasioned by her advancing age, or by some uneasiness in Muḥammad's mind as to her fidelity. It is a somewhat remarkable circumstance that it was only a year before this time—*viz.* at the conquest of Khaibar—that he assigned to Sauda her portion from the revenues of this victory. The desire to divorce her arose only nine years after the marriage. One legend relates that divorce was actually effected, and this through no misde-

meanour of hers, but solely on the plea that her time of life was now such as to preclude the hope of offspring. She, however, accosted him in the public street, and entreated that she might not be cast out of house and home in her old age, and begged her husband that, if such was his desire, he would bestow upon his favourite 'Âïshâ her share of his company,—resorting to the society of his more youthful wife on Sauda's day. To this suggestion 'the prophet of God' magnanimously acceded; and, revoking the sentence of divorce, he permitted Sauda to continue henceforward to be nominally his wife. What may have been her age at the time of her being united in marriage to Muḥammad is a point that cannot be ascertained; she must, however, have been comparatively young, for she did not die till the end of the Khilâfat of 'Umar, some ten years after the death of Muḥammad.

3. Muḥammad's third wife was 'Âïshâ, usually written Ayesha, and less frequently Asha. 'Âïshâ was the daughter of 'Abdu-l-lâh bin Uthmân Abû Qahâfa, better known in Moslim history under the name Abû Bakr (*lit.* 'the spinster's father'),—a title which was bestowed upon him in allusion, apparently, to the fact that he was the father of the only spinster whom 'the prophet of God' had taken into his *ḥaram*. It is not ascertainable at what period this name was given to the father of 'Âïshâ; most probably it was not given till after the Ḥajira, when the marriage to Muḥammad of such a large number of widows would give distinction to the circumstance of 'Âïshâ being the only one among all his wives who had been married to him in her virginity,—a circumstance of which 'Âïshâ never failed to boast. She was the most youthful of his wives, having been married to him at the age of six years, and Muhammadan historians relate that 'the prophet of God' consummated his marriage with the child when she reached her ninth year (Arab. *suhbat, ijtima', zajî*; Pers. *hambistar*). Some of the Moslim authorities, however, make each of these events to have occurred one year later in her life,—thus substituting seven for six, and ten for nine. What may have been the impulse which led Muhammad, then more than half a century old, to form this *outré* alliance, it is not easy to conjecture: thus much, however, may be said, that the immediate practical effect of it was to draw yet more closely the bond of friendship which already existed between him and her father, Abû Bakr. Such things could not have been so revolting to the minds of the Arabians as they are to ours, for according to one authority we find that Muḥammad gave his own favourite daughter, Fâṭima, in marriage when she was but nine years of age; some, however, say that she was about fourteen at the time. Moslim traditionists are not agreed as to the precedence of the marriage with Sauda and with 'Âïshâ: all of them are agreed in assigning these marriages to a period early in the same year—*viz.* 620 A.D. The truth seems to be that the alliance with 'Âïshâ was contracted first in the order of time, and that the circumstance of the marriage with Sauda having been consummated prior to that with the child of Abû Bakr furnishes the only claim in Sauda's case to priority to her in a chronological list of the nature of the present one. The marriage with 'Aïshâ would appear to have been suggested in the first instance by a desire on Muḥammad's part to attach to his own interests her father, who was somewhat younger than Muḥammad, and who, after his death, became the ecclesiastical and political chief of Islâm, and first of the Khalîfas. At the time of his marriage to 'Âïshâ, Muhammad had just turned fifty years of age, so that at the time of his death, at sixty-three, she was about nineteen. That he was influenced in this case by ordinary conjugal emotion can hardly be supposed: the disparity in the matter of age is very striking; and it is not supposable that the charms of the poor child were so duly unfolded at the age of six as to have effected a conquest over the heart of one who had already known more than a quarter of a century of married life. There seems every ground for believing that this was merely a *mariage de convenance*,—an alliance mainly designed to secure, by the strongest ties available, the attachment of her father—a powerful and well-to-do citizen—to the then wavering and doubtful cause of Islâm. With but few intermissions, 'Âïshâ, though childless, maintained through the whole period of her married life the position of favourite wife; and the traditionists delight to relate how that it was on the floor of her house and in her arms that 'the prophet of God' breathed his last, and that her apartment in Madîna has been the one only resting-place of his remains. She lived to a tolerably

good age, for she survived Muḥammad about forty-seven years, and did not die till the fifty-eighth year of the Hajira (= 680 A.D), when she would be about sixty-seven years of age.

Partly on account of her having always been so great a favourite of her husband's, and partly on account of her having become after his death so great an authority for legends concerning him, 'Âishâ is known in Moslim literature as *An-nabîya*, 'the prophetess,' and *Ummu-l-Muslimîn*,' mother of Moslims.'

4. His fourth marriage was with Ḥafsa, daughter of 'Umar, the immediate successor of Abû Bakr in the Khilâfat. The name of this lady appears in various forms: thus, Hafsah, Hafza, Haphsa, Haphza, Haphsah, Haphzah, &c. The marriage took place in the third year of the Hajira (*i.e.* in 624 A.D), when Muḥammad was in his fifty-fifth year, Ḥafsa being from eighteen to twenty years of age. This was her second marriage, her former husband, Khunais the Ethiopian (some name him Jahsh the Egyptian), having died six or seven months before her marriage to Muḥammad. Whatever may have been the real purpose of Muḥammad in contracting this alliance, it had the effect of drawing into still closer friendship to himself her father, 'Umar. The course of this marriage was not unchequered; it was Ḥafsa who, on one of her own days, discovered the chief of the prophets' on her own bed with Mary the Coptic slave: she is, moreover, said to have been one of those two of Muḥammad's lawfully-married wives whom he divorced,—the other, as we have seen, was Sauda. The occasion of her being divorced was his displeasure at her determination not to observe secrecy in relation to the circumstances of his amour with the Egyptian girl: afterwards, however, when 'the apostle of God' perceived the deep offence which the divorce had occasioned his friend 'Umar, the angel Gabriel was sent down with a special revocation of the sentence of divorce, the matter was made up, and the daughter of 'Umar was restored to favour. Ḥafsa died at Madîna, at the age of sixty, about the forty-first year of the Hajira, and was childless in both of her marriages.

5. His fifth wife was Zainab daughter of Khuzaima. This alliance was contracted in the ninth month of the fourth year of the Hajira (Dec. 625 A.D.). At the time of her marriage to Muḥammad, Zainab had already been thrice married: her first husband, Tufail bin Hârith, divorced her; the second, 'Ubaida bin Hârith, a paternal cousin of Muḥammad's, was slain at the battle of Badr; and the third, 'Abdu-l-lâh bin Jahsh, was slain in the battle of Uḥud. The exact age of this lady at the time of her marriage to Muḥammad does not appear to be known: she died soon after her marriage,—some say eight months after, and others say a year and a half,—and with the single exception of Khadîja was the only one of his wives who did not survive him. Zainab was childless in all her marriages. She is said to have been one of the three whom Muḥammad took in marriage at their own request. The beneficence of her disposition towards destitute converts won for her the epithet *Ummu-l-masâkîn*, 'Mother of the poor.' Some, however, record that this epithet was applied not to this Zainab, but to Zainab bint Jahsh.

6. The sixth wife was a paternal cousin of his, Umm Salama, daughter of Abî Umaiya. This alliance took place in the fourth year of the Hajira, in January 626 A.D., within one month of Muḥammad's marriage with Zainab bint Khuzaima. At the time of her marriage to Muḥammad she was twenty-eight years of age, and had been once a widow. Her husband, Abû Salama, died from a wound received at the battle of Uḥud,—death supervening some eight months after the infliction of the wound. She brought with her four children, the offspring of her late marriage, but she had no issue by her second. Umm Salama had been twice to Abyssinia with her husband, who had emigrated thither on account of the persecutions and hardships which, as adherents of Muḥammad, they experienced at Makka. Though not young at the time of her marriage to Muḥammad, she still is said to have been very beautiful. She at first excused herself from complying with his proposal, partly on the ground of her maturity in point of age. Muḥammad, however, removed her objections by urging that he too was well advanced in years, and that as for her children, they should be his care. Notwithstanding this, however, it is recorded by some of the traditionists that this lady was one of the three who were taken in marriage by Muḥammad at their own request. This marriage of Umm Salama was consummated four months after the death of her husband, and within one month of Muḥammad's marriage to his fifth wife. After

his marriage in the present instance, he remained in her society for a period of three days; and his example in this particular was ever after followed by 'believers' when they added fresh inmates to their *harams*. From the circumstance that Muḥammad was wont to have Umm Salama accompany him on the march and in his travels generally, it has been inferred that she was one of his special favourites. The exact period of her death is not known: it occurred, however, at some period between the fifty-ninth and sixty-first years of the Ḥajira, when she had reached the advanced age of eighty-four.

7. Muḥammad's seventh wife was Zainab the daughter of Jaḥsh. Zainab was a cousin of Muḥammad's, being daughter of Amîma, who was a sister of Muḥammad's father, 'Abdu'l-lâh. Her former husband, Zaid bin Hârith, was at one time a slave of Muḥammad's, and, being afterwards freed by him, was adopted by him as his own child. Zainab was divorced from her husband in order that she might be united in marriage to 'the prophet of God.' This marriage was effected a few months after the former one with Umm Salama—*viz.* in June 626, in the fifth year of the Hajira, Muḥammad being then fifty-five years of age. Zainab, in common with so many of his other wives, was childless, and died at the eye of fifty-three. There are certain exceptional features in connexion with this marriage: in the first place, the four witnesses required by Islâmic law in order to legalize the marriage were dispensed with. The reason was that when, in consequence of the displeasure generally felt in regard to the whole transaction, the difficulty of finding witnesses in this case arose, Muḥammad declared that Gabriel had been sent down to him with a message from God,—"WE have joined her in marriage unto thee." Thus was Zainab his *divinely-appointed* bride,—a circumstance on which she was wont, on occasion, to vaunt herself in the presence of her co-wives, saying that, whereas the other wives were given away by their relatives, *she* had been bestowed upon 'the prophet' by an express divine revelation and behest. Another exceptional feature is found in the extreme difficulty that exists in arriving at a harmonious statement of figures. According to one account, the divorce took place a year after her marriage with Zaid, and when she was only nine years of age, or as some say *seven*; according to another account Zainab was over thirty at the time of that event. Again, as to the time of her death, it is said by some that she survived till the fiftieth year of the Ḥajira; by others that she survived Muḥammad only ten or eleven years, or till about the twentieth year of the Ḥajira. It seems most likely that she was thirty at the time of her divorce; and, her age being fifty-three at the time of her death, she would have survived Muhammad about seventeen years.

8. The eighth wife of Muḥammad was Juwairiya, daughter of Banî-Hârith, chief of the tribe of the Banî-Mustaliq. Juwairiya was a widow at the time of her marriage to Muḥammad,—her unfortunate husband, Ẓû-l-Shafrain, who was her paternal cousin, having just been put to death at the battle of the Banî-l-Mustaliq. On lots being cast for her as a trophy of war, she fell to the share of Thâbit bin Qais. She is said, however, to have been particularly beautiful; and it is related that 'the prophet of God,' overpowered by her beauty, purchased her from Thâbit for a sum of money, and without further delay consummated marriage with her. This event occurred in the fifth year of the Ḥajira, December 626 A.D.; and, as she died in the fifty-sixth year of the Ḥajira, at the age of sixty-eight, she would be about seventeen at the time of this marriage.

9. His ninth wife was a Jewess, Safîa, daughter of Hayy bin Akhtub. Safîa is said to have been a beautiful damsel of seventeen or eighteen years of age at the time of her marriage to Muḥammad. She had been twice married, and had been divorced by her first husband, Salâm bin Shikam. Her second husband, the Jewish chief Kinâna bin Rabî', was slain by the party of Muḥammad in the battle of Khaibar. On returning from the battle 'the prophet of God' seated her, as his favourite trophy in the war, behind himself on his own camel, and covered her with his own mantle, in token of having made her his wife. The marriage took place immediately after the battle in which her husband had been slain,—that is, in the seventh year of the Ḥajira (= 628 A.D.). Safîa died childless in the fifty-second year of the Ḥajira, having survived Muḥammad forty years: by that time she would be about sixty-three years of age.

10. Muḥammad's tenth wife was Umm Habîba, daughter of Abû Sofiân. At the

time of her marriage with Muḥammad this lady was the widow of 'Ubaidu-l-lâh bin Jaḥsh, by whom she had become the mother of one child,—a girl. 'Ubaidu-l-lâh was, in the first instance, a Muhammadan; but, in consequence of the growing persecution of Muḥammad and his adherents in Makka before the Ḥajira, he removed to the Christian province of Abyssinia, where he gave up Islàm and embraced the religion of the country, and at length died a Christian. This man was one of the '*Four Inquirers*,' so called,—that is, persons who are said in Moslim legend to have been in a state of expectancy of a prophet just prior to the time when Muḥammad announced his mission. 'Ubaidu-l-lâh was a maternal cousin of Muḥammad's,—his mother having been a daughter of 'Abdu-l-Muttalib, Muhammad's grandfather; he was also a brother of Zainab bint Jaḥsh, the divorced wife of Zaid. On hearing of his death, Muhammad sent for his widow, and took her in marriage. This event took place at Madîna in the seventh year of the Ḥajira, in the autumn of 628 A.D.,—their ages being respectively fifty-six and thirty (or, as some say, thirty-five). This lady had no issue by the second marriage; she lived to see the good age of sixty-four, dying in the fortieth year of the Ḥajira (=632 A.D.)—thus surviving Muḥammad about thirty years, and dying during the Khilâfat of her brother Muâvia.

11. The lady who is generally believed to have been the last of his married wives was Maimûna, daughter of Hârith, and maternal aunt of Ibn Abbâs.[1] This was the third marriage of Maimûna,—her former husbands having been Mas'ûd bin 'Umar, and the second Bûraham, from the first of whom, from some cause not now ascertainable, she had become separated. She was joined in marriage to Muḥammad in the seventh year of the Ḥajira (=629 A.D.),—his age and hers being respectively fifty-eight and twenty-six. This lady Maimûna, together with Umm Salama and Zainab bint Khuzaima, are the three who are said to have bestowed themselves, unsolicited and of their own will and request, upon 'the apostle of God' to be his wives. Some of the authorities do not allow to Maimûna a place among his lawfully-married wives,—maintaining that in this instance there was no formal marriage. At the time of his marriage to her, Muḥammad had already in his *ḥaram* eight wives, besides ladies of other descriptions: Khadîja and Zainab bint Khuzaima were the only two who had died. Maimûna lived just fifty-five years after the celebration of her third marriage, and was childless in all her marriages. Surviving, as she did, to the sixty-third year of the Hajira, and to the advanced age of eighty-one, Maimûna was thus not only the last of Muḥammad's wives, but also the oldest, and the one who survived him the longest.

II. We come now, in the second place, to the case of those of Muḥammad's womenfolk who do not fall under the above description of 'lawfully-married': these cases arrange themselves naturally under two heads:—

1. Those ladies with whom he shared connubial rites, but to whom he was not formally married.

In most of these cases the revolting nature of the details must be our excuse for giving no more than the bare names. The women were some of them slaves of Muḥammad's household, and others were captives taken by him among the spoils of war, and appropriated for himself; others, again, were given to him as presents by persons who desired his favour and good-will. The numbers in this list do not indicate the chronological order in which the women were introduced to his acquaintance,—that is a point which it seems impossible to settle with any degree of certainty.

(1) Khaula, daughter of Hakîm.
(2) Rihâna the Jewess.
(3) Salama, widow of Hamza.
(4) Umm-Râfi'.
(5) Rizwa.
(6) Amîma.
(7) Umm-Zamîr.
(8) Agîma.
(9) Umm-Îman (also called Barkat).
(10) Umaima.
(11) Mariam Qabtî (Mary the Egyptian).
(12) Shirîn (sister of Mary the Copt).

The two last-named persons were slaves, the property of Maqauqas, king of Egypt: they had been selected by him on account of their extreme beauty, for presentation to 'the prophet

[1] It is proper to observe in this place that facts, figures, and names regarding this person are stated by different Moslim authorities with such exceptionally strange diversity that what we give below must be received with some reservation.

of God' for his own private *ḥaram*. Ultimately Muḥammad decided to retain for himself Mary, the more beautiful of the two, and magnanimously bestowed her sister upon Hassân the Poet, one of his own generals.

2. Those ladies, not lawfully married to him, whom, after having taken, he, from a variety of causes, put away without their having shared with him connubial rites:—

(1) Fâtima, daughter of Zahîk.
(2) Malaika, daughter of Qa'b.
(3) Lailî, daughter of 'Azîm.
(4) Ghuzia, daughter of Jâbar (surnamed Umm Sharîk).
(5) Umm Hânî, daughter of Abû Tâlib.
(6) Asmâ, daughter of Na'mân.
(7) Anna, daughter of Zazîd (of the tribe of Kunda).

It is important to observe, in regard to these lists, that no small uncertainty rests on the question as to the exact number of ladies who properly appertain to each description given in the headings. Thus, for example, as to the number of those who were formally married to him, some Moslim authorities maintain that they were not more than seven in number; others say eight; others nine; others eleven; others fourteen; others fifteen; others seventeen; others eighteen; others twenty-one; while some of them inform us that 'the prophet of God' paid his addresses to as many as thirty ladies. As to this last number it is added that with seven out of the thirty no formal marriage took place, and that Muḥammad consummated connubial rites with only twelve of the entire number. The variation in the statements of traditionists as to the number of ladies appertaining to each of the headings given above is partly owing, no doubt, to the indiscriminate mixing up of the names of the women who in the various ways above mentioned were associated with him. There is also a want of agreement among authorities as to the exact order in which the marriages took place: thus, some of them put Umm Salama *fifth*, Umm Habîba *sixth*, Juwairiya *seventh*, Safîa *eighth*, Zainab bint Ja'ish *ninth*, Maimûna *tenth*, and Zainab bint Khuzaima *eleventh*. Three of the lawfully-married wives of Muḥammad are said to have been taken by him in marriage at their own request, and Za'nab bint Khuzaima, Umm Salama, and Maimûna are named as the persons in question: but as to this point, again, there is the most bewildering diversity of statement. A woman thus 'self-bestowed' is technically termed in Arabic *Wahabtu-n-nafs* (Persian *Nafsbakhshî*). Several of the ladies whose names come under the different heads of our second list also are termed *nafsbakhshâs*: for example, Khaula bint Hakîm, Ghuzia bint Jâbar, Lailî bint 'Az'm, Asma bint Na'mân, etc. Further, though the names of some of these ladies imply maternity, it must not be supposed that any of them bore offspring to Muḥammad: the circumstance shows rather that they had become mothers before they were introduced to him.

It is a remarkable fact that, notwithstanding the overflowing plenitude of his *ḥaram*, no child was born to him after the death of his first wife,—with the single exception of Ibrâhîm, who was born of Mary the Egyptian, and who died at the age of fourteen or fifteen months. The former of the lists will show that there is no truth in the statement sometimes made, that most of the divorcees whom Muḥammad took in marriage were women whose husbands were still alive; the only case of this nature was that of Zainab bint Ja'ish. The details, however, of some of these instances—notably the instances of Safîa and Juwairiya,—involuntarily recall the case of Uriah the Hittite, with which the reader of the Old Testament history is familiar. Six only of Muḥammad's married wives were of his own tribe of the Qoraish—*viz.* Khadîja, Sauda, 'Aishâ, Hafsa, Umm Salama, and Umm Habîba,—and of the others, two were Jewesses. With the exception of 'Aishâ, there was not among his wives a single spinster;—they were all of them widows excepting Zainab bint Ja'ish. Moslims frequently attribute the tendency of Muḥammad to marry widows to his magnanimous compassion for their forlorn condition: however this may have been, it is to be noted that the widows he married are described as young and beautiful. If magnanimous compassion had been his only sentiment towards them, a set of almshouses and guaranteed support would have fulfilled the dictates of such an emotion; and widows who were neither young nor beautiful would have been sharers of his bounty. The first three of Muḥammad's marriages took place prior to the Hajira,—that is, they took place at

Makka,—and the remainder at Madîna. What may have been the largest number of contemporary women (wives and others included) whom he may have had at any given period of his life after the death of Khadîja, it is impossible to state with certainty. It is very worthy of note that the outbreak of Muhammad's mania for women occurred at a period of his life subsequent to his announcement of himself as the chosen favourite of God; and notably after the Hajira, when his pretensions were more distinctly avowed than during the comparative quietude of his married life in Makka during the lifetime of Khadîja. The exact classification of the unfortunate little girl 'Âisha is a matter which must be left to the judgment of the reader: making all due allowance for differences said to be occasioned by the climate of southern Arabia, to describe her as a spinster could hardly, without legal quibbling, be deemed an exact application of the terms of our mother-tongue,—it surely is not an application of the term which would commend itself to persons of ordinary sense of propriety. How to describe the case of Zainab bint Jahsh is, again, a problem which we must leave to the good sense of our readers. The former of our lists reveals the circumstance that Muhammad observed no rule as to any relativity between the ages of his wives and himself, nor as to any consanguinity that may have previously existed between himself and them, nor as to the elapsing of any specific period of time either between his marriages, or between the decease of a woman's former husband and her union with himself. It has sometimes been maintained that, on grounds supplied by the Qor'ân itself, some of the names mentioned in our first list belong properly to the second: thus, the Qor'ân lays down the rule that a period of not less than four months must be the minimum of widowhood. Now, this rule, as we have seen, was ignored by Muhammad in the case of both Juwairiya and Saf'a. Some are even disposed to include in this same category Zainab bint Jahsh. However this may be, his marriage with Zainab was a clear infringement of at least one other law of the Qor'ân, inasmuch as in this case the requisition that every marriage, to be considered lawful, must be witnessed by four witnesses, two on each side, was dispensed with. The question of the order in which Muhammad's children were respectively born to him is still one of the unsettled points of Moslim history: the order we have given is the one generally received by learned Muhammadans.

There were certain hardships connected with the case of Muhammad's womenfolk which could hardly escape the notice of the most cursory reader. In the first place, it was not lawful for any woman who had ever been united to him to become united afterwards to any other. This is expressly taught in the Qor'ân: none, therefore, of his widows ever re-married; nor, with but one exception, did any of those whom he divorced, however brief may have been the period of their connexion with him, or however innocent they may have been as to the immediate occasion of separation. This it was, in part, that made divorce from him seem so cruel a measure to them, as we see in the case of Sauda and others. The exception we refer to appears to be the case of Lailî bint 'Azîn. The reason was that all those women whom Muhammad took to himself were thereafter called *Ummahâtu-l-mûminîn*, 'Mothers of the faithful': the interpretation of the epithet is given in the Qor'ân,—Moslims were to "regard the prophet's wives as they would regard their own mothers." Another thing that made it hard for the unfortunate women was that Muhammad claimed the special privilege of unlimited licence,—he was authorized by Heaven to summon to himself any woman he chose. It is laid down in the Qor'ân, as one of his distinguishing privileges, that he was at liberty to appropriate to himself—by force, if force were necessary—any member of the gentler sex whom he might take a fancy to,—and this irrespective of her own inclinations. Should he, moreover, become enamoured of any female whatsoever who chanced to be an inmate of his establishment,—whether she were there in the capacity of servant or of slave,—he was even at liberty to dispense with the formality of lawful marriage. This same privilege of his extended in all particulars to other women besides those who were inmates of his own domestic establishment. There was but one qualification in connexion with this privilege of his, and that was that no woman was to be permitted to become his until she had first acknowledged herself a believer in the divinity of his mission. He had also the express permission of God to relieve himself at any mo-

nent of the presence of any one of his women-folk, and of the burden of her support; but should any of them cease to be desirous of continuing their relationship to him, they, in like manner, were at liberty to follow their own wishes,—always bearing in mind, of course, that the law of the new religion rendered further conjugal alliance criminal. Without intending any rudeness to the memory of the ladies, it is but natural to suppose that it was, no doubt, this circumstance that gave so much poignancy to their grief at the prospect of being separated from him, and which made them willing (as in the case of Sauda) to themselves propose the abdication of their conjugal claims provided they might be permitted to continue inmates of his *harem*. Though the rule laid down in the Qor'ân for his followers was that the number of their wives was not to exceed four, yet there was no limit to the number allowed in his own case: the only passage in which there is so much as a hint on the subject of limitation in his case, was not 'revealed' till a short time before his death, at a time when the history of his relations with the occupants of his *haram* was at an end, and as an old worn-out man, exhausted and enfeebled by physical ailments, he might be supposed to have attained satiety. Special divine permission was, he assures us, granted to him ("and," as he expresses it, "to none besides") in all these particulars, as also that he was at liberty, if he were so inclined, to receive in any capacity whatever any person who might offer herself to him for the purpose of cohabitation,—a privilege of which, as we have seen in the case of the *nafsbakhshîs*, he did not hesitate to avail himself. Among the spoils of the conquest Muḥammad almost invariably secured in his share of the plunder the most beautiful of the captive damsels, and on his triumphal entry into Madîna with the trophies of war the inmates of his establishment were wont to peer from their privacy to catch a glimpse of their new rival.

It will not be surprising to learn that the above lists contain what many will hold to be inaccuracies. Some of the dates we know to be disputed. There are but few points in history that are more disheartening to the student than the bewildering diversity of statement which we find in Moslim records regarding the subject of Muḥammad's domestic relationships. The case presents a very fair sample of the difficulty in which Muḥammadan authorities have beclouded all subjects relating to their religion and its founder. It is only regarding the barest outlines of Muḥammad's life that there is even the semblance of agreement among them; the moment the student inquires into details he perceives how loose and unsatisfactory the whole fabric is. Honest inquiry for historical fact is baffled at every turning,—and this through the inability of Muḥammad's biographers to agree among themselves. Seeing that his own admirers differ so widely concerning even mere matters of fact, the impartial investigator must labour to do his best in a judgment of charity, and must give up much as hopelessly involved in contradiction. If it is difficult to arrive at anything like certainty regarding the wives-proper of Muḥammad, it is still more difficult to do so in regard to those women whose intended marriage with him was broken off at various stages before consummation. To the narratives of all such cases a certain degree of doubt attaches, for the relatives of such women would naturally seek to suppress the tradition of such abortive negotiations, as not creditable to them: there seems, in fact, every reason for doubting the details of such cases as mentioned in tradition. Moslim tradition abounds in legends concerning these women, and dwells with delight upon Muḥammad's relations with them. When we state that very few indeed of those legends reflect upon him other than what ordinary men would call disgrace, notwithstanding that they were written by his own admirers and adherents, we state what is merely a cold, unvarnished fact. We shall not undertake the recital of such legends, for in so doing we should surely awaken in the minds of his followers emotions of irritation; for, however paradoxical it may seem, a calm and unbiassed inspection of Muḥammad's deeds, and a careful analysis of his personal character, are processes which no Moslim can endure without being irritated almost to the point of frenzy. We therefore purposely repress all those inquiries and reflections which evolve themselves out of a study of the above lists, and content ourselves with placing on record the cold facts, which no duly-informed Muḥammadan will call in question. The whole subject of Muḥammad's relations to his women-folk is so beset with contradiction, that any

man who is possessed of a due regard for matter-of-fact accuracy must feel the extreme delicacy of the position. No account of these ladies has ever yet been prepared which has met with the good fortune of universal approval; and the result is the same whether the account be prepared by a Moslim or by a non-Moslim.

SANSKRIT AND OLD CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S., M.R.A.S.

(*Continued from p.* 38.)

No. XXXVIII.

In the Elliot MS. Collection, Vol. I., pp. 1 to 7, a copy is given of a long stone-tablet inscription at the temple called Śaṅkha-basti at Lakshmêśwar, the chief town of an outlying Tâlukâ of the same name of the Miraj State near the south-east corner of the Dhârwâḍ District. I obtained also a tracing of the inscription by means of a local schoolmaster, and, by comparing this with the MS. copy, have succeeded in making a sufficiently accurate version of the text to edit it. My version may be capable of improvement here and there by personal examination of the original stone. But there are very few doubtful passages involving matters of importance.

The tablet is about 5′ 2″ high by 2′ 3″ broad, and contains 82 lines of writing in neatly formed Old Canarese characters of the tenth century A.D. I have no information as to whether there are any emblems at the top of the stone. It includes three separate inscriptions.

First Part.—Lines 1 to 51 contain an inscription of the Gaṅga or Koṅgu dynasty, which has already been introduced to our notice by Mr. Rice in the Merkâra copper-plates at Vol. I., pp. 360 *et seqq.*, the Nâgamaṅgala copper-plates at Vol. II., pp. 155 *et seqq.*, and the two sets of Mallôhalḷi copper-plates at Vol. V., pp. 133 *et seqq.*

The grants recorded in it were made by Mârasiṁhadêva-Satyavâkya-Koṅgaṇivarmâ, also called Gaṅga-Kandarpa, when the Śaka year 890 (A.D. 968-9) had expired, and while the Vibhava *saṁvatsara* was current, to a Jain priest named Jayadêva. According to the *Tables* in Brown's *Carnatic Chronology*, the Vibhava *saṁvatsara* was Śaka 890, and Śaka 891 was the Śukla *saṁvatsara*. The grants were of some lands at the city of Puligere, or 'the city of the tank of the tiger', which, I presume, must be taken as the ancient name of Lakshmêśwar. They were made for the benefit of a Jain temple, which, being called 'the shrine of Jinêndra of king Gaṅga-Kandarpa', seems to have been founded or restored by Mârasiṁhadêva himself.

The genealogy is given thus:—

Mâdhava-Koṅgaṇivarmâ (or Mâdhava I.).

Mâdhava II.

Harivarmâ. | Mârasiṁha, Mârasiṁhadêva-Satyavâkya-Koṅgaṇivarmâ, or Gaṅga-Kandarpa.

As regards the spelling of the subsidiary title or family-name of these kings,—in l. 5 there is no *Anusvâra*, either in the tracing or in the MS. copy, and the vowel of the second syllable is *a* in both, and it reads 'Kogaṇivarmâ.' But in l. 23 the *Anusvâra* is very distinctly legible in the tracing and is also given in the MS. copy, and the vowel of the second syllable is *u* in both, and it reads 'Koṁguṇivarmâ.' In the four sets of copper-plates the vowel of the second syllable is always *a*, except in the Nâgamaṅgala plates, III. *b*, l. 7, where, unless there is a fault in the facsimile, it is *u*. In the Merkâra plates, I., l. 4, and II.*a*, l. 5, the guttural nasal *ṅ* is used, not the *Anusvâra*, and it reads 'Koṅgaṇi.' The same is the case in the Nâgamaṅgala plates,—I., l. 3, where Mr. Rice transliterates 'Koḍgaṇi' in error for 'Koṅgaṇi',—and III.*b*, l. 7, 'Koṅguṇi' or 'Koṅgaṇi', as the case may be. And the same is the case in the Mallôhalḷi plates,—in the first set, I.*a*, l. 3, II.*a*, l. 4, and III.*a*, l. 1,—and in the second set, I., l. 4, and III.*b*, l. 7, though in IV. *a*, l. 5, the *Anusvâra* is used. In the Nâgamaṅgala plates, II. *a*,

l. 6, and III. *a*, l. 4, there is no *Anusvâra* or guttural nasal, and it reads 'Kogaṇi.' Undoubtedly, either the *Anusvâra*, or the guttural nasal, is required before the *g*, and, when it does not occur, it is omitted through carelessness. Accordingly, I have entered it as a correction in l. 5 of my transcription. As to the vowel of the second syllable, *a* or *u*, it is possibly liable to variation, as is the case in so many Drâvidian words; and in one instance, referred to more particularly below, it occurs as *i*.

Down to the end of the description of Harivarmâ, the present inscription follows very closely the wording of the copper-plates, except that the first king is not mentioned in the plates by his name of 'Mâdhava.' And there can be no doubt that the first three kings are the same persons who stand first in the genealogy of the plates. Mârasiṁha, the younger brother of Harivarmâ, is not mentioned in the plates, the direct succession being continued by the son of Harivarmâ.

Now, however, the ever-recurring question of discrepancy of dates crops up again; and in this instance the discrepancy is a very wide one indeed. The Mallôhalḷi plates are not dated in any era save that of the reigning king. But the Merkâra plates purport to record a grant of the time of the great-grandson of Harivarmâ, in the year 388, which is taken by Mr. R. G. Bhâṇḍârkar to be the Saka year 388. And the Nâgamaṅgala plates purport to record a grant by the eleventh or twelfth in succession to Harivarmâ, in the Śaka year 698. And, in his paper *On the Inscriptions of Southern India*, of which an abstract is given at p. 38 of the *Report of the Second International Congress of Orientalists*, Prof. Eggeling refers to a copper-plate grant, in the Elliot facsimile collection, of Arivarmâ,—the Harivarmâ of the Merkâra, Nâgamaṅgala, and Mallôhalḷi plates, and of the present inscription,—dated Śaka 169. Whereas, we here find Harivarmâ's younger brother making a grant in the Śaka year 890 or 891. And the date, in l. 24, is expressed in words, not in figures, and the words recording it are very distinctly legible in the tracing, though they are omitted in the MS. copy.

I am not prepared at present to suggest any explanation of this discrepancy. But, if the present inscription were a forgery, made in Śaka 890 or 891, the forgers of it would certainly have given it a much earlier date, and would probably have endeavoured to imitate the more ancient characters. In my opinion, the date of the present inscription is more probable than the date of the Merkâra plates, if it is to be referred to the Śaka era, and than the date of the Nâgamaṅgala plates, which is expressly said to be in the Śaka era.

And we have to notice here three Gaṅga or Koṅgu stone-tablet inscriptions from the Kiggatnâḍ forest, published by Mr. Kittel at Vol. VI., pp. 99 *et seqq*. They are inscriptions of Satyavâkya-Koṅguṇivarmâ, or 'Koṅgiṇivarmâ', as the name is spelt in one of them, No. I. The same name, 'Satyavâkya', is given to the king who stands twenty-sixth in the list made out from the chronicle called *Koṅgudêśa-charitra* and published at Vol. I., p. 361. And Mârasiṁhadêva, again, is called Satyavâkya-Koṅguṇivarmâ in l. 23 of my present inscription. Now, *satya-vâkya*, 'of truthful speech', is a title, rather than a proper name. And it does not necessarily follow that Mârasiṁhadêva is the same person as the Satyavâkya of the Kiggatnâḍ inscriptions, or of the traditional, and possibly rather inaccurate, list of the *Koṅgudêśa-charitra*. At the same time, I consider that he is to be identified with the Satyavâkya of one of the Kiggatnâḍ inscriptions. I have seen the photographs of the originals, from which facsimile plates have been prepared; and I consider that they are not to be allotted all to the reign of one and the same Satyavâkya-Koṅguṇivarmâ. One of them, Mr. Kittel's No. III., at p. 103, is entirely undated. In another, No. II., at p. 102*b*, the date runs :—*Sa(śa)ka-nṛip-a(â)tîtâ(tâ)-kâla-saṁvatsaraṅgaḷ=eṇṭu-nûṟ-ombattaney 'avarsham=pravarttisuti-ire*, *i.e.* "while the eight hundred and ninth year, of the years of the era which had expired of the Śaka kings, was current"; and it is further stated to be the eighteenth year of the reign of Satyavâkya. This Satyavâkya, therefore, commenced to reign in Śaka 791; and it follows that he cannot be the Mârasiṁhadêva-Satyavâkya-Koṅguṇivarmâ of my present inscription now published. These two inscriptions, Mr. Kittel's Nos. II. and III., are to be grouped together, the characters of both of them being of the same square and upright type and of the same age. The date of the remaining Kiggat-

nâḍ inscription, Mr. Kittel's No. I., at p. 102*a*, is unfortunately somewhat hard to decipher in the photograph, though it would seem to be legible enough on the original stone. So much of it as can be read at first sight runs:—*Sa(śa)ka-nṛipa-kâḷ-âtîta-saṁvatsara-sa(śa)taṅga-ḷ=....t..aneya Îśvara-saṁvatsaraṁ pravarttise.* The vowel attached to the *ḷ* of *śataṅgaḷ*, the *Anusvâra*, if any, and the following letter, are indistinct, and the second *t* of *tta* in *ttaneya* is effaced. Mr. Kittel proposes to complete the passage by reading either *ombhattaneya*, 'ninth', or *embhattaneya*, 'eightieth',—it is not quite clear which,—and submits Śaka seven hundred and eighty as the translation. But there is nothing, either in the text, or in his proposed completion of it, to justify 'seven' being taken as the number of the hundreds; and, as he himself points out, the date, even if interpreted thus, does not harmonize with the date of his No. II., as it should if they are both inscriptions of one and the same Satyavâkya. That supposition, however, is not to be made, and the dates are not to be expected to harmonize in that way. For the characters of this inscription are of a very different standard from those of his Nos. II. and III., being of a round type with a very decided slant to the right, and they belong to a more developed stage of the alphabet. As to the uncertain letters, of which the photograph shows only indistinct traces, we must of necessity read either *śataṅgaḷ=ombhattaneya*, 'ninth hundred', or *śataṅgaḷ=hattaneya*, 'tenth hundred.' It is not likely that the last expression was used; we should rather have the ordinal form of *ondu sâsira*, 'one thousand', if that were the date to be given. And, as a matter of fact, the indistinct consonant appears to me, as to Mr. Kittel, to be undoubtedly *bh*. Accordingly, I read the entire passage as:—*Sa(śa)ka-nṛipa-kâḷ-âtîta-saṁvatsara-sa(śa)taṅgaḷ=oṁbhat-[t]aneya Îśvara-saṁvatsaraṁ pravarttise, i.e.* "the Îśvara *saṁvatsara*, which was the ninth of the centuries which had expired of the era of the Śaka kings, being current",—*sc.* "the Saka year 900, the Îśvara *saṁvatsara*, being current." And, by the *Tables* in Brown's *Carnatic Chronology*, Śaka 899 was the Iśvara *saṁvatsara*, which is close enough for the purpose. The date of this inscription being thus so near that of the inscription now published by me, I look upon *this* Satyavâkya-Koṅgi(u)ṇivarmâ as in all probability identical with the Mârasiṁhadêva-Satyavâkya-Koṅguṇivarmá of my inscription.

Second Part.—Lines 51 to 61 contain an inscription of the Sêndra family.

It commences with the mention of a Châlukya king named Raṇaparâkramâṅka, and his son Ereyya. Neither of these names has as yet been met with in the genealogy of either the Western or the Eastern Chalukyas. But Raṇaparâkramâṅka is perhaps intended for Raṇarâga, the son of Jayasiṁha I., and the father of Pulikêśî I. Jayasiṁha I., the first of the family in the Dekkan, is occasionally referred to. But I know of only four inscriptions in which the genealogy in a connected form is carried back beyond Pulikêśî I.;—1, the Aihoḷe stone-tablet at Vol. V., pp. 67 *et seqq.*,—2, the forged or copied copper-plate grant of Pulikêśî I. in the British Museum,—3, the Yêwûr stone-tablet, of which a copy is given at Vol. I., pp. 258 *et seqq.*, of the Elliot MS. Collection,—and 4, a copper-plate grant of Jayasiṁha-Jagadêkamalladêva from Miraj, dated Śaka 946, the Raktâkshi *saṁvatsara*, published by Mr. Wathen in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. II., p. 380, and Vol. III., pp. 258 *et seqq.*;—and we may take it that the information of most people on the subject was only traditional and rather hazy.

It then mentions a certain king Satyâśraya. But there is nothing to show which of the several Western Chalukya kings who bore that title is intended.

It then mentions, as the contemporary of Satyâśraya, king Durgaśakti,—the son of Kundaśakti, who was the son of Vijayaśakti,—of the race of the Sêndra kings, who belonged to the lineage of the Bhujagêndras, *i.e.* the Nâga family.

And it records a grant of land at Puligere, by Durgaśakti, to the *Chaitya* shrine of the god called Śaṅkha-Jinêndra.

The inscription is not dated. It is probably one of early date, repeated here for the sake of confirmation or of preservation. I find the Sêndrakas referred to in one of my early Kadamba copper-plate grants, No XXVI of this series, l. 10, at Vol. VI., p. 32, and in l. 3 of a stone-tablet inscription at Baḷagâmve of

Vinayâditya-Satyâśraya, No. 98 of Major Dixon's Collection.

Third Part.—The rest of the tablet, l. 61 to the end, contains an inscription of the Western Chalukya Vikramâditya II. It is dated in the second year of his reign, when the Śaka year 656 (A.D. 734-5) had expired, and must consequently have been copied here from a previous stone-tablet or copper-plate, for the sake of confirmation or of preservation. It is issued from his victorious camp at Raktapura, a city which I cannot identify.

It records that the Śaṅkhatîrtha-vasati of the city of Pulikara,—the Puligere of the preceding two inscriptions,—and the temple called 'the white *Jinâlaya*', were embellished and repaired, and that certain land was given for maintaining the worship of Jina.

In its genealogical portion, it agrees with the Western Chalukya inscriptions published by me, Nos. XXVII. to XXXI. of this series, in Vol. V., and it carries the genealogy two steps further, in the persons of Vijayâditya and Vikramâditya II., the son and grandson of Vinayâditya.

Transcription.

[1] Śrîmat-parama-gaṁbhîra-syâdvâd-âmôgha-lâṁchhanaṁ jîyâ(yât)=trailôkya-nâthasya śâsanaṁ
[2] Jina-śâsanaṁ || Svasti Jitaṁ bhagavatâ gata-ghana-gagan-âbhêna Padmanâ-
[3] bhêna [||* 1] Śrîmaj-Jâhnavê(vî)ya-kuḷ-âmaḷa-vyôm-âvabhâsana-bhâskaraḥ sva-khaḍg-aika-prahâra-
[4] khaṇḍita-mahâ-śiḷâstaṁbha-labdha-baḷa-parâkramô dâruṇ-âri-gaṇa-vidâraṇ-ôpalabdha-
[5] bra(vra)ṇa-vibhûshaṇa-vibhûshitaḥ Kaṇṇâ(ṇvâ)yana-sagôtraḥ śrîmân Ko(koṁ[2])gaṇivarmma-dharmmamahârâj-
[6] j-âdhirâja-paramêśvara-Śrî-Mâdhava-prathama-nâmadhêyaḥ || Tat-putraḥ pitur=anvâgata-guṇayuktô
[7] vidvâ-vinaya-vihita-vṛittaḥ samyak-prajâ-pâḷana-mâtr-âdhigata-râjya-prayôjanô vidvat-kavi-kâṁchana-ni-
[8] kash-ôpala-bhûtâ(tô) nîti-śâstrasya vaktṛi-prayôktṛi-kuśaḷô dattaka-sûtra-vṛittêḥ=praṇêtâ śrîmân=Mâdhava-mahâ-
[9] râj-âdhirâjaḥ || Tat-putraḥ pitṛi-pai(pi)tâmaha-guṇa-yuktâ(ktô) nêka-châ(cha)turddanta-yuddh-âvâpta-chatur-udadhi-saḷiḷ-âsvâdita-ya-
[10] śâḥ śrîmad-Dharivarmma-mahârâj-âdhirâjaḥ || Api cha || Vṛitta || Âsîj=jagad-gahana-rakshaṇa-râja-siṁhaḥ .kshmâ-maṇḍaḷ-âbja-
[11] vana-maṇḍana-râjahaṁsaḥ | Śrî-Mârasiṁha iti bṛiṁhita-bâhu-kîrttis=tasy=ânujaḥ Kṛita-yuga-kshitipâḷa-kî-
[12] rttiḥ || Âdêśâd=dêva Chôḷ-ântaka-dharaṇipatêr=Ggaṁga-chûḍâmaṇis=tvâṁ vêgâd=abhyêti yôddhuṁ tyaja gaja-turaga-vyûha-sannâ-
[13] ha-darppaṁ Gaṁgâm=uttîrya gantuṁ para-baḷam=atuḷaṁ kaḷpay=êty=âpa dûtair=vvijñaptaṁ Gûrjjarâṇâṁ patir=akṛiti tathâ yatra
[14] jaitra-prayâṇô || Pâd-âṁbhôruha-bhṛiṁga-bhṛitya-bharaṇa-vyâpâra-chintâmaṇiḥ saṁtrâsa-graha-vihvaḷîkṛita-ripu-kshmâ-
[15] pâḷa-rakshâmaṇiḥ vidvat-kaṇṭha-vibhûshaṇîkṛita-guṇa-prôdbhâsi-muktâmaṇir=ddêvas=sajjana-varṇṇanîya-charita-Śrî-Gaṁga-chûḍâ-
[16] maṇiḥ || Mandâkinyâ Jinêṁdra-snapana-vidhi-payas-syanda-saṁpâditâyâḥ Kâḷiṁdyâś=chaṇḍa-vairi-prahata-gaja-mada-śvêta-nirvvarttitâyâḥ
[17] saṁbhêdê Śrî-nikêt-âṁgaṇa-bhuvi bhavatô Gaṁga-Kaṁdarppa-bhûpa-vyâtanyô[3] dig-vadhû-nâṁ vidhu-vijayi yaśô hâram=â-chaṁdra-târaṁ ||
[18] Api cha || Vṛitta || Nirvvâd-ôjva(jjva)ḷa-bôdha-pôta-baḷatas=siddhânta-ratnâkaraṁ châritr-ôtpluta-yânapâtra-baḷatas=saṁsâra-mînâkaraṁ
[19] uttîrṇṇas=samudîrṇṇa-bhakti-vinatair=vvaṁdy-âbhidhânô budhair=âsîd=Dêvagaṇ-âgraṇîr=gguṇa-nidhir=Ddêvêṁdra-bhaṭṭârakaḥ || Uddâma-

[1] See note 2 to Inscription No. XXXV., p. 33.
[2] See para. 6 of the introductory remarks.
[3] The correct reading should probably be '*bhûpasy=âtênê*.

[20] kâma-kaḷi nirddaḷan-aika-vîras=tasy=Aikadêva iti yôgishu dêva ôkaḥ śishyô babhûva hṛidi yasya dadhâti bhavyô

[21] ratna-trayaṁ śirasi yach-charaṇa-dvayaṁ cha || Mahitasya tasya mahitair=mmahatâṁ prathamasya cha prathama-śishyatayâ Jaya-

[22] dêva-paṁḍita iti prathitaḥ prathamâna-śâstra-mahima-draviṇaḥ || Api cha || Gadya || Tasmai sa bhuvan-aika-maṁgaḷa-Jinêṁdra-nity-âbhishê-

[23] ka-ratna-kaḷaśaḥ sa tu Satyavâkya-Koṁguṇivarmma-dharmmamahârâj-âdhirâja-paramêśvara-Śrî-Mârasiṁhadêva-prathama-nâmadhêyaḥ Gaṁga-

[24] Kandarppaḥ ||* Śaka-nṛipa-kâḷ-âtîta-saṁvatsara-śatêshv=ashṭasu navaty-uttarêshu* pravarttamânê Vibhava-saṁvatsarê Saṁkhavasati-Tîrtthavasati-maṇḍaḷa-maṇḍa-

[25] nasya Gaṁga-Kandarppa-Jinêṁdra-mandirasya dâna-pûjâ-dêva-bhôga-nimittaṁ Puligeṟenagarât=pûrvvasyâṁ diśi taḷa-vṛittiṁ dattê sma [||*] Tasyâs=sîmâ

[26] samâkhyâyatê tad=yathâ | Kumârî-sarasaḥ=pûrvvasyâm=âśâyâm=êka-nivarttan-âṁtarâd=upaḷa-yugaḷâd=dakshiṇa-

[27] syâṁ diśi Beḷkanûr-grâma-paśchima-sîmnaḥ=pâvaka-diśi Kôśi-taṭâka-purô-varttinaś=śiḷâsarasas=samîraṇa-dik-kâ(kô)ṇê hasti-prastarât=paśchimasyâṁ

[28] diśi vaṭa-taṭâka-purô-nikaṭa-nimn-ôttara-dig-varttinaḥ kṛishṇa-pâshâṇâd=uttarasyâṁ diśi Nâgapura-grâma-mârggâd=dakshiṇasyân=di-

[29] śâyâṁ Maḷigamârttaṇḍa-gṛiha-kshêtrâd=aiśânyân=diśâyâm=ânîḷa-śilâyâḷ=punaḥ=paśchimasyâṁ diśi Kṛishṇa-sarasa uttara-jaḷa-pra-

[30] vâha-nirggamâd=uttarasyâṁ diśi Nîḷikâra-taṭâk-âgata-pravâhâd=uttarasyâm=âśâyâm=êkanivarttan-ântarê vâyavya-dik-kôṇa-varttti-

[31] rakta-pâshâṇa-pârśva-varttinyâś=śamyâḥ | pûrvva-dig-mukhên=âgaty=ôtkîrṇṇâd=aruṇapâshâṇân=Nâgapura-grâma-mârggasy=ôttara-pârśvê pûrvva-

[32] dig-mukhêna gatv=ôttara-diśaṁ prati nivṛittât=paśchima-diśâyâm=êka-nivarttan-ântarê pûrvv-ôttara-diśi kṛishṇa-pâshâṇâd=dakshiṇasyâm=âśâ-

[33] yâṁ śamî-kanthârî-gulm-ântarggat-ânîḷa-śilâyâḷ=paśchimatâ(taḥ) pur-ôkta-vyaktapâshâṇa-yugaḷê saṁgatâ sîmâ [||*] Prâk-prakâśita-Kṛishṇa-saraḥ-pu-

[34] rô-bhâga-varttîni shaṇ=nivarttanâny=abhyantarî-kṛitya sushṭhî(sthî)-kṛitâni shashṭi śataṁ nivarttanâni || Tasmâd=êva nagarâd=Varuṇa-dig-bhâga-varttinyâs=ta-

[35] ḷa-vṛittês=sîmâ samâmnâyatê tad=yathâ | Dôśa-grâma-kûṭa-kshêtrâd=vâyâ(ya)vyâyâṁ kakubhi tri-śamî-rakt-ôpaḷâd=vâyâ(ya)vyâyâm=â-

[36] śâyâm=êka-śamyâ Akhaṁ[ḍa*]ḷa-diśâyâm=êka-daṇḍ-ântarâd=aruṇa-pâshâṇâd=âgnêya-kôṇavarttinô viśâḷa-śamî-kanthârî-jâḷât=paśchimasyâ-

[37] n=diśi śrêshṭi-taṭâka-dakshiṇa-jaḷâ-pravâha-nirggamâd=Vallabharâja-mârggât=pûrvvasyâm=âśâyâṁ kanthârî-gulmât=Savasî-grâma-mârggâd=dakshiṇata-

[38] ś=śamî-kanthârî-kuṁjât=Kubêra-kakubhô vâyavyâyâm=âśâyâm Jyêshṭhaliṁga-bhûmi(mêr)-nnairṛiri[5]tyâṁ hari(ri)ti kṛishṇa-pâshâṇât=pûrvvasyâṁ diśi Valla-

[39] bharâja-mârggât=paśchimasyâm=âśâyâm=uttara-dig-mukha-pravṛitta-mahâ-pravâh-ântarggata-Kinnara-pâshâṇâd=dakshiṇasyân=diśâyâm=Andhakâ-

[40] ra-kshêtrât=paśchima-sîmni prâk-prakaṭîkṛitâd=dêśa-grâma-kûṭa-kshêtrâd=vâyavyâyâṁ diśi tri-śamî-śôṇa-pâshâṇê sîmâ samâgatâ | Evaṁ paśchima-

[41] dig-varttîni chatvâriṁśach-chhataṁ nivarttanâni || Saṁkha-vasatêr=Vvâsava-diśi nivarttanamâtraḥ puḥpa-vâṭaḥ=paśchima-diśi cha nivarttana-dvaya-dvayadô(?) puḥpa-vâṭaḥ || Tasya chaityâ-

[42] layasya pura-pramâṇam=âkhyâyatê [|*] Pûrvvataḥ Bâḷabêśvara-paśchima-prâkârah pâvaka-diśi Charmmakâra-dêva-gṛiha-sîmântaṁ [|*] Tat-paśchimataḥ |

[43] Vârî-vâraṇa-sîmâṁ kṛitvâ dakshiṇasyân=diśi puḥpa-vâṭ-Âṁ(?)ga(?)ja-chaitya-pura-pura(raḥ)-Śrî-Mukkara-vasatêḥ paśchimasyâṁ diśi gôpura-paryyantât paśchima-dig-vartti-dê-

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For some reason or other the words *śatêshv=ashṭasu navaty-uttarêshu* are omitted in the MS. copy, a blank space being left as if they were illegible or doubtful, and *Prabhava-saṁvatsarê* is read instead of *Vibhava-saṁvatsarê*. But in the tracing every letter of the whole passage is perfectly clear and is indubitably just as transcribed by me.

[5] This syllable,—*ri*,—is superfluous.

[44] va-gṛiha-dvayam=âbhyantarî-kṛitya Marudêvî-dêva-gṛihasya paśchâd-bhâgâd=uttarasyâṁ diśi Chaṁdrikâṁbikâ-dêva-gṛihât=pûrvvataḥ Mukkara-vasatiṁ

[45] pravishṭî-kṛitya Râyarâchamalla-vasatiṁ(ti)-dakshiṇa-prâkâraḥ tataḥ pûrvvataḥ Śrî-Vijaya-vasati-dakshiṇa-prâkâraḥ î(ai)śânyâṁ di-

[46] śi Karmmaṭêśvara-dêva-gṛihaṁ tad-dakshiṇataḥ pûrvv-ôkta-Bâlabêśvara-paśchima-sîmâ [||*] Dêva-nagarât=paśchima-diśi puḷipa-vâṭa-dvaya-nivarttana-kshêtraṁ dattaṁ ||*

[47] Tasya sîmâ pṛithak-kṛi(kri)yatê [| *] Parava-sarasaḥ pûrvva-diśi Tapaśî-grâma-pathâd=uttaratô puḷipa-vâta-nivarttanam=êkam | Gaṅga-Permmâḍi-chaityâ-

[48] laya-puḷipa-vâṭâd=uttaratô nivarttanam=êkaṁ nâga-vallî-vanaṁ | Êvaṁ Gaṅga-Kandarppa-bhûpâḷa-Jiṅêndra-mandira-dêva-bhôga-nimittaṁ nivarttana-śata-traya-mâtra-kshê-

[49] traṁ puḷipa-vâta-trayam=urvvîśa-dêśa-grâma-kûṭ-âkâra-vishṭi-prabhṛiti-bâdhâ-parihâraṁ manô-haram=idam || Ślôka || Bahubhir=vvasudhâ dattâ râjabhis=Sagar-à-

[50] dibhiḥ yasya yasya yadá bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phaḷam || Mad-vaṁśa-jâ(jâḥ) para-mahîpati-vaṁśa-jâ vâ pâpâd=apêta-manasô bhuvi bhâvi-bhûpâḥ yê pâḷaya-

[51] nti mama dharmmam=imaṁ samastaṁ têshâṁ mayâ virachitô=ṁjaḷir=êsha mûrdhni ||* Jayaty=atiśaya-Jinair=bbhâsuras=sura-vanditaḥ śrîmân=Jina-patis=sṛishṭêr=â

[52] dêḥ karttâ day-ôdayaḥ || Dehahisari[a] || Châḷukya-pṛithvîvallabha-kuḷa-tiḷakêshu bahushv=atîtêshu Raṇaparâkramâṅka-mahârâjô bhavat=tad-râ

[53] ja-tanayaḥ râjita-nayô vivarddhit-aiśvaryyaś=chatus-samudrâṁta-snâta-turaṁg-êbha-padâti-sênâ-samûhaḥ Ereyya-nâmadhêyaḥ śrîmân ||

[54] Api cha || Śâsat=îmâṁ samudr-âṁtâṁ vasuḍhâṁ vasudh-âdhipê | Satyâśraya-mahârâjê râjat-satya-samanvitê || Bhujagêṁdr-ânvaya-Sêndr-âvaṁśaṁdra-santatau

[55] anêka-nṛipa-sattamêshv=atîtêshu tat-kuḷa-gagana-chaṁdramâḥ bahu-samara-vijaya-ḷabdha-patâk-âvabhâsita-dig-antarâḷa-vaḷayaḥ Vijayaśaktir=nnâma nṛipatir=bba-

[56] bhûva [||*] Tat-sûnur=udita-taruṇa-divâkara-kara-sama-prabhaḥ sau(śau)ryya-dhairyya-satva-guṇ-ôpapannaḥ sâmanta-bṛi(vṛi)nda-mauḷi-mâḷ-avaḷîḍha-charaṇaḥ Kuṇḍaśa-

[57] ktir=nnâma râj=âbhût=tasya priya-tanayaḥ || Advitîya-purushakâra-saṁpannaḥ | dharmm-ârttha-kâma-pradhânaḥ anêka-raṇa-vijaya-vîra-patâk-âgrahaṇ-ô-

[58] ddhata-kîrttiḥ [||*] Têna Durggaśakti-nâmadhêyêna Śaṁkha-Jinêṁdra-chaitya-nitya-pûj-ârttha ṁ puṇy-âbhivṛiddhayê cha | Puligeṛe-nâma-nagarasy=ôttara-pârśvê paṁchâśan-nivarttana-parimâ-

[59] ṇa-kshêtraṁ dattaṁ || Tasya sîmâ samâkhyâyatê [|*] Purvvataḥ Kinnari-kshêtraṁ | pâvaka-diśi Jyêshṭhaliṁga-bhûmiḥ | dakshiṇataḥ Ghaṭikâ-kshêtraṁ | nairṛityâṁ diśi Daṁ(?paṁ)-

[60] ḍîsa(śa)-śrêshṭhi-bhûmiḥ paśchimataḥ Râmêśvara-kshêtraṁ vâyavyâṁ Hôbesvara-kshêtraṁ | uttarataḥ Sindêśvara-kshêtraṁ î(ai)śânyâṁ diśi Bhaṭṭârî-kshêtraṁ | tad-dakshiṇataḥ pûrvv-ôkta-Kinna-

[61] ri-kshêtram || Dêva-svaṁ visha ṁ lôkêna visha ṁ na visham=uchyatê | visham=êkâkinaṁ hanti dêva-svaṁ putra-pautrikaṁ || Svasti [||*] Jayaty=âviḥkṛitam Vishṇôr=vvârâham kshôbhi-

[62] t-ârṇṇavam dakshiṇ-ônnata-daṁshṭr-âgra-viśrânta-bhuvanaṁ vapuḥ || Śrîmatâṁ sakala-bhuvana saṁstûyamâna-Mânavya-sagôtrâṇâṁ Hârîti-putrâṇâṁ sapta-lô-

[63] ka-mâtṛibhiḥ sapta-mâṭribhir=abhivarddhitânâṁ Kârttikêya-parirakshaṇa-prâpta-kalyâṇa-paraṁparâṇâṁ bhagavan-Nârâyaṇa-prasâda-samâsâdita-varâha-lâṁ-

[64] chchha(chha)n-êkshaṇa-vaśîkṛit-âśêsha-mahîbhṛitâṁ Châḷukyânâṁ kuḷaṁ=alaṁkarishṇôr=aśvamêdh-âvabhṛitha-snâna-pavitrîkṛita-gâtrasya Śrî-Polikêśivallabha-mahârâ-

[65] jasya priya-sûnuḥ Śrî-[b]Kîrttivarmma-pṛithvîvallabha-mahârâjas=tasy=âtmajasya Satyâśraya-śrî-pṛithvîvallabha-mahârâj-âdhirâja-paramê-

[66] śvarasya priya-tanayaḥ(yasya) prabhâva-kuḷiśa-daḷita-Pâṁḍya-Chôḷa-Kêraḷa-Kaḍaṁba-prabhṛiti-bhûbhṛid-udagra-vibhramasya nity-âvanata-Kâṁchî-pati-makuṭa-chuṁbita-pâ-

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[a] These letters are unintelligible. The MS. copy reads *ihaha svasti*, of which the first word is equally unintelligible.

[b] This is the reading of the MS. copy. In the tracing the first letter is rather uncertain, and might stand for *ma* as much as for *ku*.

[c] From here down to *priya-sûnuḥ(nôḥ)*, inclusive, in l. 67, is omitted altogether in the MS. copy.

[67] d-âmbujasya Vikramâditya-Satyâśraya-śrî-pṛithvîvallabha-mahârâj-âdhirâja-paramêśvarasya priya-sûnuḥ(nôḥ) sakaḷ-ôttarâpatha-nâtha-mathan-ôpârjjita-pâḷi-

[68] dhvaj-âdi-samasta-pâramaiśvaryya-chihnasya Vinayâditya-Satyâśraya-śrî-pṛithvîvallabha-mahârâj-âdhirâja-paramêśvara-paramabhaṭṭârakasya priy-âtmajaḥ sâ-

[69] hasa-rasa-rasikaḥ parâṅmukhîkṛita-śatru-maṁḍaḷas=sakaḷa-pâramaiśvaryya-vyakti-hêtu-pâḷi-dhvaj-âdy-ujva(jjva)ḷa-râjya-chihnô Vijayâdi-

[70] tya-Satyâśraya-śrî-pṛithvîvallabha-mahârâj-âdhirâja(jaḥ) [||*] [Tat*]-priya-sûnôḥ pratidina-pravarddhamâna-yâ(yau)vanô(nasya) ripu-maṁḍaḷ-âkrânti-râjy-âbhyudayaḥ(yasya)

[71] kastûri-kiśôra-vikram-aika-rasô(sasya) Vikramâditya-Satyâśraya-śrî-pṛithvîvallabha-mahârâj-âdhirâja-paramêśvara-bhaṭṭârakasya vijaya-skandhâvârê Raktapuram=adhivasa-

[72] ti shat-paṁchâśad-uttara-shat-chhatêshu Śaka-varshêshv=atîtêshu[9] pravarddhamâna-vijaya-râjya-saṁvatsarê dvitîyê varttamânê Mâgha-paurṇṇamâsyâṁ Mûlasaṁgh-ânva-

[73] ya-Dêvagaṇ-ôditaḥ(tâya) parama-tapa(paḥ)-śruta-mûrtti-viśê(śô)ka-Râmadêvâchâryya[10]-śiśhyô(ṣhyâya) vijita-vipaksha-vâdi-Jayadêva-paṁḍit-ântêvâsî(sinê) samupagat-aikavâ-

[74] ditv-âdi-Śrî-Vijayadêva-paṁḍit-âchâryyâya Jina-pûj-âbhivṛiddhy-artthaṁ Bâhubali-śrêshṭhi-vijñâpanêna Pulikara-nagarasya Śaṁkha-Tîrttha-vasatêr=mmaṇḍana-maṁḍitaṁ

[75] tasya dhavaḷa-Jinâḷayasya jîrṇṇ-ôddharaṇaṁ kṛitvâ khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-nava-saṁskâra-bali-nimittaṁ dâna-śâl-âdi-pravarttan ârtthaṁ nagarâd=uttarasyâṁ diśi gavyûti-pramâ-

[76] ṇa-vyavasthitaṁ Karppati-taṭâkâd=dakshiṇasyâṁ diśi râja-mânêna śat-ârddha-nivarttana-pramâṇa-kshêtraṁ sarvva-bâdhâ-parihâraṁ dattaṁ [||*] Tasya sîmâ samâkhyâyatê [|*]

[77] Pûrvva-diśi tat-sâdhita-Kiṁnara-pâshâṇâd=dakshiṇasyâṁ=âśâyâṁ dhavaḷa-pâshâṇa-paṛśva-śamyaḥ | paśchimasyâṁ diśi śvêta-pâshâṇâd=êka-śamî uttarasyâṁ

[78] diśi ânîḷa-pâshâṇât=prâk-prakâśita-taṭâkât=pûrvvasyâṁ diśi aruṇa-pâshâṇât=pûrvv-ôkta-vyakta-Kiṁnara-pâshâṇa-saṁgatâ sîmâ ||

[79] Svaṁ dâtuṁ su-mahach-chhakyaṁ duḷkham=anyasya pâḷanaṁ dâṇât=pâḷanâch=ch=êti[11] dânâch=chhrêyô nupâḷanaṁ || Na visham visham=ity=âhuḥ dê-

[80] va-svaṁ visham=uchyatê visham=êkâkinaṁ hanti dêva-svaṁ putra-pautrikaṁ || Sva-dattâṁ para-dattâm vâ yô

[81] harêta vasuṁdharâṁ shashṭi-varsha-sahasrâṇi vishṭhâyâṁ jâyatê krimiḥ ||

[82] Prathyatâṁ Jina-śâsanaṁ [||*]

Translation.

First Part, Lines 1 *to* 51. May the scripture of the lord of the three worlds,—the scripture of Jina, which has for its efficacious characteristic the glorious and supreme and profound science of the assertion of possibilities,—be victorious!

Hail! Victory has been achieved by the holy one, Padmanâbha,[12] who resembles (*in the colour of his body*) the sky when the clouds have left it.

A sun to irradiate the clear sky which is the glorious family of Jâhnava[13]; possessed of (*a reputation for*) strength and prowess acquired by cleaving asunder a great pillar of stone by a single stroke of his sword; decorated with ornaments which were the wounds sustained in massacring the forces of his pitiless enemies; belonging to the lineage of the Kaṇvâyanas[14]; (*such was*) the glorious Koṅgaṇivarmâ, the pious Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord, whose first name was Śrî-Mâdhava.

His son (*was*) the glorious Mâdhava, the Great King, the supreme king,—who was possessed of virtuous qualities that imitated (*those of*) his father; whose conduct was regulated by knowledge and modesty; who attained the objects of sovereignty only by properly governing his subjects; who was a very touchstone for (*testing*) the gold which was learned men and poets; who was skilled among those who

[9] Here, again, for some reason or other, the words *shat-paṁchâśad-uttara-shaṭ-chhatêshu Śaka-varshêshv=atîtêshu* are omitted in the MS. copy, a blank space being left as if they were illegible or doubtful, and *pravartamânê Vijaya-saṁvatsarê* is read instead of *pravarddhamâna-vijaya-râjya-saṁvatsarê*. But in the tracing every letter of the whole passage is perfectly legible.

[10] The MS. copy reads *Râmadêv-âchâryyâyô ḥ*(sic) *Jina-pûj-âbhivridhy-artham* &c., as in l. 74, and omits all the intervening matter.

[11] *sc., dâṇaṁ vâ pâlanaṁ ch=êti.*

[12] The name of an *Arhat*,—also of Vishṇu.

[13] Viśvâmitra.

[14] The descendants of Kanva, who was the son of Ghôra and belonged to the family of Aṅgiras.

pronounce and those who apply the science of polity; and who was the promulgator of a treatise on the law of adoption.

His son (*was*) the glorious Harivarmâ, the Great King, the supreme king,—who was possessed of the virtuous qualities of his father and his father's father; and whose fame was flavoured with the waters of the four oceans, (*the sovereignty of*) which he had acquired in many battles (*in which use was made*) of elephants.[15]

Moreover:—His younger brother was Śrî-Mârasiṁha,—who was a very lion of a king in guarding the thicket which was the world; who was a very royal swan (*of a king*) in adorning the lotus-pool which was the circle of the earth; the fame of whose (*strength of*) arm was great; and who had a reputation (*equal to that*) of a king of the Kṛita age. At his victorious journeying forth, the lord of the Gûrjaras received a rough[16] command from messengers:—"O Sir!; at the order of the king[17] who destroyed the Chôḷas, the chief of the Gaṅgas comes quickly against thee; cease to fight with the unequalled force of (*thy*) enemy, which possesses the pride of the array and accoutrements of elephants and horses, and prepare to depart across the (*river*) Gaṅgâ." A very philosopher's stone in supporting his servants, who were as bees at the lotuses which were his feet; a very amulet of protection against the hostile kings, who were disquieted by the apprehension of fear; a very pearl to make lustrous the virtuous qualities that were the ornaments of the throats of learned men; divine; performing achievements that were worthy to be praised by good people;—(*such was he*), the chief of the Gaṅgas. When he was staying in the courtyard of the habitation of the goddess of fortune, at the confluence of the Mandâkinî[18], which was produced by the trickling of the water (*used*) in the rite of ablution of Jinêndra, and of the Kâlindî, which was made to cease to be white by the rut of the wounded elephants of his fierce enemies,—the fame of the king Gaṅga-Kandarpa, which surpassed the moon (*in the purity of its lustre*), spread abroad as a necklace for the women which are the distant regions, so as to last as long as the moon and stars might endure.

And again:—There was the venerable Dêvêndra, the receptacle of virtuous qualities, the leader of the sect called Dêvagaṇa,—who traversed the ocean of the *Siddhânta* by the strength of his boat which was his knowledge that shone in deciding controversies, and the ocean of worldly existence by the strength of the boat which was the excellent result of his good behaviour; and whose name was worthy to be praised by learned people, who bowed down to his devotion when it was declared.

His sole disciple was Êkadêva, a very god among ascetics, preëminently brave in destroying the demon of unbridled lust; (*every*) worthy person bears his *ratnatraya*[19] in his heart, and takes his feet upon his head.

The wise man Jayadêva, who possessed the wealth of the scriptures, which are extolled, was celebrated by being the first disciple of him, who was honoured by honourable ones, and who was the foremost of great people.

And again:—Eight centuries of years and ninety (*years*) having expired in the era of the Śaka kings, while the Vibhava *saṁvatsara* was current,—he, Gaṅga-Kandarpa,—who was a very jewelled pitcher wherewith to perpetually besprinkle Jinêndra, who is the most auspicious (*god*) in the world; (*who was called*) Satyavâkya-Ḳoṅguṇivarmâ, the pious Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord; and who had the first name of Śrî-Mârasiṁhadêva,—gave to him a plot of ground, to the east of the city of Puligere, for the purposes of the charity and the worship and the enjoyment of the god of the shrine of Jinêndra of Gaṅga-Kandarpa, which is the ornament of the circuit of the temples called Śaṅkhavasati and Tîrthavasati.

The boundaries of it are described, as follows:—On the east of the lake of Kumârî, there are two stones at the distance of one *nivartana*. On the south of them, there is the western boundary of the village of Beḷkanûr. On the south-east of that, there is the 'lake of

[15] *Chaturdanta*, 'having four tusks', is an epithet of Airâvata, the elephant of Indra, but seems here to mean elephants in general.

[16] *Akṛitin*, 'clumsy, uncouth.'

[17] Probably Harivarmâ.

[18] The Gaṅgâ, or Ganges.

[19] The 'jewel-triad,' or three excellent things of Jainism, *viz.*—1, *samyak-chârıtra*, correct conduct; 2, *samyag-jñâna*, complete knowledge; and 3, *samyag-darśana*, accurate perception.

the stones,' in front of the (*tank called*) Kôśi-taṭâka. At the north-west corner of that, there is the littering-place for elephants. On the west of that, there is a dark-blue stone, on the north of the depression in the ground which is close in front of the 'tank of the sacred fig-tree.' On the north of that, there is the road to the village of Nâgapura. On the south of that, there is the field of the house of Maḷigamârtaṇḍa. On the north-east of that, there is a slightly blue-black stone. Again on the west of that, there is the north outlet for water of the tank of Kṛishṇa. On the north of that, there is the stream that joins the tank of Nîḷikâra. On the north of that, there is a Śamî tree, beside a red stone which is in the north-west quarter at the distance of one *nivartana*. Coming to the east from that, and going to the east on the north side of the road to the village of Nâgapura from the (*above-*) mentioned red stone, and turning towards the north, on the west, at the distance of one *nivartana*, there is a dark-blue stone in the north-east quarter. On the south of that, there is a slightly blue-black stone in a clump of Śamî trees and Kanthârî trees. On the west of that, the boundary joins at the two stones first mentioned and specified. Having included six *nivartanas* (*of land*) lying in front of the lake of Kṛishṇa, one hundred and sixty *nivartanas* were excellently laid out (*and thus given*).

The boundaries are recorded, as follows, of a plot of ground on the west of that same city:—On the north-west of the (*field called*) Dêśagrâmakûṭa-kshêtra, there is a red stone near three Śamî trees. On the north-west of that, there is one Śamî tree. On the east of that, at the distance of one *daṇḍa*[20], there is a red stone. On the south-east of that, there is a large clump of Śamî trees and Kanthâri trees. On the south of that, there are the southern outlet of water of the 'tank of the merchant' and the road of Vallabharâja. On the east of these, there is a clump of Kanthârî trees, and the road to the village of Śavasî. On the south of these, there is a clump of Śamî trees and Kanthârî trees. On the north-west of the north of this, there is the land of Jyêshṭhaliṅga. On the south-west of this, there is a dark-blue stone. On the east of this, there is the road of Vallabharâja. On the west of this, there is the 'stone of the Kinnara', in the large stream that flows to the north. On the south of this, there is the field of Andhakâra. On the west of this, there is the (*field called*) Dêśagrâmakûṭa-kshêtra, which has been already specified. On the north-west of this, the boundary joins at the red stone near the three Śamî trees. Thus (*there were given*) one hundred and forty *nivartanas* in the western quarter.

On the east of the Śaṅkhavasati, (*there was given*) a flower-garden measuring one *nivartana*; and on the west, a flower-garden measuring two *nivartanas*.

The measure of the city of that same *Chaitya* hall is declared:—On the east, the west wall of the enclosure of (*the temple of the god*) Bâḷabêśvara. On the south-east, the boundary of the temple of the god Charmakâra.[21] On the west of that, on the south of the boundary of the enclosure of the harlots, there is the (*temple called*) Śrî-Mukkaravasati, in front of the flower-garden and the city, of the *Chaitya* of Aṅgaja(?). On the west of this, there is the back of the temple of (*the goddess*) Marudêvî, including two temples lying in the west quarter, as far as the ornamental gateway. On the north of that, there is the temple of (*the goddess*) Chandrikâmbikâ. On the east of that, having entered the (*temple called*) Mukkaravasati, there is the south wall of the enclosure of the (*temple called*) Râyarâchamalla-vasati. On the east of that, there is the south wall of the (*temple called*) Śrî-Vijayavasati. On the north-east, there is the temple of (*the god*) Karmaṭêśvara. On the south of that, there is the previously mentioned west boundary of (*the temple of the god*) Bâḷabêśvara.

On the west of the city of the god, there was given a field measuring one *nivartana* and including two flower-gardens. The boundaries of it are specified:—One *nivartana* of flower-garden, on the east of the Parava lake, and on the north of the road to the village of Tapasî; (*and*) a betel-nut plantation of one *nivartana*, on the north of the flower-garden of the *Chaitya* hall of Gaṅga-Permâḍi.

Thus (*there were given*), for the enjoyment of

[20] Lit. 'a staff'; = 4 *hastas*, or cubits; = 96 finger-breadths.

[21] Or 'of the god of the workers in leather.'

the god of the temple of Jinêndra of king Raṅga-Kandarpa, a field of the measure of three hundred *nivartanas*, (*and*) three flower-gardens, free from the hereditary perquisites of the king and the country and the villages, and forced labour, and other dues. This is pleasing!

Land has been given by many kings, commencing with Sagara; he, who for the time being possesses land, enjoys the benefits of it! Those future kings, whether born in my lineage or in the lineage of other kings, who, with minds free from sin, preserve this my act of piety in its integrity,—to them I join my hands on my forehead (*in respectful salutation*)!

Second Part.—Lines 51-61.

Victorious is Jinapati, who is resplendent with (*attendant*) Jinas, possessed of superhuman powers; who is praised by the gods; who is the maker of the first creation; and who displays tenderness! . . . . . [22]

Many ornaments of the family of the Châlukyas, who are the favourites of the world, having passed away,—there was the Great King Raṇaparâkramâṅka.

The son of that king was the glorious Ereyya, who was possessed of brilliant statesmanship; whose dominion was increased; and whose array of horses and elephants and troops of foot-soldiers was bathed at the margins of the four oceans.

Moreover:—While the Great King Satyâśraya, the lord of the earth, possessed of brilliant truth, was ruling this earth, which is bounded by the ocean;—

Many most excellent kings having passed away in the race of the Sêndra kings, who are of the lineage of the Bhujagêndras[23], there was the king Vijayaśakti, who was the moon of the sky which was that family, and who irradiated the circuit of the regions with the banners that he had obtained by victory in many battles.

His son was the king Kundaśakti, who was as lustrous as the rays of the (*newly*) risen morning sun; who was endowed with the qualities of bravery and steadfastness and courage; and whose feet were touched[24] by the garlands on the tiaras of the crowd of chieftains (*who bowed down before him*).

His dear son was he who was possessed of unequalled manliness; who abounded in religion and wealth and pleasure; and whose fame was heightened by capturing the banners of heroes through victory in many wars.

By him, named Durgaśakti, a field of the measure of fifty *nivartanas*, on the north side of the city of Puligere, was given for the purposes of the perpetual worship of the *Chaitya* of Śaṅkha-Jinêndra, and in order to increase his religious merit.

The boundaries of it are declared:—On the east, (*the field called*) Kinnari-kshêtra; on the south-east, the land of Jyêshṭhaliṅga; on the south, (*the field called*) Ghaṭikâkshêtra; on the south-west, the land of the merchant Daṇḍîśa; on the west, the field of Râmêśvara; on the north-west, the field of Hŏbêśvara; on the north, the field of Sindêśvara; on the north-east, the field of Bhaṭṭârî. On the east of that, (*there is*) the previously mentioned (*field called*) Kinnarikshêtra.

The property of a god (*is called*) poison by mankind; poison is not called poison: poison kills a single person; the property of a god, (*if confiscated, kills*) sons and sons' sons!

Third Part.—Lines 61-82.

Hail! Victorious is the boar-like form that was manifested of Vishṇu, which agitated the ocean, and which had the earth resting on the tip of its uplifted right-hand tusk!

The dear son of the Great King Śrî-Polikêśivallabha,—whose body was purified by ablutions performed after celebrating horse-sacrifices, and who adorned the family of the glorious Châlukyas, who are of the kindred of Mânavya, which is praised over the whole earth; who are the descendants of Hârîti; who have been nourished by seven mothers, who are the seven mothers of mankind; who have attained an uninterrupted continuity of prosperity through the protection of Kârttikêya; and who have all kings made subject to them by the (*mere*) sight of the banner of the Boar, which they attained through the favour of the holy Nârâyaṇa,—(*was*) Śrî-Kîrttivarmâ, the favourite of the world, the Great King.

His son was Satyâśraya, the favourite

[22] *Dehahisari*, or *ihahi svasti*, l. 52,—not intelligible.

[23] *Bhujag-êndra*, or *nâg-êndra*, 'a snake king.'

[24] *Lit.* 'licked.'

of the world, the Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord.

His dear son was Vikramâditya-Satyâśraya, the favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord,—who, (*like Indra*), cleft open with the thunderbolt which was his prowess the overweening precipitation of the Pâṇḍya and Chôla and Kêraḷa and Kadamba and other kings, (*which was like the lofty summits of mountains*); and whose feet were kissed by the diadem of the lord of Kâñchî, who always bowed down before him.

His dear son was Vinayâditya-Satyâśraya, the favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the most venerable,—who was possessed of the banner of the sword-edge[25] and all the other tokens of supreme dominion, acquired by crushing the lord of all the region of the north.

His dear son was Vijayâditya-Satyâśraya, the favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king,—who was flavoured with the quality of impetuosity; who drove back the bands of his enemies; and who possessed the banner of the sword-edge and all the other brilliant tokens of sovereignty which indicate supreme dominion.

While the victorious camp of his dear son, Vikramâditya-Satyâśraya, the favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the venerable one,—whose manhood was increasing day by day; who enlarged his dominions by invading the territories of his foes; and the chief flavour of whose heroism was (*like the scent*) of musk and of the Kiśôra plant,—was located at (*the city of*) Raktapura,—six hundred and fifty-six of the Śaka years having expired, the second year of his increasing and victorious reign being current, on the day of the full-moon of (*the month*) Mâgha,—having embellished the (*temple called*) Śaṅkhatîrtha-vasati of the city of Pulikara, and having repaired the white *Jinâlaya* (*which was an outbuilding*) of it,—at the request of the merchant Bâhubali, (*which was made*) for the purpose of increasing the worship of Jina, a field of the measure of half a hundred *nivartanas* by the royal measure, laid out by the measure of a *gavyûti*[26] to the north of the city and to the south of the (*tank called*) Karpaṭi-tatâka, was given to Śri-Vijaya-dêvapaṇḍitâchârya,—who belonged to the (*sect called*) Dêvagaṇa of the lineage of the Mûlasaṁgha; who was the disciple of Râmadêvâchârya, who performed the most austere penances, and was a very incarnation of holy learning and was free from sorrow; who was the house-pupil[27] of Jayadêva-paṇḍita, who overcame those that opposed him in argument; and who had attained singleness of speech and other (*qualities*),—for the purpose of repairing breakages and of making new embellishments and of providing the oblation, and in order to maintain a hall of almsgiving, &c. The boundaries of it are declared:—On the east, some Samî trees beside a white stone on the south of the 'stone of the Kinnara' already spoken of. On the west, a Śamî tree near a white stone. On the north, the boundary comes back to the 'stone of the Kinnara', already spoken of, from a red stone on the east of the tank already referred to, (*which is reached*) from a slightly blue-black stone.

It is very easy to give one's own property, the preservation of (*the grant of*) another is difficult; (*if the question is*) whether giving or preserving (*is the more meritorious act*), preservation is better than giving! They say that poison is not poison; the property of a god is called poison: poison kills a single person; the property of a god, (*if confiscated, kills*) sons and sons' sons! He is born as a worm in ordure for the duration of sixty thousand years, who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another!

May the scripture of Jina become famous

No. XXXIX.

At Vol. I., p. 22, of the Elliot MS. Collection there is given a copy of a stone-tablet inscription of the Western Chalukya Vijayâditya, also from the Śaṅkha-basti temple at Lakshmêswar. I sent for a tracing of this also, with the following results.

The tablet is about 5′ 3″ high by 2′ 1″ broad, and contains 87 lines of writing, more or less perfect, in Old Canarese characters of the tenth

[25] *Pôh*: the word has various meanings, of which 'the sharp edge of a sword' seems most suitable in such a passage as this

[26] *Gavyûti*, or *gavyûta*,—a measure of length = 2000 *dandas* or 1 *krôśa*, or 4000 *dandas* or 2 *krôśas*.

[27] *Antêvâsin*, 'a pupil who dwells near or in the house of his teacher.'

century A.D. The average number of letters in the line is about fifty-four. I have no information as to whether there are any emblems at the top of the stone. The tracing is not so good as the preceding one, and only a portion of the entire inscription has been copied, and that imperfectly, in the MS. Collection. I am, therefore, unable to edit this tablet, but can give the general contents of it; which must suffice until the original can be examined by some one competent to read it, when the greater part of it can be satisfactorily deciphered. The tablet includes four separate inscriptions, which, from their varying dates and the age of the characters, must have been copied here from previous stone-tablets or copper-plates, for the sake of confirmation or of preservation.

First Part.—There are fragments of twenty lines, and seven lines, 21 to 27, perfect but very indifferently traced, of which I can only make out that it is an early Western Chalukya inscription of one of the Satyâśrayas, other than the first of that name. The name of the individual king, the date, and the details of the grant, are effaced somewhere between l. 14 and l. 20.

Second Part.—Commencing with l. 28 and ending in l. 53 is the Western Chalukya inscription copied in the MS. Collection. It is well preserved, and the whole of it could be edited from the original stone. It carries the genealogy from Polikêśivallabha, *i.e.* Pulikêśî I., down to Vijayâditya-Satyâśraya, and records that in the thirty-fourth year of his reign, "six centuries and fifty-one of the Śaka years" having expired, on the full-moon of the month Phâlguṇa, while his victorious camp was at the city of Raktapura, he gave the village of Kardama, on the south of the town of Pulikara, to his father's priest Udayadêvapaṇḍita, also called Niravadyapaṇḍita, who was the house-pupil of Śrîpûjyapâda and belonged to the Dêvagaṇa sect of the Mûlasaṁgha lineage, for the benefit of the temple of Śaṅkha-Jinêndra at the city of Pulikara. The date is in ll. 42-4, and reads:—*Êka-pañchâśad-uttara-shaṭ-chhatêshu Śaka-varshêshv=atîtêshu pravarttamâna-vijaya-râjya-saṁvatsarê chatus-triṁśê varttamânê Śrî-Raktapuram=adhivasati vijaya-skandhâvârê Phâlguṇa-mâsê paurṇṇamâsyâṁ.* The day of the week is not given.

Third Part.—Commencing in l. 53, and ending with l. 68, is another Gaṅga or Koṅgu inscription of king Gaṅga-Kandarpa. Here, again, though the tracing is very indifferent, the original is evidently very well preserved. Like the first part of the preceding inscription, No. XXXVIII., it is dated in the Vibhava *saṁvatsara*, "eight centuries of years, in the era of the Śaka kings, and ninety (*years*), having expired." It records a grant of land at the city of Puligere to the same person as in the first part of No. XXXVIII., Jayadêva, on account of the temple of Śaṅkha-Jinêndra. The date is in ll. 62-3, and reads:—*Śaka-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-śatêshv=ashṭasu navaty-uttarêshu pravarttamânê Vibhava-saṁvatsarê.* The month, the lunar day, and the day of the week, are not given. Undoubtedly it is a grant of the same king who is called Mârasiṁhadêva in the first part of No. XXXVIII.

Fourth Part.—Commencing with l. 69 is another Western Chalukya inscription. Here, again, the tracing, though very indifferent, shows that lines 69 to 82 are well preserved; below that, there are marks to indicate five lines of which the characters are too faint to be traced. It carries the genealogy from Polikêśivallabha down to Vinayâditya-Satyâśraya, and records a grant made by him to some *Âchârya* of the Dêvagaṇa sect of the Mûlasaṁgha lineage, on the full-moon of the month Mâgha, in the fifth or the seventh year of his reign, "six centuries and eight of the Śaka years having expired", while his victorious camp was at the city of Raktapura. The date is in ll. 77-8, and reads:—*Ashṭ-ôttara-shaṭ-chhatêshu Śaka-varshêshv=atîtêshu pravartta(?rddha)mâna-vijaya-râjya-pañchama-(? saptama)-saṁvatsarê Śrî-Rakta-puram=adhivasati vijaya-skandhâvârê Mâgha-mâsê paurṇṇamâsyâṁ.* Here, again, the day of the week is not given.

NOTE ON THE CUSTOM OF MAHÂPRASÂD IN THE SAMBALPUR DISTRICT, CENTRAL PROVINCES.[1]

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Mahâprasâd denotes a boon or favour of the highest degree, and as such conferred by a deity. Prasâd is equivalent to anything given by a god, or by a Gûrû, and carries with it a blessing. It further signifies the food presented to a god and afterwards distributed to the worshippers. It also denotes the offerings when an idol is consulted. The prefix *Mahâ* ('great') is used to mark especially the *prasâd* of Jagannâth ('the Lord of the Universe'), to whom the great temple at Puri, in Orissa, is consecrated. The food cooked within the holy precincts at Puri, presented to the idol and sold to pilgrims, is familiarly known, not only in Orissa, but throughout India, as *Mahâprasâd*, or 'the great offering.' Hunter's *Orissa* gives a graphic account of this holy food, and mentions the large profits which accrue from its sale.

The general belief among Hindus is that the holiness and purity of the deity is imparted to the food which has been eaten, or 'smelt,' as the expression runs, by Jagannâth, and that by partaking of the *Mahâprasâd* the human soul is sanctified, and becomes in a measure impregnated with the divine essence. This being the conception, it follows that this holy food is much reverenced; its possession is tantamount to the spiritual and personal presence of the deity; neither putrefaction nor impurities can defile it or alter its virtue. All castes and races of men are alike welcome to the advantages which its use confers. In theory, at least, the purest Brâhman would not disdain to eat it from the hand of a Chamâr. The estimation in which the holy food is held, and the equality of all men which it asserts, present some curious marks of similarity to the highest of all rites in the Christian churches. It is well known that in an area of about five square miles surrounding the temple of Jagannâth at Puri all distinctions of caste are in abeyance within the holy limits. According to one of the *Purâṇas*, men of all nationalities, castes, and creeds may unreservedly eat together of the food which has first been offered to the god. In practice a more exclusive system has grown up. The innovation is said to be of recent introduction, and certain races and castes are now recognized as not entitled to the equality which in the case of all others the presence of Jagannâth demands.

It is far from easy to determine how so unique a phase of Hinduism grew up. By some it is set down as a relic of the Buddhism which once prevailed throughout Orissa. Further research would probably show that some ground exists for this explanation. By others, the more cynical view is entertained that it arose from a device of the Brâhmans to widen the field from which worshippers are drawn, and with increase of numbers to swell their gains. Be the origin what it may, the loosening, under religious sanction, of the customary rules of Hindu life was probably in its inception based, and is even now maintained, on a noble assertion of the equality of man before God. The wide popularity of the worship of Jagannâth can perhaps only be accounted for by the existence of a deep-rooted feeling of this kind. The sale of the sacred food forms no mean addition to the gains of the temple servitors. Pilgrims from all parts of India purchase and carry it to their homes, where it is consumed, or distributed as a much-prized gift to relatives or friends, and even sold. An oath on the *Mahâprasâd* is considered to be more than ordinarily binding, and seems to be known and common throughout India. This form of sanction is often adopted when a mixed body of men band themselves together with the object of effecting some common purpose. The universally binding character of the oath on the *Mahâprasâd* is thus recognized, it not being believed that a Hindu when so pledged can by any mental reservation evade his self-imposed obligations.

In Orissa, including Sambalpur and the Garjat states, the sacredness of an engagement entered into on the *Mahâprasâd* has given rise to a curious and, from some points of view, a graceful custom. This consists in two persons becoming what is popularly known as *mahâprasâd* one to the other. The tie is one of a close and indissoluble brotherhood. The con-

[1] Reprinted from a Supplement to the *Central Provinces Gazette*.—Ed.

tracting parties consider themselves, and are thought by others, to have formed an offensive and defensive alliance. The essence of the bond is that in evil report or good report, for weal or woe, the newly created brothers are to stand by each other, and seek each other's welfare. According to the theory, loss or injury should be accepted, rather than by any action to affect adversely the interests of the brother by the sacred food. The basis of the friendship is unequivocally a religious one. Anything done to aid or help forward the aims of the 'brother' is regarded in the light of homage to Jagannâth. Like most things in India, from Fairs to Thagi, the people have, to their own satisfaction, managed to combine the service of 'God and mammon.' Friendships analogous in their features, such as those that derive their sanction from the holy water of the Ganges, the Tulsî leaf, and other sacred objects, are found elsewhere in India; but for the most part they are rather the amusement and interest of women than the business of men, and nowhere do such ties appear to have developed into an institution embracing in its effects both private relations and public affairs. Although I would be the last to urge that an unselfish longing for true friendship, strengthened by a tie held peculiarly sacred, may not often be the motive that impels to the union, its aspects as exhibited to outsiders are strictly utilitarian. There seems now none of the chivalrous spirit which still lights up the *Râkshbandan* custom of Râjputânâ. There the gift of the bracelet makes the recipient first and most important—the champion of the donor's honour and fair name, and the giver, in the highest sense, a sister. However pure the idea out of which the *mahâprasâd* brotherhood grew, the tie is not unfrequently debased to unworthy purposes. An avowedly selfish object in entering into the contract is now the rule rather than the exception. Once formed, the union is supposed to be unseverable, and should be maintained by the interchange of amenities from time to time between the 'brothers.' In practice, however, where some specific purpose was the end sought, this accomplished, the tie is commonly allowed to sink into abeyance.

I have not been able to ascertain that the custom prevails elsewhere in India, except in Lower Bengal, where it is said to occur, though rarely. In Sambalpur it is so common and so widely spread as to engage attention from an administrative point of view. On taking charge of the district, the recurrence of the word *mahâprasâd* in official documents struck me. I was warned that one person could not be trusted in relation to some one else, because he was his *mahâprasâd*. In cases before the courts the evidence of witnesses is almost daily objected to and discredited, on the score that they are *mahâprasâds* of the persons in whose favour they are deposing. The most experienced native officials have assured me that the uncorroborated testimony of a known *mahâprasâd* must at least be looked on with suspicion. Unfortunately no individual is restricted in the number of his *mahâprasâds;* men of wealth or influence have many, and, as might be expected, native Government officials, from their position, are eagerly desired. Rumour also says that the tie is bought and sold. Instances are known of the connexion being established on the eve of a trial, to secure the neutralization of hostile evidence. Practically, then, in the daily life of the people the custom has almost come to assume the character of a business arrangement. Some warrant for this may be found in the well-known couplet—

"*Sura nara muni ki yahi riti*
Svartha lage kâren saba priti,"

which, freely translated, might run—

"Gods, men and sages to this assent,
That all love and friendship for private ends is meant."

In addition to purposes less excusable, the tie is often utilized for more legitimate ends, such as to make up a long-standing quarrel, or to borrow money. In the latter case the lender feels that a loan to the *mahâprasâd* has a security which an ordinary transaction would not offer. When means are available, such an application is seldom refused.

The development of the *mahâprasâd* tie as visible in Sambalpur is far from healthy, and unquestionably, in many points of view, has a pernicious effect on the habits of the people. It adds to the difficulties of the courts by contributing another to the many under-currents, the force and strength of which are difficult to stem or to gauge. The indigenous native officials seem peculiarly imbued with a lust for this sacred friendship; and it may be questioned if

among them there is a single individual whose *mahâprasâds* are not in a measure proportionate to his position and standing in the Government service. The ceremonies observed when the tie is contracted are sufficiently simple. When the position of the parties warrants it, the occasion is recognized as one of rejoicing; guests are invited, and often comparatively large sums of money are spent in largesse, gifts to Brâhmaṇs, and costly presents are exchanged between the *mahâprasâds*. It does not appear that any ritual or religious ceremonies are prescribed as necessary to the occasion. When two persons agree to 'sit in *mahâprasâd*,' as it is called, they bathe, and the Vedic rite of *Kalsa pûjâ* may or may not be performed. The parties then sit opposite one another, one holding in his joined palms a portion of the holy food drops it into the hands of the other, held below to receive it; the position of the hands is then reversed, and the first holder now receives the food from the second. This is done seven times; each person then eats a small portion of the *mahâprasâd*. The new-made brothers embrace, and the ceremony is complete. The operation of passing the *mahâprasâd* from the hands of one to the other is accompanied by appropriate expressions, such as 'I throw myself upon you,' 'I seek protection from you,' 'I abandon all cause of quarrel,' 'I will never cause you any harm,' 'I will aid you,' &c. &c. Even this amount of ceremony is clearly not essential to the due contraction of the tie. The commoner form is for each party to eat in company a small portion of the sacred food, and then and there each to acknowledge the other as his *mahâprasâd* The necessary condition underlying the bond is faith in the great Jagannâth, and acceptance of his presence as manifested in the sacred food. It is said that on occasions Muhammadans have not scrupled to contract the obligation with Hindus. However repugnant to a true follower of Islâm such a profession of belief in the great idol at Puri may be, in Sambalpur, and probably throughout Orissa, the bulk of the Muhammadans are strongly imbued with the spirit of Hinduism. Unconsciously perhaps, but none the less certainly, the mind often takes up much of the colour of its surroundings, and a latent belief may redeem the obligation from the grossness of open perjury. It is related that, in times gone by, a European lady, in anxiety about the health of one dear to her, was induced to propitiate Samlai, the blood-loving goddess, at Sambalpur.

When the tie is once formed the parties cease to mention each other's names, using instead the title *mahâprasâd*. Similarly the parents and relations are called *mitra bâpa, mitra mâ*, &c,—'friend's father,' 'friend's mother,' &c.,—and the kinsmen of each are supposed to stand in the same relation to the newly constituted brother. The connexion thus formed is said in some instances to have continued to unite families for more than one generation. Blood relations and persons of the same name are by usage debarred from contracting this friendship. On the death of a *mahâprasâd* the family of the survivor not unfrequently mourn as for a relative.

Such is a brief view of this curious custom. Much may yet remain to reward inquirers more competent and with greater opportunities. As it affects public business it is doubtless of some importance, while if in describing it any light has been thrown on the inner life and feelings of the people, the sketch may in that measure be not altogether wanting in instruction.

TRADITIONARY ACCOUNT OF KALIDASA.

BY THE LATE RÂVAJI VÂSUDEVA TULLU, M.A., LL.B

What little can be gleaned from popular or traditionary accounts of Kâlidâsa cannot fail to interest, however inaccurate or scanty the sources of our information. For this reason, I give the following traditionary account:—

Kâlidâsa was born a Brâhmaṇ, and was left an orphan by the sudden death of both his parents, when he was scarcely six months old. In this helpless condition, he was seen by a cowherd, who brought him up as a member of his family till he was eighteen years of age. The natural beauty and delicate make of his person, distinguished him from the rest of the family, as one presumably born of superior lineage. But having had no education he was little better than the illiterate class of people among whom he was brought up.

Now the king of the country had a daughter[1] who was the most beautiful and accomplished lady of the age. Having arrived at years of discretion, she would accept no one as her husband who was not versed in all the arts and sciences. Such a man could not be found. And several kings and princes that came to ask her hand had to return disappointed much against the will of her father, who had proposed them one after another for her choice. Thus the king got tired, and resorted to his minister for advice. The minister[2] said, "Your highness's daughter is impetuous and self-willed; as she has already refused so many persons, who have been proposed for her, I feel sure she is destined to be married to an idiot. If your highness permits, I will practise my art and find out a person who would suit her." The king consented, and the minister while sitting upon his terrace, saw a beautiful man in a cowherd's attire, returning home from the woods with his cows. He beckoned to him, and the man accordingly went to him. The minister was glad to see that he had lighted on the object of his search, and next day reported the event to the king, who was glad to hear it. It was afterwards communicated to the princess that a learned Brâhman had come from Banâras to court her, and that he had numerous pupils and followers equally learned with himself. With her permission, the new Brâhman, the minister's *protégé*, was brought to the palace richly dressed with a number of pupils and followers These last were examined by the pandits of the court, and were found to be invincible in their arguments. Thus the princess was deceived, and fixed her choice upon the handsome youth, who was quite illiterate. The marriage was accordingly solemnized, but, not long after, the princess discovered her mistake. Then with a sword she threatened to kill him, if he did not reveal to her the truth. This was soon told, and the bridegroom felt ashamed of his total ignorance and utter inequality with the accomplished princess. The princess was a favourite devotee of the goddess Kâlî, and at her advice he proceeded to the temple of that deity, worshipped her with devotion, and ultimately promised to make an offering to her of his own head if she did not vouchsafe to bestow upon him the gift of learning. The goddess Kâlî took pity on the worshipper and his bride, and marked upon his tongue the letters बीजाक्षराणि, which endowed him with a ready wit in speaking and versifying. Hereafter the young Brâhman became known to the world as Kâlidâsa, or 'the devotee of Kâlî,' and his original name became lost.[3]

Kâlidâsa, with his new gift of learning, returned to the princess, who was almost in raptures at seeing her husband thus endowed. Kâlidâsa also felt conscious of the great change in himself, and ascribed it all to the princess, to whom he felt very grateful for her advice, and even threats. Henceforth he regarded her as his mother and preceptor, and vowed to treat her as such. The princess grew wroth at this, and cursed him by saying, "Thou shalt meet thy death at the hands of a woman." Henceforth Kâlidâsa led a single life, although it is said, he spent a great deal of his time in the company of courtezans and persons of low degree. It was here he enjoyed those pleasures he so vividly describes in his poems, and more especially in his *Ritu Saṁhâra* and *Śriṅgâra-tilaka*.

With reference to the 199th verse in the first book of the *Panchatantra* (Calcutta edition), it is said that Bhavabhuti, who led an ascetic life, passing by the house of a courtezan, happened to say the first half—

मधु तिष्ठति वाचि योषितां हृदि हालाहलमेव केवलम्

Kâlidâsa, who was just then inside, very wittily completed the verse, saying

अतएव निपीयते ऽधरो हृदयं मुष्टिभिरेव ताड्यते

With reference to verse 17 of the *Śriṅgâra-tilaka* the following is a traditionary account:—Once upon a time it happened that king Bhoja uttered the line:—

कुसुमे कुसुमोत्पत्तिः श्रूयते न तु दृश्यते

and asked if any of his pandits could complete the verse. None in the court could do it, as Kâlidâsa had for some reason concealed himself in the house of his mistress, and was absent from court. A large reward was offered to any one who should complete it. Kâlidâsa

[1] Vâsantî, the daughter of Bhimaśukla, king of Vârânasî: *Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. p. 103.—ED.

[2] Vararuchi—*ut sup.*

[3] This is substantially the same account as is transmitted by Târânâtha, given in *Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. pp. 103, 104, and conf. p. 363; also vol. I. p. 245; vol. III. pp. 24, 81: vol. IV. p. 84.—ED.

heard this, but, not choosing to discover himself in public, merely wrote on a wall the other half—

बाले तव मुखाम्भोजे कथमिंदीवरद्वयम्.

His mistress read the complete verse, and wishing to appropriate the prize to herself, and to gain the credit of having completed the verse, was tempted to kill her lover, thus fulfilling the curse pronounced upon Kâlidâsa by the princess.

Kâlidâsa was a great traveller, as appears from his correct knowledge of places* as described in his poem of the *Megha-duta*. Once it happened that Kâlidâsa, Bhavabhuti, and Daṇḍin travelled together on a pilgrimage to Śrî-Raṅgapuri, near Trichinâpalli, to see the shrine of Śrî Raṅganâtha, or Vishṇu lying on Śesha. Each of them composed in honour of the deity a verse characteristic of his own peculiar style :—

Kâlidâsa :—ऐंद्रीं पाटलयत्यलक्तकरुचामंघ्रित्विषामंकुरैः
आशां मौलिकिरीटरत्ननिकरैः पाशायुधीयामपि
पर्यङ्के पवमाननूलभरिते पारे कवेरात्मजम्
मुद्रा काचन मुक्तिदानकुशला निद्रानि जागर्ति वा.

Bhavabhuti :—वक्षःपीठे किमपि रचयन्वारिधेर्वशरत्नम्
नाभौ कुर्वन्नखिलजगतीनाटिकासूत्रधारम्
तल्पे नादूकप्रदपरिमला सारगर्भेधिरङ्गम्
निद्रा मुद्रा रसमभिनयन्नीलिमा कश्चिदिन्धे.

Daṇḍin :—कांच्या काचन कालमेघमुषुमाकल्लोलसल्लापिनी
पाथोराशितपःफलेन महसा केनापि भूषावनी
रंगे तुंगभुजंगपुंगववपुः पर्यङ्कमासेदुषी
निद्रा मुद्रितलोचना विजयते मुद्रा मुरद्रोहिणी.

On another occasion, a learned paṇḍit named Damaruka, came to the court of the king, and challenged the paṇḍits to complete a verse, the first line of which was—

अंभोधिर्जलधिः पयोधिरुदधिर्वारांनिधिर्वारिधिः

None could do it but Kâlidâsa, who added the following lines :—

अंबा कुप्यति तात मूर्ध्नि विधृता गंगेयमुत्सृज्यताम्
विद्वन्षण्मुख संतनं मयि रता तस्या गतिः का वद।
कोपाटोपवशाद्विवृध्धवदनः प्रत्युत्सरं दत्तवान् ॥

Such is the account of Kâlidâsa handed down by गुरुपरंपरा, *i.e.* by a line of preceptors to pupils, and generally current in Mhaisur (Mysore). I am indebted for it to Paṇḍit Râmânujâchârya, Sanskrit Teacher in the Indor High School, who had it from his preceptor, the late Sajjayâchârya, the well-known rhetorician of Mysore.[5]

FATHER THOMAS ESTEVAÕ, S.J.

BY F. M. MASCARENHAS.

According to Father Francis de Sousa, S.J. (*Oriente Conquistado*, tom. II. p. 29), Father Estevaõ (Stephens, or Stevens) was a native of London, and according to the Rev. Theodore Hauser, S.J. (*Bombay Catholic Examiner*, No. 43, 1875), Father Estevaõ was born in Wiltshire. His father, Thomas Stevens, was a London merchant, and sent him for his studies to New College, Oxford. In the year 1575 he was in the noviciate of the Society of Jesus at St. Andrew's in Rome, where he spent four years; during the two last he was most probably engaged in the study of philosophy. F. Estevaõ was sent to Goa, which he reached on the 24th October 1579. "Thomas Stephens," says the Rev. Philip Anderson (*History of the Settlement of the English in Western India*, pp. 6, 7), "is the first Englishman of whom we are sure that he visited the western shores of India. When there he was only known as a Jesuit, but he had been originally educated at New College, Oxford. On the 4th April 1579 he sailed from Lisbon, and the following October reached Goa, where he lived many years. A letter which he wrote to his father, a London merchant, soon after his arrival, is printed in Hakluyt's *Collection of Voyages*. It contains not only a particular and interesting description of his perilous navigation round the Cape, but, many sage remarks are made in quite a mercantile spirit on the state of Portuguese trade, of which he evidently desires that his countrymen should obtain a share. The reader is surprised to find a Roman ecclesiastic entering with such eagerness and penetration into commercial affairs. Probably Stephens' advices were the strongest inducements which London merchants had been offered to embark in Indian speculations, and certainly they began from this period to fit out expeditions for the East." "The narrative of his travels," says Dr. Pope (*Text-Book of Indian History*, p. 244), "excited

* Conf. Monier Williams, *Wisdom of the Hindus*, p. 361, note.—ED.

[5] Lassen and Monier Williams place Kalidâsa in the third century A.D., Weber in the third or sixth, and Dr. Bhau Dâji in the sixth. See M. Williams, *Wisdom of the Hindus*, pp. 474, 475, and Conf. *Trans. Internat. Cong. Orient.* 1874, p. 254; *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. VI. pp. 19, 207; Lassen, *Alterth* II. 1157 (or 2nd ed. 1170).—ED.

immense interest in England." Mill (*History of India*, vol. I. p. 12) says that Stephens wrote an account of his voyage, which was read with avidity, and contributed to swell the general current of enterprise which now ran so vehemently towards India (Harris's *Voyages*, vol. I. p. 875). Murray (*British India*, vol. I. p. 151) states that Stevens sent home a most favourable report of the fertility of the region in which Goa was placed, the opportunities it afforded for trade, and the liberality with which the port was opened to vessels of every nation. Father Estevaõ is the only Jesuit who ever worked in the missions of India before the suppression of the Society. He represented his nation worthily, as well by his zeal as by his learning and obliging manners.

According to Anderson (p. 7), (Francis) Pyrard de Laval, who was a prisoner at Goa in 1608, states that Stephens was then rector of a college (of Rachol) in Salsette—by which he probably means the province of that name in the Goanese territory. The English Jesuit was a kind-hearted and true friend in need to several of his countrymen, who within the space of a few years found their way to India." (*Histoire Générale des Voyages*, par C. A. Walckenaer—Hakluyt's *Voyages*.) Two English travellers, John Newbery and Ralph Fitch, were intimately acquainted with F. Stephens and received many favours from him during their stay at Goa. Their letters are dated 20th and 25th January 1584. John Hugh van Linschoten (born 1553 and died 1633), a Dutch traveller, who was a page to the Archbishop of Goa, D. F. Vicente de Fonseca, and came out with his Grace in 1583, praises very much the kindness of F. Stephens. Amongst the missionaries of those days he was one of the most distinguished, and a chief means of converting the island of Salsette, near Goa. His thorough knowledge of the Konkani language, joined to a great zeal for the salvation of souls, fitted him best for the mission of Salsette, which was considered the most difficult the Society had up to that time undertaken in any part of the world. Father Stephens must have been still young when he reached Goa, and apparently a scholastic only. He spent forty years on the mission of Goa, as Mulbauer remarks (*Geschichte der Indischen Missionen*, referring to the History of the Society by Orlandini). Father Stephens died in the year 1619, probably at Rachol, and must have reached a good age; "for if," says Father Hauser, "we suppose him to have been at least twenty-five years of age when he came to India, he was about sixty-five or about seventy years when he died." The following works were published by this English Jesuit:—

1. *Arte da Lingua Canarim*; Art of the Kanarese (*i.e.* Koṅkaṇi) Language, by Father Thomas Estevaõ. Printed in the College of St. Ignatius at Rachol, in Goa, in 1640, with additions by Father Diego Ribeiro, S.J., and four other Priests of the same Society. Only two copies of the original edition are known to exist.

2. *Doutrina Christaá em Lingua Brahmana-Canarim* (*i.e.* Konkaṇi), *ordenada a maneira de dialogo para ensinar os meninos. Rachol*, 8vo. Christian Doctrine in Brâhman-Kanarese Language, arranged in dialogues to teach children. 8vo, Rachol. This Catechism is a translation of that of Father Marcos Jorge, commonly known under the name of its improver, Father Master Ignacio Martins.

3. *Discurso sobre a Vinda de Jesus Christo nosso Salvador ao Mundo, dividido em dous Tratados, pelo Padre Thomas Estevaõ, Inglez, da Companhia de Jesus:* Discourse on the Coming of Jesus Christ our Saviour into the World, divided into two treatises, by Father Thomas Estevaõ, of the Society of Jesus, an Englishman. This famous book of religious instruction is a selection from the Bible. It is entitled a *Purâṇa*, and is an abridgment of the books, accompanied by explanatory remarks and a good account of the mysteries of the incarnation, passion, and resurrection of our Saviour. Father Thomas Estavaõ wrote his work in 1614. It was afterwards revised, in 1647, by Father Fr. Gaspar of St. Miguel, of the Order of St. Francis of Assisi. The work was printed in 1626, 1649, and 1654. In Kanara there are only a few manuscripts, of 1000 pages in folio, and it is understood by those who know the Marâṭhi or higher dialect of the Konkaṇi language, in which it is written. The work was dedicated to D. Fr. Christovaõ de Sa e Lisboa, Archbishop of Goa and Primate of the East, on the 29th April 1616. All the three editions of this excellent work were approved by the ecclesiastical authorities at Goa. Father Francisco Vieira, Provincial of the Society of Jesus at Goa, approved it on the 22nd June 1615. It is divided into two treatises or *purâṇas*, the first of which contains licenses, dedication, introduction, and 36 cantos. The second treatise, divided into four parts, contains 59 cantos. The whole of the work has 11,018 strophes, 4296 of which belong to the first *purâṇa*, and 6722 to the second. Father Pascoal Gomes de Faria, Priest of the Order and Habit of St. Peter, a native of Bathim, in the parish of N. Sra. de Guadalupe, of the island of Goa, added in the year 1722 two hundred and thirty-seven strophes to cantos 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, and 51 of the second treatise (see *Ensaio Historico da Lingua Concani*, pp. 119-120, por Senhor J. H. da Cunha Rivara).

MISCELLANEA.

THE HISSARLIK RELICS—THE *SVASTIKA*.[1]

As the relative antiquity of the objects found at Hissarlik by Dr. Schliemann, and now exhibited at South Kensington, is under discussion, allow me to point out what is the origin and date, as I believe, of the Greek archaic cross, which so frequently occurs in the pottery found at Hissarlik, and its distinction from the Buddhist *Svastika* or Âryan symbol, so called, with which Dr. Schliemann appears to connect it. The Greek archaic cross 卍 appears to me to be evidently derived from the punch-mark on early Greek coins. The punch-mark was originally composed of four small squares, ⊡, the centre assuming the form of a cross, but in the stamping of the coin the squares went a little on one side, and made the punch-mark take the shape of the archaic cross 卍. In this manner it is found on the coins of Chalcedon and Cyzicus, and on early coins of Syracuse the archaic cross appears in a more definite form. This form was thence adopted as an ornamental device on early Greek pottery, as we see it on that of Athens, Samos, Cyprus, and Hissarlik.

The Buddhist *Svastika* is a *monogram*. According to General Cunningham, it is composed of two Pâli characters 卐 *su*, and 卍 *ti*, or *suti*, which is the Pâli form of the Sańskṛit *Svasti*, which means 'it is well.'[2] It is a symbol of resignation among the Buddhists. The *svastika* is almost invariably, according to Mr. Beal, the reverse of the Greek archaic cross, thus 卐.

The dates of the two crosses are also very different. The Greek archaic cross is found on Greek coins and pottery of the seventh century B.C., while the Buddhist symbol, the *Svastika*, cannot be earlier than the sixth century B.C., as Buddha died about 540 B.C.

At page 103 of Dr. Schliemann's work on Troy, he gives Burnouf's explanation of the origin of the *Svastika*. There is every reason to doubt his explanation; the very meaning he assigns to it, *εὖ ἐστι*, 'it is well,' shows that General Cunningham is correct in deriving it from the two Pâli characters *su, ti*, 'it is well,' and that it is a Buddhist symbol of a date not earlier than the sixth century B.C.

At p. 102 Dr. Schliemann tells us that the Rev. W. Brown Keer assured him that he had seen the *Svastika* innumerable times in the most ancient Hindu temples, and especially in those of Jains. According to Mr. Fergusson, the mean date of the earliest Buddhist monuments is 250 B.C., while the date of the oldest known Hindu monument cannot be carried further back than the sixth or seventh century of our era, and the oldest Jaina monument may be of the tenth century. Mr. B. Keer's assurance is, therefore, of no value with regard to the antiquity of the *Svastika* in India. HODDER M. WESTROPP.

BOOK NOTICES.

1. L'ISLAMISME d'après le Coran, l'enseignement doctrinal et la pratique. Par Garcin de Tassy, Membre de l'Institut, Prof. à l'école spéciale des langues Orientales vivantes. 3me ed. 8vo, 412 pp. (Paris: Maisonneuve et Cie. 1874.)
2. ISLAM and its FOUNDER, by J. W. H. Stobart, B.A., Principal, La Martinière College, Lucknow. 12mo, 254 pp. (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1877.)

The first of these works is by a well-known veteran in Oriental scholarship, and contains four short treatises. The *first*, on the doctrines and duties of the Musulmân religion, is preceded by a collection of the texts from the Bible which the Musulmân doctors regard as having reference to Muḥammad and his mission. Their interpretations are of course *forced* in the extreme: thus, the "twelve princes" in *Gen.* xvii. 20 they make the "twelve *imâms*;" "their brethren" in *Deut.* xviii. 18, the descendants of Ishmael the brother of Isaac; "Paran" in *Deut.* xxxiii 2 and *Habak.* iii. 3, being the generic name of the mountains round Makka, they hold that the revelation of the *Korân* is referred to, and that the Gospel was given from 'Mount Seir'; in *Isaiah* xxi. 6, 7, they make the man in the chariot drawn by asses to be Christ, him drawn by camels Muḥammad; in *John* xiv.

[1] From the *Athenæum*, Jan. 12, 1878.

[2] *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 356. *Svasti* in the Vedas means 'welfare, prosperity,' &c.; its later sense is nearly the same —'happiness, bliss,' &c.; Svastidevî is the mythological wife of Vâyu. Among the Jainas, the *Svastika* is one of the twenty-four auspicious marks, and is the *chihna* or cognizance of Supârśva, their seventh Tîrthaṅkara of the present cycle (see *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. p. 135). The symbol in the oldest Bauddha inscriptions, as well as in Jaina works, is, as Mr. Beal had noted, the reverse of the old Greek cross; but there is no sufficient reason for supposing that it was first invented or introduced by the Buddhists. It is probably of far older date than the time of Buddha: it was one of the chief of the *mangalyalakshana*, or marks on his feet (Hardy, *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 367). Conf. *Ind. Ant.* vol IV. pp. 75, 303; Burnouf, *Lotos de la Bonne Loi*, p. 625; Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 246.—ED.

16 and xv. 26, they change παράκλητος into περικλυτὸς and apply it to Muḥammad, as they make him also 'the last' who 'shall be first' in *Matt.* xx. 9, 10, 16. The other texts referred to him are—*Isaiah* xlii. 1, 7, 17, &c.; lxiii. 1, 6, &c.; *Dan.* vi. 13, 14; *John* xxi. 7, 13, &c.; and *Rev.* vi. 4.

The teaching and duties are presented in a series of quotations from the Korân, classified under various heads, such as God, Angels, Inspired Books, The Gospel, the Korân, Jesus Christ, Muḥammad, The worship of one God, Social Duties, Infidels, Unbelievers, Purgatory, Hell, Paradise, Prayers, &c. &c. It is evident that in such an arbitrary arrangement there is a danger of representing the religion under an aspect which is not strictly a correct one; it is apt to bring into strong prominence, for example, the ethical teaching of scattered and incidental precepts, while, unless the classification were far more comprehensive than M. de Tassy has attempted to make it, many ethically important features, such as the position of woman, slavery, the discipline of the heart and will, private virtues, &c., may be left out. Yet this treatment has its uses, as it brings together all that is said in the Korân on each of a number of important topics, from which we can at once judge of the character of its teaching respecting each individually, and, as the arrangement is pretty exhaustive of the contents of the book, we see at once the areas that it leaves entirely blank.

The *second* treatise is a translation of the Turkish *Riçâlê-i Berkevi*, a religious catechism written in the sixteenth century, treating chiefly of dogma and morality, but mixed with minute details on ablutions and rules respecting prayers. The *third* section is a Sunni Euchology, translated from the *Hidayat-ul Islâm*, which is known in India both in an Arabic and a Persian version, and contains most of the prayers in use, the Suras from the Korân employed in prayer, the *Fatihas*, and special prayers used in the pilgrimages to Makka and Medinah. The *fourth* and last division of the volume is a memoir on the special features of the Muhammadan religion in India, drawn from Hindustâni works, and gives a pretty full account of the feasts and principal saints of the Indian Musulmâns. M. de Tassy has given us an interesting, instructive, and valuable addition to the literature of the subject, though, like most books written by those who know Muhammadanism only from its literature, the author, by dwelling principally on its better features, gives a more favourable view of it than it really deserves.

The small volume by Mr. Stobart is an excellent handbook, at once popular in its style and accurate in its condensed details of facts. It opens with a brief but clear outline of the Geography, Early History, Ethnology, and Religion of the Arabian Peninsula; then the bulk of the book is devoted to the life and teaching of the "Prophet;" and this is followed by a chapter on Islâm, and another on its spread, after which the author sums up briefly and honestly on some of those features which more forcibly strike a Western observer. It is not intended as a work of original research, but the author has selected and employed the most trustworthy European authors on the subject, and by confining himself chiefly to a narrative of facts, has produced a volume full of information, and the best introduction to a knowledge of Islâm and its founder that we know of.

"However much, under the then degraded condition of Arabia," he remarks, "the code of Mahomet was a gift of value, and however much it may have succeeded in banishing those fiercer vices which naturally accompany ignorance and barbarism, still can it be forgotten at how dear a price the boon was acquired? In the place of temporary and remediable evils . . . . the nation was delivered captive to the guidance of an unchangeable law, which, whatever the excellence of some of its precepts, poisons domestic life, stifles honest inquiry, crushes the right of private judgment, has hitherto been found, and is essentially, incompatible with constitutional freedom, and has been followed by that train of national degradation and evil which the story of the past and the example of the present show to be the constant, and it would seem the inevitable, attendants wherever Islam holds sway. History, indeed, but too truly records that the faith of Mahomet is altogether powerless to ennoble or to regenerate a nation. The partial and specious reforms which it may effect are vitiated by the fact that they serve to exclude the highest; and as the inner life of families, the whole tone of society, and the intellectual and moral standard of a people depend on the principles diffused by the ruling religion, it seems, from past experience, hopeless to expect that Islam will ever cease to be what it has hitherto proved, the most formidable obstacle to the dawn of a progressive and enlightened civilization."

The book is one of a series published by the Christian Knowledge Society on "Non-Christian Religious Systems," is illustrated by a map—showing the limits of the Muhammadan empire at its greatest extent under the early Khalifs in the 8th century, the present limits of the empire, and the spread of the religion, and has an excellent index, fitting it for easy reference.

THE THREE NEW EDICTS OF AŚOKA.

SECOND NOTICE.

BY G. BÜHLER.

(*See Ind. Ant. vol. VI. pp.* 149*ff.*)

MY translation and analysis of General A. Cunningham's new Aśoka edicts, published in vol. VI. pp. 149ff of the *Indian Antiquary*, have called forth two reviews in the London *Academy*, one by Mr. Rhys Davids,[1] and one by Professor R. Pischel,[2] in which my explanations of several important words have been found fault with, and the correctness of the historical inferences drawn from the inscriptions has been disputed. Mr. Rhys Davids has also devoted a couple of pages to the new edicts in an appendix to his work "On the coins and measures of Ceylon" (*Numismata Orientalia*, Part VI. pp. 57-60). As the latter work contains an analysis of the statements regarding Buddhistic chronology, given in the *Dîpavaṁsa* and *Mahâvaṁsa*, as well as a very ingenious attempt to fix the date of the Nirvâṇa somewhere about 410 B.C., the author very naturally felt it necessary to deal with the somewhat inconvenient three edicts, which, if the interpretation given by me were right, would make his deductions valueless. The importance of the questions connected with the new inscriptions, and the consciousness that in my first notice some important points have been either entirely omitted, or rather touched than fully discussed, induce me to reply to the strictures passed on my article.

For the sake of ready reference I reprint the texts of the Sahasrâm and Rûpnâth edicts.[3]

Sahasrâm.

Devânâṁ piye hevaṁ â[*há* : *sâtilekâni aḍhit*]iyâni savachhalâni, aṁ upâsake sumi, na cha bâḍhaṁ palakaṁte.

Saviṁchhale sâdhike, aṁ [*sumi bâḍhaṁ palakaṁ*]t[*e*].

Etena cha aṁtalena jambudîpasi aṁmisaṁ devâ[*hu*]saṁ, ta munisâ misaṁ deva kaṭâ.

Pala[*kamasi hi*] iyaṁ phale, [*n*]o [*cha i*]yaṁ mahatatâ-vachakiye pâvatave.

Khudakena hi palakamamînenâ vipule suag-[*e*] [*sa*]kiye âlâ[*dhayita*]v[*e*].

Se etâye aṭhâye iyaṁ sâvane :

Khudakâ cha uḍâlâ cha palakamaṁtu, aṁtâ pi chaṁ

janaṁtu ; chilaṭhitîke cha palakame hotu.

Iyaṁ cha aṭhe vaḍhisati, vipulaṁ pi cha vaḍhisati, diyâḍhiyaṁ avaladhiyenâ diyaḍhiyaṁ vaḍhisati.

Iyaṁ cha savane vivuthena ; duve sapaṁnâlâtisatâ vivuthâ ti (*sú ṁ phra*) 256.

Ima cha aṭhaṁ pavatesu likhâpayâ thâya ; [*yata*] vâ athi hete silâthaṁbhâ tata pi likhâpayâ thayi.

Rûpnâth.

Devânâṁ piye hevaṁ âhâ : sâṭirakekâni aḍhitisâni va[*sâ*], ya sumi pâkâ sa[*va*] ki, no cha bâḍhi pakate.

Sâtileke chu chhavachhare, ya sumi haka saṁgha-papite, bâḍhi cha pakate.

Yi imâya kâlâya jambudipasi amisâ devâ-husu, te dâni masâ kaṭâ.

Pakamasi hi esa phale, no cha esâ mahatatâ-pâpoṭavê.

Khudakenâ hi kapi parumaminenâ sakiye pipule pi svage ârodhave.

Etiya aṭhâya cha sâvane kaṭe :

Khudakâ cha uḍâlâ cha pakamaṁtu ti, aṭâ pi cha

jânaṁtu ; iyaṁ pakâre cha kiti ? chiraṭhitike siyâ. Iya hi aṭhe vaḍhi vaḍhisiti, vipula cha vaḍhisiti, apaladhiyenâ diyaḍhiyaṁ vaḍhisati.

Iya cha aṭhe pavatisu lekhâpeta vâlata hadha cha ; aṭhi silâṭhubhe silâthaṁbhasi lâkhâpeta vayata.

Etinâ cha vayajanenâ yâvatakatu paka ahâle, savara-vivase tavâyati. Vyuṭhenâ sâvane kaṭe ; (*sú ṁ phra*) 256 sataviväsâ ta.

[1] *The Academy*, July 14, 1877, p. 37.
[2] *Ib.* Aug. 11, 1877, p. 145.

[3] Corrections and vv. ll. :—

Sahasrâm.

Savachhale — amisaṁ, — devâ,—cha jânaṁtu,— sâvane. Mr. Rhys Davids in addition reads *sapaṁnâlâtisatâ*, a correction regarding which I am still as doubtful as when I wrote my first article.—*Num. Or.* VI. p. 57, note 1.

Rûpnâth.

sâtilekâni,—hakâ—pakamaminenâ,—vipule—ârâdhave—pakare ?—lekhâpeta ṭhâyi ti—tapayati ? tapâyati ?—vyaṭhenâ ?—

Mr. Rhys Davids suggests for *sa(va)ki*, *su*-ko, I think unnecessarily. His correction *vyuṭhena*, is also unnecessary as the inscriptions show three instr. in *enâ*. The real reading of the inscription is *kaṭe*, not *kaṭa* as he supposes.—*Num. Or.* VI. p. 57, note 2.

In my analysis of these edicts I stated—

Firstly, that the author must be a king, because he uses the ancient royal title, *Devânâṁpiye*, speaks of his greatness, and asserts that he caused a change of religion throughout India, and incised his edicts on rocks and pillars.

Secondly, that this king probably belonged to the third century B.C., and to the Maurya dynasty, on account of the title, which we know to have been a Maurya title, and on account of the alphabet employed in writing the inscription.

Thirdly, that he must have been a Buddhist, because the Mauryas were patrons of that sect, and because we have no evidence that the Jainas, the only other known sect which the terms employed in the inscriptions would fit, were patronized by a Maurya.

Fourthly, that as the author of the inscription was a Buddhist, the author of the sermon which the inscription quotes, the Vivutha or Vyutha, must be Śâkyamuni Buddha, and that *vivutha* must mean 'the Departed,' or 'he who has passed away,' on account of the phrase *duve sapaṁnâlâtisatâ vivuthâ* (Sah. 6, 7), and that the word *probably* corresponded to Sanskrit *vivṛitta*.

Fifthly, that if the Vivutha was Buddha, the era used must be that of the Nirvâṇa, and that the explanation of *satavivâsâ* by *śâstṛivivâsât*, 'from the departure, *i.e.* the death, of the teacher,' which I regarded as *probable*, confirmed this view.

Sixthly, that as the inscription belonged to a Buddhist and Maurya king, no one but Aśoka could be the author, as no other Maurya had ruled as long as thirty-four years, or been for so long a time a Buddhist; and

Seventhly, that the statements of the *Mahâvaṁśa*, if correctly interpreted, showed that Aśoka had been a Buddhist for about thirty-four years, and might have been alive during the greater part of the year 257 after the Nirvâṇa.

In his first review (*Academy*, July 14th, 1877) of my article, Mr. Rhys Davids demurred to one point only, viz. to the explanation of the word *vivâsa* by 'death,' preferring to render it, '*in accordance with classical usage*,' by '*abandoning his home*' or 'becoming an ascetic,' and assumed that the era used was not that of Buddha's Nirvâṇa, but that of the Great Renunciation. He further stated that even if my interpretation were correct, and the era used were that of the Nirvâṇa, the inscription would only prove that the Buddhists *believed* the Nirvâṇa to have taken place 257 years before the 34th of Aśoka's conversion, and *not* that it *actually did* take place at that time. He finally suggested that the opening sentence of the edicts might mean that the gods of Jambudvîpa, who had hitherto held aloof from men (*i.e.* the Buddhistic deities), had been caused to mingle with them.*

Next, Professor Pischel, in a note on the inscription (*Academy*, Aug. 11, 1877) objected to my view that the edicts belonged to Aśoka. He declared my explanations of *vivutha*, *vyutha*, and *sata* to be inadmissible. The former two words he identified with the Sanskrit *vyushita*, the past part. pass. of *vivas*, 'to depart,' and translated them by 'he who has departed from life.' *Sata* he declared to be the Sanskrit *sattva*, 'life,' and explained the phrase *satavivâsâ* by *sattvaviyâsât*, 'since his departure from life.' He further contended that, as neither of these terms nor any other word was clearly of Buddhistic origin, nothing remained to connect the inscriptions with Aśoka. He therefore took them to be Jaina, and expressed his conviction that the *Vivutha* must be Mahâvîra, for which view he adduced a phrase, '*from the departure*,' occurring in Stevenson's *Kalpasûtra*, p. 95. He finally ascribed the inscriptions to Aśoka's grandson Sampadi, whom, as I had stated, the Jainas represent to have been a patron of theirs.

Finally, Mr. Rhys Davids, in the appendix to the *Numismata Orientalia*, Pt. VI. pp. 57-60, once more reviews the whole question. Influenced by Professor Pischel's criticism, he no longer confidently attributes the edicts to Aśoka, but thinks that my arguments for that view are not sufficient. He repeats Professor Pischel's assertion that the terms employed in the edict may be Jaina as well as Buddhistic; he also points out that *Devâṇuppiya*, the Jaina form of *Devâṁpiye*, is used by the latter as a polite form of address to inferiors and women. Hence he thinks that my strongest argument for the identity of the author of the edicts with Aśoka, drawn from the fact that he was the only Devânâṁpiye who in the third century of the Buddhist

* As I shall not recur to this remark, I may as well state that the explanation of *misam*, by *miśra*, seems to me very improbable.

era was a zealous Buddhist, and reigned more than thirty-four years, falls to the ground. He, however, does not go so far as to absolutely reject the authorship of Aśoka; but he would, in case that were proved, adhere to his former explanations of *vivâsa* by *abhinikkhamaṇa*, or 'turning ascetic,' and take *vivutha-vyuṭha* for an equivalent of *vyushita-vyushṭa*, and in the sense of *pravrajita*. He combats Prof. Pischel's explanation of *sataviváśâ*, and he also gives Professor Jacobi's authentic text of the passage from the Jaina *Kalpasûtra* to which Professor Pischel had referred, and shows that it affords no countenance to the identification of the *Vivutha* with Mahâvîra or, to call him by his correct name, Nirgrantha Jñâtiputra.[5] The result at which Mr. Rhys Davids arrives is that the inscriptions afford no assistance for determining the date of the Nirvâṇa, that they may be either Jaina or Buddhistic, and that everything connected with them is exceedingly uncertain and doubtful.[6]

These reviews contain the following points which require consideration:—(1) whether the inscriptions really contain nothing that connects them with Aśoka, and shows them to be Buddhistic; (2) the etymology of the terms *Vivutha-Vyuṭha* and *Sata*; (3) the explanation of the word *vivâsa* by *abhinikkhamaṇa*, 'the Great Renunciation.' To the discussion of these points I shall have to add an inquiry regarding Mr. Rhys Davids's adjustment of the date of the Nirvâṇa. For it is evident that if his deductions from the texts of the *Dîpavaṁśa* and of the *Mahâvaṁśa* are correct, and the Nirvâṇa has to be placed about 410 B.C., the Ceylonese date for Aśoka's coronation, 219 A.B., with which, according to my interpretation, the date of the inscriptions agrees, must necessarily be wrong. I shall also have to consider his remark that in the most favourable case the new edicts prove only the belief prevailing in Aśoka's time regarding the date of the Nirvâṇa, not the actual date itself; and to add a few further facts bearing on the interpretation of the edicts, which I omitted in my first notice.

As regards the first point, I regret that I cannot agree either with the method employed by my critics in their discussion of the authorship of the edicts, nor with their results. In my opinion, the question if the terms *saṁgha*, *upâsaka*, *sâvaka*, *vivutha-vyuṭha*, *sata*, *Devânâṁ piye* are exclusively Buddhistic, or if they have been used by Jainas, Brahmans or other sects also, as well as the etymology of *vivutha-vyuṭha* and *sata*, affect the chief problem very little. I have myself stated that some of these words were used by two sects, and I have no doubt that all of them were current in the fourth and third centuries B.C. among the adherents of various sects. In some cases actual proof for this belief can be furnished. I have given two *possible* etymologies for *vivutha*, and nine for *sata*, and I now regret that I did not add two more for the former word, as my doing so might have made it clearer how little I relied on them. The chief problem—the question *who* was the author of the new edicts—has to be solved in an entirely different manner, viz. by a careful comparison of the old Aśoka edicts, and of the other known Prakrit inscriptions with the new edicts. If that comparison is duly made, I think it will be found that there is a good deal to connect the new inscriptions with Aśoka, and that their authorship is not even doubtful. If my critics, in answer to this defence, charged me with having neglected to state my case clearly, and to put forward in a prominent manner all the points which prove Aśoka to be the author of the three edicts, I should feel obliged to plead guilty. But I should urge in extenuation that I trusted to their knowledge of the old Aśoka edicts, which would enable them to recognize at once the family likeness existing between the old and new sets, and to supply my omissions. I must also confess that the decided opinion of General Cunningham, who, long before the inscriptions came into my hands,

[5] The discovery of the real name of the founder of the Jainas belongs to Professor Jacobi and myself. The form Jñâtiputra occurs in the Jaina and Northern Buddhist books; in Pali it is Nâtaputta, and in Jaina-Prakrit Nâyaputta. Jñâta or Jñâti appears to have been the name of the Rajput clan from which the Nirgrantha was descended.

[6] Mr. Rhys Davids does not discuss Professor Pischel's conjecture which makes Sampadi the author of the edicts. I shall follow him in this respect, and merely remark that Sampadi is, according to the Buddhists and the Jainas, the grandson of Aśoka, and that the first author of certain date who gives the history of his conversion to Jainism by Suhasti and of his benefactions is Hemachandra, the contemporary of Kumârapâla (1173 A.D.). Hemachandra's account is purely legendary and unhistorical. The tradition that Sampadi was a protector of the Jainas is, however, old. Sampadi may be merely another name of Daśaratha, who appears in his stead in the Brahmanical *râjâvalis*, or he may be a distinct person. But the information regarding him is too vague to afford a basis for *any* historical speculations.

recognized their origin,[7] as well as the agreement of other eminent epigraphists with his and my conclusions, influenced the manner in which I put the case. I can now only express my regret that I have not been explicit enough, and arrange the decisive arguments in the proper manner. The case may be stated as follows:—

We possess a large number of inscriptions which, according to the *consensus communis* of all competent scholars, belong to the Maurya Aśoka. These inscriptions are written in the peculiar characters which are usually called Pali or Lât, and which I prefer to style Maurya. These inscriptions, further, are written in a number of Prakrit dialects, which differ from all those known from other sources, and which vary according to the provinces where they are found. They are distinguished by a very peculiar style, and by their moralizing, sermonizing contents. In the latter respect they are unique, utterly different from the inscriptions of all other Indian princes. They are further incised both on rocks and pillars, in slightly varying recensions. Their author calls himself usually Devânâṁ Piye Piyadasi, and in some cases simply Devânâṁ Piye.

If we now turn to the new edicts, we find that they closely resemble the old ones in every one of the details mentioned. The new edicts, too, are written in the Maurya characters; they, too, show different dialects, according to the districts where they were incised. Their vocabulary is, with the exception of two or three words, identical with that of the old edicts. The grammar of the Sahasrâm edict perfectly agrees with that of Aśoka's Mâgadha edicts. The Rûpnâth edict, which comes from the Central Provinces, agrees in some particulars more with the Saurâshṭra inscriptions of Girnâr, and is in other respects independent, though it comes nearer to the Aśoka forms than to any other. As regards the style, we find the well-known formulas and turns: "The beloved of the gods speaketh thus", "This manner of acting should be what? of long duration", and so forth. The contents, too, agree so far with those of the old pillar or rock inscriptions that they are a sermon,—not historical matter, such as we are accustomed to find in other inscriptions. The new edicts, just like the old ones, further give variations of one and the same text, and contain the explicit statement that they too were incised on rocks and pillars. Finally, their author, too, calls himself Devânâṁ Piye.

Where we have so many points of agreement between two sets of inscriptions, the obvious inference is that both proceed from the same author. The only way to bar this conclusion would be to show that the facts on which it is based are susceptible of some other explanation. My critics have not done much in this respect. Professor Pischel is entirely silent regarding the close resemblance of the new edicts to the old ones. Mr. Rhys Davids occupies himself only with the title *Devânâṁ Piye*, which he thinks may have been used by Jaina kings and others also. In support of the latter assertion he adduces the Jaina-Prakrit term *Devâṇuppiya*, which in the *Âgamas* of the Jaina sect is frequently used as a polite form of address. I, too, believe that *Devânâṁ piye* was not a title peculiar to Buddhist kings, but one common to the Mauryas and their contemporaries, whether they were Buddhists or not. Originally, it seems to me, it must have been invented by Brahmans, because Buddhists or Jainas would hardly care much whether they were the beloved of the gods, *i.e.* of beings to whom they paid but little reverence, and whom they considered perishable like themselves.[8]

That, however, is not very important. Taken by itself the title does not prove much. It merely shows that the author was a king of the fourth or third century B.C. But it is of

[7] See now *Corp. Inscr. Ind.* vol. I. pp. 20 *et seq.*, which were printed before my article was written.

[8] Though I thus agree with Mr. Rhys Davids in his chief statement, I regret that I cannot see the force of the argument employed by him. I am unable to understand what the Jaina address *Devâṇuppiya*, which, as far as my observation goes, is invariably used by superiors speaking to inferiors,—*e.g.* by Yatis speaking to their pupils or to Śrâvakas, by husbands to their wives, &c.,—is to prove with respect to the self-given title of great kings. It seems to me that the royal title, the Jaina mode of address, and the Brahmanical use of *Devânâṁ priya* to denote 'an idiot,' are caused by three entirely different currents of thought, and that a derivation of the one from the other is very improbable. *Devânâṁ priya* means, etymologically, 'dear to the gods.' The early Indian kings, who elsewhere are declared to be incarnations of deities, called themselves 'dear to the gods' in order to indicate their divine right. The early Jainas employed it as a form of polite, or rather humane address, recommending thereby the person spoken to to the protection of the gods,—'you who *may* be dear to the gods.' Compare the use of *âyushman*, 'you who may live long.' The later Brahmans, finally, called idiots by this name, because such persons were considered to stand in the particular keeping of the gods.

great value if taken as a link in the long chain of circumstantial evidence which connects the inscriptions with A ś o k a. The same remarks apply to the alphabet used. Other kings besides Aśoka did use it, and its occurrence in the new edicts shows only, like the title *Devánámpiye*, the period to which the inscriptions belong. It may also be contended that other kings besides Aśoka used some of the words and the grammatical forms occurring in the two edicts. We have some evidence to this effect in the Khandgiri and the Daśaratha inscriptions, and the supposition is not more than reasonable. But with respect to the peculiar turns of expression and the style of the inscriptions, the same reasoning does not hold good. The style of a man reveals, as is generally allowed, his individuality as much as his handwriting or his general deportment. If, therefore, particular resemblances in this respect are observable between two sets of compositions, something more definite than a vague assertion that others too *may* have employed phrases like *Devánáṁ piye hevaṁ áhá, vipule svage saḳiye árádhave* or *iya paḳáre kiti chiraṭhitike siyá*, is required in order to preclude the obvious inference to be drawn fron their occurrence in both. In like manner, there is only one way to account for the fact that both sets of edicts contain sermons preached by a ruler of "all the Indias" to his subjects, and that both give original texts, different redactions of which were placarded, so to say, in different places and dialects on "rocks and pillars" for the enlightenment of the multitude. We have many hundreds of Indian inscriptions, issued by hundreds of different kings, but there is not one document which resembles Aśoka's edicts in this respect, and there is not one king who tried to convert his subjects to a particular creed, and to keep them in the paths of virtue and morality by means of *affiches officielles*. Here, too, the individuality of the author reveals itself, and, as long as it is not shown that others besides Aśoka actually adopted the same plan, the resemblance of the two sets of edicts in this respect admits only of one explanation, viz. that they belong to the same author. If, now, the other points mentioned above, the identity of the alphabet, of the vocabulary and grammar, and of the author's title, are taken into account, it is, I think, not too much to say that the edicts not only contain *something* connecting them with Aśoka, but that they furnish as strong proof as circumstantial evidence can afford that they actually proceeded from the great Maurya Buddhist.

As regards the question whether the edicts contain any Buddhist terms, I will point out one word, which my critics have overlooked, viz. *ahâle* (R. 5). I have translated this by 'thought,' relying on the explanation of *âhâra* given in Childers' *Pali Dictionary*.[9] I do not think that the passage can be taken otherwise than I have done, and the silence of my critics seems to indicate that they agree with me. But if that is so, then *ahâle* is a specially Buddhistic word, which in this sense has been traced neither in Brahmanical nor in Jaina books. The matter is, however, of small importance. For, as the inscriptions belong to Aśoka, all the doubtful terms must be Buddhistic. *Upâsaka* and *sâvaka* must mean 'a lay Buddhist,' *saṁgha* must denote the community of Buddhist ascetics, and the *Vivutha* or *Vyuṭha*, whatever the etymology of the words may be, must be Śâkyamuni-Gautama.

In turning to the consideration of Professor Pischel's criticisms on my explanation of these two terms, I must premise that I fully agree with his assertion that Sanskrit *vyushita* and *vyushṭa* phonetically correspond to *vivutha* and *vyuṭha*. I may add that this phonetic correspondence was known to me from Childers' *Pali Dictionary* when I wrote my first article, as well as the phonetic identity of Sanskrit *vyuttha* (*vi+ut+sthâ+a*) with the same two terms of the edicts, and that several scholars had pointed it out to me before Professor Pischel's letter appeared. But I must demur to Prof. Pischel's statement that, on account of this phonetic identity, my explanation is "quite untenable." For, considering the fact that Prakrit words are corruptions, which may have originated in many ways, and that all Prakrits, but especially those used in the inscriptions, frequently show a want of fixedness both as to orthography and grammar, phonetic identity is neither the only nor even the chief point to look to in the interpretation of doubtful words. In attempting to explain *Vivuthenâ* and *Vyuṭhenâ*, the correct method is to begin, not with the etymology, but with the sentence *duve*

[9] See also Sp. Hardy, *Manual*, pp. 499, 500.

sapaṁnâlâtisatâ vivuthâ, in which, as well as in the parallel passage of the Khandgiri inscription, *tatho vivuthe vase, vivutha* is used, not as an appellative noun, but as a verbal form, and cannot mean anything but 'passed, gone.' This is a translation, with which neither Professor Pischel nor Mr. Rhys Davids finds fault. The next question is whether the same meaning answers in the case of *Vivuthenâ*. There can be no doubt that it does. For Buddha may fitly be called 'the Departed,' or 'he who has passed away,' since at his death he obtained freedom from future births by entering *Nirvâṇa*, whatever notion the early Buddhists may have connected with this term. This is the way in which I arrive at the meaning 'by the Departed' for *Vivuthenâ*, which of course must also be that of *Vyuṭhenâ*. I do not rely on any etymology, as Professor Pischel thinks. As the meaning of the term is thus fixed by the aid of parallel passages, the etymology has only a secondary importance, though, of course, it must be looked to. Now the Sanskrit *vyushita* or *vyushṭa*, no doubt, phonetically corresponds to *vivutha-vyuṭha*. This etymology might also suit the noun *vivutha*, but it does not fit the participle *vivuthâ*, in the Sahasrâm date. For *dve shaṭpanchâśadatike śate vyushiṭe* or *vyushṭe* is a phrase inadmissible in Sanskrit, where *vivas* is not used for 'to elapse,' and *vyushṭa*—a derivative of *vas* 'to shine,'—means 'having broken or begun.' Nor has it been shown that the verb acquired this meaning in any of the Prakrits. It is therefore necessary to look for some other etymology, and the verb the past participle of which comes nearest to the two forms, is the Sanskrit *vivṛit*. In the Prakrits of the dramas *vṛit* usually makes *vutta*, and in Pali *vutta*, *vaṭṭa*, or *vaṭṭa*. The compound verb *vivṛit* means in Sanskrit 'to turn round, to roll away, to pass,' and the meaning of its past participle exactly corresponds to the sense which *vivutha* has in the Sahasrâm date, and in the passage of the Khandgiri inscription. This etymology also fits the noun *Vivutha-Vyuṭha* perfectly. For, though Śâkyamuni is now here called *vivutta* or *vivaṭṭa*, still the neuter *vivaṭṭam*, according to Childers' *Dictionary*, means 'absence of *vaṭṭa* or transmigration, Nirvâṇa.' Hence the masculine *vivaṭṭo* or *vivutto*, whether taken as past part of *vivaṭṭ*, or as a compound formed of the particle *vi* and the noun *vaṭṭa*, is a suitable name for Śâkyamuni, and it may be reasonably expected that a more complete investigation of the Bauddha *Âgamas* will show its actual occurrence. But, whether this expectation is fulfilled or not, the existence of the neuter affords a powerful support to the proposed etymology.[10] The phonetic difficulty which the latter presents, viz. the irregular appearance of an aspirated *tha* i.e. *ttha*, instead of unaspirated *ta* (*tta*), appears less important in consequence of the following considerations. Firstly, in the various Prakrit dialects aspirated letters *do* frequently appear for the corresponding unaspirated ones. Secondly, there are several cases where this change is observable in past part. pass. Thus we find in Jaina-Prakrit *pasaḍha* for *prasṛita*, *ûsaḍha* for *utsṛita*, and *samosaḍha* for *samavasṛita* (Müller, *Jaina Prakrit*, p. 26). Further, in modern Gujarâtî there is a whole series of verbs which form their past participles in *dho, dkî, dhuṁ*: e.g. *khâ-vuṁ, khâdho, pî-vuṁ, pîdho, de-vuṁ, dîdho*. The last example is most to the point, as *dîdho* stands for an ancient Prakrit form *ditta*, which, though hitherto not traced, can be inferred from Kaśmîrî *dyutu*, genitive *dit-is*, and also, from the corresponding Sindhî form. Thirdly, it must not be forgotten that in all Prakrits the letters *r* and *ṛi* cause aspiration, though the dialects of Aśoka's edicts do not usually show this influence, like the Pali and the dialects employed in the dramas and poetry. The *ṛi* or *r* which stood in the original of *vivutha* may therefore also have contributed to the development of the aspirate. Finally, the derivation of the two forms from *vivṛitta* has this advantage, that it will fit *vyaṭha*, which *may* be read, and has been read by General Cunningham, instead of *vyuṭha*. For we have in Jaina-Prakrit *viyaṭṭa* for *vivṛitta*. I have adopted the reading *vyuṭha* in the transcript of the text, because a little stroke seems to protrude under the *vy*, but the reading is not beyond doubt. I do not think that it can be settled definitively without a fresh and very careful examination of the stone. It may remain doubtful even after that has been done, as the group of letters

[10]. This will become clearer by a comparison of *santa* = *śânta*, the neuter of which *santaṁ* means *Nirvâṇa*, while the masculine *santo* is used as an epithet of Buddha, and occasionally as a proper name. Now *santaṁ* : *santo* *vivaṭṭam* : *vivaṭṭo*.

seems to be damaged. In concluding this discussion I will repeat that I do not consider the etymology proposed very important for my chief point, and will add that I consider it is a *pis aller*. I should prefer one where the phonetic correspondence with the Sanskrit would be exact, if it were suitable in other respects. If it could be shown, for instance, that *vivas* had the meaning of 'to elapse,' I should be ready to accept the derivation from that verb. Without that proof I feel unable to rely entirely on the phonetic laws, because, as stated above, the Prakrit dialects, and especially those of Aśoka's inscriptions, are deficient in that fixedness of orthography and grammar which is required in order to give to phonetic correspondence a paramount importance.

Professor Pischel's rendering of the last word of the Rûpnâth edict, *satavivâsâ*, I am likewise unable to agree to, though I admit that *sata* does phonetically correspond to *sattva*, and ought to be added to my list of possible Sanskrit equivalents. The sense requires that the first part of the compound should contain the designation of the person whose *vivâsa* or departure is referred to. *Sattvavivâsât* would mean 'since the departure of life,' *prânasya apagamât*, not 'since his departure from life,' as Professor Pischel renders it. The numerals together with this compound form one sentence, and are not connected with the preceding *vyuṭhenâ sâvane kaṭe*. Hence the *his* does not readily suggest itself. If, however, it is considered too unsafe to interpret *sata* by *śâstṛi*, it may be taken as an equivalent of *śânta* or *sat*, which both suit Buddha very well, and which, according to the analogy of *pakate* for *pakrântaḥ*, and *yâvata* (*katu*) for *yâvanta*, would exactly correspond to *sata*. I, for my part, however, adhere to the explanation by *śâstṛi*, which, as Pali *atta* for *asta* shows, *might* become *satta* or *sata*.

I, now, come to the meaning of the word *vivâsa*, which Mr. Rhys Davids, appealing to classical usage, takes as an equivalent of *abhinikkhamaṇa*, 'the departure from home,' 'the renunciation of domestic life.' I am unable to understand on what classical usage he bases his interpretation. I have never found the verb *vivas* or any of its derivatives used as a synonym for *pravraj*, nor has Mr. Rhys Davids brought forward any passages supporting his notion of the classical usage of *vivas*. As far as I know, *vivas* has only one technical meaning, viz. 'to go into exile,' and its causative *vivâsay* accordingly means 'to banish.' If Mr. Rhys Davids is unable to bring forward passages which show that our dictionaries are defective, and that *vivas* means also 'to renounce domestic life, to turn ascetic,' his appeal to classical *usage* is useless. Classical usage supports neither his nor my rendering. But analogous transitions of meaning in the case of other verbs may be brought forward in support of both translations. Some Sanskrit verbs which mean 'to depart, to go forth,' acquire the secondary signification 'to renounce domestic life,' and some develop the meaning 'to die.' To the first class belong *pravraj* and *nishkram*, 'to go forth,' as well as *abhinishkram*, literally 'to go forth towards.' The second change is much more common. We have firstly *pra-i*, 'to go forth,' which is one of the commonest terms for 'to die.' There is secondly *gam*, which, like the compound *vigam*, means 'to die,' while *anugam* means 'to die after a person,' and *sahagam* 'to die with somebody.' *Prasthâ*, too, and its derivative *prasthâna* are used for 'to die' and for 'death.' *Pravas* also appears to have developed the same secondary meaning (though I find no passages quoted for it), as *pravâsanâ*, a derivative of its causal, is stated to mean 'killing.' This list might be enlarged, but the examples quoted are sufficient to show that Sanskrit, like all other languages, uses words meaning 'to depart' for 'to die.' I may add, however, that even in the present day it is usual among Pandits, when speaking of the decease of Gurus or parents, to use the tenderer and more reverential expressions, *svargavâsî abhût*, *kailâsam gataḥ*, or *prasthitaḥ para lokam gataḥ* instead of the more matter-of-fact *mṛitaḥ*. If we now return to the phrase *satavivâsâ*, both Mr. Rhys Davids and myself agree that the first part of the compound denotes a person—either Sâkyamuni or somebody else.. The second part cannot, therefore, have its etymological and primary meaning 'departure, or starting.' It must have been used in a secondary sense. Now, as has just been shown, on purely philological grounds two explanations are possible *Vivâsa* may either mean 'the renunciation of domestic life' or 'death.' Which, then, is the one to be adopted? I answer the latter, because we know that both Bauddhas and Jainas began their eras with the death of their found-

ers. If Mr. Rhys Davids wishes to make his explanation probable, he will have to show that the Bauddhas, or at least some other Indian sect, reckoned also from the Great Renunciation of their founders. The same objection must be made to his explanation of *Vivutha-Vyutha*. Supposing it were proved that these two terms corresponded to *vyushita-vyushta*, they could only be rendered by 'the Departed,' or 'he who is dead.' These remarks will suffice to show that neither Professor Pischel's objections, which are quite worthy of his reputation as a grammarian, nor Mr. Rhys Davids' new rendering of *vivâsa*, can exactly be called unanswerable, or be said to render my explanation of the edicts untenable.

I now turn to the consideration of Mr. Rhys Davids' date of the Nirvâṇa, which, if correct, would entirely destroy the remarkable agreement between the edicts as interpreted by myself and the statements of the Ceylonese chronicles. This agreement is visible especially in two points:—

1stly, in the length of membership of the Buddhist sect assigned to Aśoka both by the edicts and by the chronicles; and

2ndly, in the fact that the year 257 A.B., which I have taken to be the date of the edicts,[11] apparently was, according to the statements of the *Mahâvaṁsa*, the last year of Aśoka's life.

The force of the former point has been acknowledged by Mr. Rhys Davids, who declares (*Num. Or.* VI. p. 59) the fact that while the Devânâṁ Piye of the new inscriptions speaks of his having been an *upâsaka* for thirty-three years and a half, and that we know of no king of the *third century* A.B. but Aśoka who reigned more than 34 years,—to be my strongest argument for the identification of the two. I have already stated that the strongest argument for the identification of our Devânâṁ Piye with Aśoka lies in the family likeness of the old and the new edicts. But, as we have a case of circumstantial evidence only, it is no doubt indispensable that the results gained by interpretation should agree with the facts known from other sources. I do not consider this agreement, therefore, as a matter of small importance. It is, on the contrary, as essential as the arguments given above. In order to show the full importance of the fact mentioned in the edicts, that *Devânâṁ piye*, a ruler of the whole of Jambudvîpa, was a member of an heretical sect for more than thirty-three years, I will point out that according to the Buddhistic chronicles the only kings in the *first three centuries* A.B. who reigned longer than thirty-three years were Bimbisâra and Aśoka, and that according to the Purâṇas *no Maurya king except* Aśoka occupied the throne for so long a period.

The second point, the very remarkable fact that, while the inscriptions are dated in the year 257 A.B., the statements of the Ceylonese chronicles permit us to infer that Aśoka was alive during a portion of the year 257, has not been noticed at all by Mr. Rhys Davids. The reason for this omission probably is his distrust of the date, 219 A.B., which the *Dîpavaṁsa* and the *Mahâvaṁsa* give for Aśoka's coronation. According to Mr. Rhys Davids, this is an invention of the southern Buddhists, or rather a mistake caused by an erroneous addition of certain figures in their list of Theras. The real distance between the Nirvâṇa and Aśoka's accession to the throne is, according to his calculation, not upwards of 218 years, but 150 years only. If Mr. Rhys Davids were right, and the genuine tradition of the southern church showed the shorter period only, the agreement between the edicts and the chronicles would certainly be of no importance for my view. It would, on the contrary, tend to prove that my explanation must be wrong. For the latter can only hold good if the date 219 A.B. for Aśoka's coronation either is really genuine, or at least is derived from a calculation made during the reign of Aśoka and before the incision of the three edicts. It must be wrong if the coronation date had been settled later in Ceylon and were based on a mistake. Under these circumstances I am compelled to examine closely Mr. Rhys Davids' chapter on the Ceylonese date of Buddha (*Num. Or.* VI. paras. 82–124), and to institute an inquiry as to whether his objections to the date 219 A.B. for Aśoka are really valid.

[11] I must add that the date of the inscriptions *may* be 256 A.B., if we assume that the figure refers to the current year. In my first article I referred it to the number of completed years in accordance with Prinsep's *dictum*, Essays, II. 165, note 1. I did this, not because I was fully convinced of the correctness of Prinsep's rule, but because I wished to take the most unfavourable alternative.

Mr. Rhys Davids begins his essay by giving a few facts which make the early use of the now prevalent Ceylonese era of the Nirvâṇa, and the general acceptance of its initial date 543 B.C., somewhat doubtful. He shows that even modern inscriptions in Ceylon are not always dated in the era of Buddha, while the oldest known in which that era occurs, belongs to the twelfth century, and that the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hian, who visited Ceylon in 412 A.D., speaks of a Ceylonese proclamation or sermon in which the Nirvâṇa was mentioned as falling 1497 years earlier. Adverting, then, to the fact that the elements of the calculation for the date of the Nirvâṇa are contained in the *Dîpavaṁsa* and in the *Mahâvaṁsa*, he further points out that its beginning in 543 B.C. depends on three periods, viz. the period from Duṭṭhagâmini, 161 B.C., down to the present time; the period from the coronation of Devânâṁpiya Tissa, 236 B.C., to Duṭṭhagâmini, 161 B.C.; and the period from the Nirvâṇa to Devânâṁpiya Tissa, —the total of the three (236 + 146 + 161) being 543. Accepting the period which begins with Duṭṭhagâmini as correct, he proceeds to an examination of the other two. Travelling over oft-trodden ground, he shows, with the help of the Greek notices of Chandragupta and of Aśoka's inscriptions, that an error of more than sixty years exists in the Ceylonese chronology of the oldest period of 236 years, as the latter places Chandragupta's accession in 381 B.C., and Aśoka's in 325 B.C. Next, turning to the second period of 146 years, he finds that the great number of years assigned to Mutasîva and his nine sons likewise indicates the existence of a serious error,—a point which other scholars, too, have noticed,—and that the statements of the chronicles regarding Mahinda and Sanghamittâ show Devânâṁ-Piya Tissa's reign to have been doubled. Mahinda and Sanghamittâ were ordained in the sixth year of Aśoka, when they were respectively twenty and eighteen years old, they came to Ceylon 12½ years afterwards, and died there, at the ages of sixty and fifty-nine, in the eighth and ninth years after Tissa. Hence it may be concluded that Mahinda lived in Ceylon 27½ years, eight of which were subsequent to Tissa. The reign of the latter must therefore have lasted twenty, not forty years as stated in the chronicles. Mr. Rhys Davids remarks that Turnour and his Pandits, who are apparently supported by a passage of the *Dîpavaṁsa*, have got over the difficulty with Mahinda by explaining the figures 60 and 59 to refer to Mahinda's and his sister's spiritual ages, but that under this supposition, too, there is a discrepancy of two years, as the correct number for Sanghamittâ would be 61 (12 + 40 + 9). Mr. Rhys Davids next expresses a doubt regarding the correctness of the period of 218 years stated to have elapsed between the Nirvâṇa and Aśoka's coronation, because the number of kings and of patriarchs or chiefs of the Buddhist church placed between the two events is too small for the length of the period. Taking first into consideration the list of the Mâgadha kings, who fill the space between Buddha and Aśoka, he admits that it involves no absurdities. But it appears suspicious to him, because a number of kings are said to have murdered their fathers, and because the years assigned to some are multiples of 4 and 8, and finally because the Purâṇas have a shorter list. The list of the kings of Ceylon between 1 and 236 A.B., which he takes up next, clearly shows traces of an undue lengthening of the reigns, as only five kings are named, the last of whom, Mutasîva, must have reached the respectable age of 147 years. After this, Mr. Rhys Davids passes to the list of the *Theras* or Buddhist patriarchs from 1 to 285 A.B. He extracts the data regarding them from the *Dîpavaṁsa*, and, reducing all the years given there according to the reigns of the Ceylonese and Mâgadha kings to years of the Buddha era, he arranges them in tabular form as below :—

Name.	*Date of Birth.*	*Date of Upasampadâ*, A.B.	*Age at Upasampadâ of successor.*	*Length of Membership.*	*Age at Death.*	*Date of Death*, A.B.
Upâli.....	44 Bef. B.	...	60	...	74	30
Dâsaka	14 A.B.	16	40	50	64	80
Sonaka	60 „	59	40	44	66	124
Siggava	100 „	100	64	55	76	176
Tissa.....	158 „	164	68	68	86	234
Mahinda	204 „	224	...	60	89	285

This table, as Mr. Rhys Davids points out, abounds in absurdities, as it places the birth and the ordination of most Theras too close together, and in the case of Sonaka the latter event before the former. He, however, thinks that the absurdities may be removed by taking the statements, which are merely based on the *Therâvali* by themselves, and by separating them entirely from those of the first two and the last columns, which depend on the *Râjâvalis* of Ceylon and Mâgadha. After doing this he finds that the figures no longer involve any absurdity, and that by deducting the difference between the ages of the four Theras beginning with Dâsaka at the ordination of their pupils (col. 3) and their ages at their death (col. 5) from the number of years during which they were members of the church (col. 4) the length of time may be found during which each was head of the church. If to the total of these figures the sixteen years are added which elapsed between Buddha's death and the ordination of the second Thera, Dâsaka (col. 2), as well as the eighteen years which lie between the sixth, Mahinda, and Aśoka's council, the interval between the Nirvâṇa and Aśoka's council is not 236, but 168 years. As the council took place after Aśoka had ruled eighteen years, the coronation falls in 150 A.B. These calculations are embodied in a second table, which, for clearness' sake, I reprint:—

Name.	*Age when he performed the Upasampadâ of successor.*	*Age when he died.*	*No. of years he was a full member.*	*Years during which he and his successor were full members.*	*Years of his full membership before his successor's admission.*
Upâli	60	74	...	...	...
Dâsaka	45	64	50	19	31
Sonaka	40	66	44	26	18
Siggava	64	76	55	12	43
Tissa	66	86	68	20	48
			217		140

Dâsaka admitted to full membership	16 A.B.
The second council was in the twelfth year of Mahinda's full membership	12
Date A.B. of Aśoka's council	168
	18
Date A.B. of Aśoka's coronation	150

It thus appears that in reality the *Dîpavaṁsa*, in its *Therâvali* portion, allows for 168 years only as having elapsed between the Nirvâṇa and Aśoka's council. At the same time the same work places the council explicitly in 236 A.B., and Aśoka's coronation in 218 (?) A.B. The question now arises whether the shorter or the longer period is the more credible one. Mr. Rhys Davids declares himself in favour of the former, because the number of the Theras (five) is not sufficient to fill a period of 236 years; because, further, the number of the Ceylonese kings is also too small for more than two hundred years; and because, finally, the Brahmanical lists of the kings of Mâgadha which place the Śiśunâgas before Bhâtiya and his descendants, likewise speak in favour of the shorter interval. Mr. Rhys Davids further shows that the Buddhists possessed a number of ancient works which probably contained the *Therâvalis*, and that the latter have therefore a claim to be considered historical. He, also, points out that according to the Ceylonese chronicles the Śiśunâgas reigned just 68 years, and that if they are placed before Bhâtiya and Bimbisâra and their descendants the number of years of the Mâgadha kings down to Aśoka will be exactly 150, and thus fully agree with the sum of years gained by the adjustment of the *Therâvali*. An explanation may be offered for the insertion of the longer period also. For as the sum of the figures in column 3 of the second table makes 217, it becomes not improbable that Buddhist chronologists, in calculating the distance of Aśoka from the Nirvâṇa, by mistake added up the periods during which each Thera was *upasampanna*, instead of those during which he was sole teacher of the *Vinaya*, or head of the church.

On first reading Mr. Rhys Davids' deductions, it is impossible to avoid being fascinated by his eloquent and ingenious pleading, to which my abstract does but scant justice. Still one cannot help feeling a certain distrust against so very startling results, and the discovery that the an-

cient Buddhists must have been such utter fools. A number of objections against, and difficulties with, certain details also present themselves at once. Thus, with respect to the alleged inconsistency of the chronicles regarding the ages of Mahinda and Sanghamittâ and the reign of Devânâṁ-piya Tissa, one cannot help seeing that it has only been caused by Mr. Rhys Davids' method of interpretation. Both the *Dîpavaṁsa* and the *Mahâvaṁsa* state that Mahinda and Sanghamittâ received the first or *pabbajjâ* ordination at the end of or in the sixth year of Aśoka, and that Mahinda alone received the second or *upasampadâ* ordination at the same time. Afterwards it is alleged that Mahinda died in Ceylon, 'having completed sixty years,' in the eighth year of king Uttiya;[12] and Sanghamittâ, 'after having completed fifty-nine years', in the ninth year of the same king. Now as Aśoka was crowned *after* the completion of the 218th year of the Nirvâṇa era, his sixth year corresponds to 224-225 A.B., and the eighth year of Uttiya to 284-285 A.B. The interval between Mahinda's *upasampadâ* and his death is thus exactly sixty years, as stated by the chronicles. It is clear that the sixty years can only be referred, as Mr. Turnour has done, to the spiritual age, or the period after the *upasampadâ*,—not to the natural age, as Mr. Rhys Davids wishes to do. This explanation is confirmed, as Mr. Rhys Davids himself has shown, by a verse of the *Dîpavaṁsa* where it is stated that Mahinda had completed twelve years when he came to Ceylon.[13] The case of Sanghamittâ is no less clear, if the statement that she died 'after completing fifty-nine years' is referred to the period after her second or *upasampadâ* ordination. The interval between the sixth year of Aśoka, 224-225 A.B., Uttiya's ninth year, and 285-286 A.B., is, as Mr. Rhys Davids has stated, 61 years. But as Sanghamittâ was in 224-225 only eighteen years old, she had to wait two years before she could receive the second ordination, which gave her full membership. If we deduct these, the figures agree, and she really had completed fifty-nine years after the *upasampadâ* at the time of her death. There can be no doubt that this is the correct interpretation of the seemingly inconsistent statements of the chronicles. We shall see, further on, that the latter, when speaking of the ages of *Theras* or *Upasampanna Sâdhus always* refer to the period after the *upasampadâ*, or, to adopt Mr. Rhys Davids' appropriate term, to the spiritual ages just as references to the *ages* of anointed kings refer to the time after their *abhisheka*.

If we now turn to the chief portions of Mr. Rhys Davids' calculations, it becomes impossible to accept without a re-examination the statements contained in his first table, though they agree with Mr Turnour's analysis of the *Dîpavaṁsa*.[14] As it has been found that the seeming contradictions in the case of Sanghamittâ disappeared, as soon as the chronicles were correctly interpreted, the question arises whether a reconsideration of the text of the *Dîpavaṁsa* would not clear away the stupendous absurdities contained in the table which gives the data regarding the Theras. But even supposing the first table to be correct, a consideration of Mr. Rhys David's second table raises numerous difficulties. One cannot help asking how he gets the sixteen years between Buddha and Dâsaka without the help of the *Râjâvali*, which he considers to be unworthy of reliance; or how, if he gets them from that source, he can reconcile that with his promise to rely on the *Therâvali* alone. One must further ask why he adds the sixteen years in col. 5 of table II., and not in col. 3, where they are evidently also required. If he had added the sixteen years in col. 3, the total would become 233, and it would have appeared at once that the chroniclers could not have made the mistake imputed to them. (paras. 115, 116). Finally, on comparing the two tables a serious discrepancy is observable between the figures given for Dâsaka's age at Sonaka's *upasampadâ* in col. 3 of the first, and col. 1 of the second table. In the former place it is stated to be 40, and in the second 45, and no explanation is offered. Similar vacillations occur, too, in the date of Aśoka's coronation, which sometimes is stated to have occurred *after the completion* of the 218 years of the Nirvâṇa era (*i.e.* in 219 A.B.), and

[12] According to the *Dîpavaṁsa*, 'when Uttiya had completed eight years': see below.

[13] Compare also *Dîp.* VII. 27, where it is stated that Mahinda was *four* years of age (*i.e.* spiritual age) when Aśoka had ruled ten years:—
Asokassa dasavassamhi Mahindo chatuvassiko | sabbaṁ sutapariyattiṁ gaṁpâcharîyo ahu | 27 |

[14] *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. VII. pp. 919 seqq.

sometimes in 218 A.B.,[15] and that the latter incorrect statement is used in order to convict the chroniclers of an inaccuracy (para. 114).

These and other doubts which it would be too long to enumerate induced me to ask Dr. Oldenberg, who is preparing an edition of the *Dîpavaṁsa*, for the loan of his text, and to examine the work once more. A cursory inspection showed to me that Mr. Rhys Davids' first table does not accurately represent the statements of the *Dîpavaṁsa*, but, besides a number of minor inaccuracies, contains three important mistakes. The heading of col. 4 ought to be "*Chiefship of the Vinaya* (*vinayaṭṭhâna* or *pâmokhatta*);" the heading of col. 5 should be "*Spiritual Age at Death, i. e.* Age reckoning from the *upasampadâ* ordination," and hence the figures put against the names of the first five Theras in col. 1 ought to be removed. I found that the *Dîpavaṁsa* left not the slightest doubt on the necessity of these alterations, and that, if it is interpreted rightly, its history of the Theras contains no absurdities. The text, though less corrupt in the *Therâvali* than in other portions, nevertheless shows a few mistakes in the figures which can be easily corrected. In order to enable the reader to judge if my interpretation is correct, I give the text of the chief passage, *Bhâṇavâra* V. 76–106, in full, together with a translation. The text is Dr. Oldenberg's,[16] with whose permission it is published. The translation is my own: —

nibbute lokanâthassa vassâni soḷasam ahû | samasaṭṭhi tadâ hoti vassaṁ Upâli paṇḍitaṁ | 76 |[17]
Ajâtasattuchatuvisaṁ Vijayassa soḷasaṁ ahû |
Dâsako upasampanno Upâlitherasantike | 77 |
chattâlîs'eva vassâni Dâsako nâma paṇḍito | Nâgadâse dasavasse Pakuṇḍakassa vîsati | 78 |[18]
upasampanno Sonako thero Dâsakatherasantike|
chattâlîsavasso dhîro thero Sonakasavhayo | 79 |[19]
Kâlâsokassa dasavasse Tambapaṇṇi-antarâvâse
vassaṁ ekâdasaṁ bhave | Siggavo upasampanno
Sonakatherasantike | 80 |
Chandaguttassa dve vasse chatusaṭṭhi Siggavo
tadâ | aṭṭhapañîâsa vassâni Pakuṇḍakassa râjino |
upasampanno Moggaliputto Siggavatherasantike | 81 |
Asokadhammassa chhavasse chhasaṭṭhi Moggaliputto ahû | aṭṭhachattârisa [vassâni] Mutasîvassa râjino | Mahindo upasampanno Moggaliputtassa santike | 82 |[20]
uggahesi vinayaṁ cha Upâli Buddhasantike | Dâsako vinayaṁ sabbaṁ Upâlitherasantike | uggahetvâna vâchesi upajjhâyo va sâsane | 83 |
vâchesi Dâsako thero vinayaṁ Sonakassa pi |
pariyâpuṇitvâ vâchesi upajjhâyassa santike | 84 |
Sonako buddhisampanno dhammavinayakovido |
vâchesi vinayaṁ sabbaṁ Siggavassa anuppadaṁ | 85 |
Siggavo Chandavajjo cha Sonakasaddhivihârikâ |
vâchesi vinayaṁ thero ubho saddhivihârike | 86 |
Tisso Moggaliputto cha Chandavajjassa santike |
vinayaṁ uggahetvâna vimutto upadhisaṁkhaye | 87 |
Moggaliputto upajjhâyo Mahindaṁ saddhivihârikaṁ | vâchesi vinayaṁ sabbaṁ theravâdaṁ anûnakaṁ | 88 |
parinibbute sambuddhe Upâlithero mahâjuti | vinayaṁ tâva vâchesi tinsa vassaṁ anûnakaṁ | 89 |
saddhivihârikaṁ theraṁ Dâsakaṁ nâma paṇḍitaṁ|
vinayaṭṭhâne ṭhapetvâna nibbuto so mahâmati | 90 |
Dâsako Sonakaṁ theram saddhivihâriṁ anuppadaṁ | katvâ vinayapâmokkhaṁ chatusaṭṭhimhi nibbuto | 91 |
Sonako chhaḷabhiññâno Siggavaṁ ariyatrajaṁ |
vinayaṭṭhâne ṭhapetvâna chhasaṭṭhimhi cha nibbuto | 92 |
Siggavo ñâṇasampanno Moggaliputtañ cha dârakaṁ | katvâ vinayapâmokkhaṁ nibbuto so chhasattati | 93 |
Tisso Moggaliputto cha Mahindaṁ saddhivihârikaṁ | katvâ vinayapâmokkhaṁ chhâsitivassamhi nibbuto | 94 |[21]
chatusattati Upâli cha chatusaṭṭhi cha Dâsako |
chhasaṭṭhi Sonako thero Siggavo tu chhasattati |
asîti Moggaliputto sabbesaṁ upasampadâ | 95 |
sabbakâlamhi pâmokkho viṇaye Upâlipaṇḍito |
paññâsaṁ Dâsako thero chatuchattârîsaṁ cha
Sonako | panchapaññâsavassaṁ Siggavassa aṭṭhasaṭṭhi Moggaliputtasavhayo | 96 |[22]
Udayo soḷasa vassâni rajjaṁ kâresi khattiyo | chhavasse Udayabhaddamhi Upâlithero nibbuto | 97 |

[15] The first date occurs, *e.g.* paras. 84, 86, and the second 114 (twice).

[16] Dr. Oldenberg, very judiciously, has not attempted a restoration of the original work, but merely of the *codex archetypus*, from which the existing modern MSS. have been prepared. He has collected a good many various readings, from which I have selected a few particularly important ones.

[17] Second half probably corrupt,—perhaps *samasaṭṭhi tadâ hoti thero Upâli paṇḍito*, or *saṭṭhivasso t. h. samam Up.*

[18] The first line is corrupt, see below. For *Pakuṇḍakassa*, *Paṇḍurâjassa* must be read, as *Pakuṇḍaka* is a name of Paṇḍukâbhaya.

[19] The second line is corrupt, see below.

[20] Corrupt, see below.

[21] 94*b*. Corrupt, see below.—v. l. *aṭṭhatiṁsamhi*.

[22] 96*b*. Corrupt, see below.

Susunâgo dasavassaṁ rajjaṁ kâresi issaro | aṭṭhavasse Susunâgamhi Dâsako parinibbuto | 98 | [23]
Susunâgass' achchayena honti te dasa bhâtaro | sabbe bâvîsativassaṁ rajjaṁ kâresu vansato | imesam chhaṭṭhe vassânam Sonako parinibbuto | 99 |
Chandagutto rajjaṁ kâresi vassâni chatuvîsati | tasmiñ chuddasavassamhi Siggavo parinibbuto | 100 |
Bindusârassa yo putto Asokadhammo mahâyaso | vassâni sattatiṁsaṁ pi rajjaṁ kâresi khattiyo | 101 | [24]
Asokassa chhavîsativasse Moggaliputtasavhayo | sâsanaṁ jotayitvâna nibbuto âyusamkhaye | 102 | [25]
chatusattativassamhi thero Upâlipaṇḍito | saddhivihârikam theraṁ Dâsakaṁ nâma paṇḍitaṁ | vinayaṭṭhâne ṭhapetvâna nibbuto so mahâgaṇî | 103 |
Dâsako Sonakaṁ theraṁ saddhivihârikaṁ anuppadaṁ katvâ vinayapâmokkham chatusaṭṭhimhi nibbuto | 104 |
Sonako chaḷabhiññâno Siggavaṁ ariyatrajam | vinayaṭṭhâne ṭhapetvâna chhasaṭṭhimhi pari nibbuto | 105 | [26]
Siggavo ñâṇasampanno Moggaliputtañ cha dârakam | katvâ vinayapâmokkham nibbuto so chhasattati | 106 |
Tisso Moggaliputto so Mahindam saddhivihârikaṁ | katvâ vinayapâmokkham chhâsîtivassamhi nibbuto | 107 | [27]

Translation.

76. Sixteen years had elapsed after the protector of the world (*Buddha*) had entered Nirvâṇa, then the learned Upâli had just completed sixty years;[28]

77. Then twenty-four years of Ajâtaśatru's (*reign*) and sixteen of Vijaya's had elapsed, (*and then*) Dâsaka received the *upasampadâ* ordination from Thera Upâli.

78. The learned Dâsaka (*had completed*), just forty years, when Nâgadâsa (*had reigned*) ten years, and twenty (*years of*) Pâṇḍurâja's (*reign had passed*);

79. (*Then*) Thera Sonaka received the *upasampadâ* ordination[29] from Thera Dâsaka.

The wise Thera called Sonaka had completed forty years.

80. When Kâlâśoka had completed ten years, and the eleventh year of the interregnum in Ceylon was (*the current one*), (*then*) Siggava received the *upasampadâ* ordination from Thera Sonaka.[30]

81. Two years of Chandragupta's (*reign had passed*), then Siggava (had completed) sixty-four years, (*and*) fifty-eight years of Pakuṇḍaka's (*reign had elapsed*). Then Tissa-Moggaliputta received the *upasampadâ* ordination from Thera Siggava.[31]

82. When Dharmâśoka had (*reigned*) six years, (*then*) Moggaliputta had completed sixty-six years, (*and*) forty-eight years of king Mutasîva had passed. (*Then*) Mahinda received the *upasampadâ* ordination from Moggaliputta.

83. And Upâli learned the *Vinaya* from Buddha; Dâsaka, having learnt the whole *Vinaya* from Thera Upâli, recited (*it*) like (*his*) teacher in the Faith.

84. Dâsaka, the Thera, instructed Sonaka also in the *Vinaya*, (*and he*), having mastered it, repeated it before his teacher.

85. Sonaka, endowed with intelligence and acquainted with the law and the *Vinaya*, taught Siggava the whole *Vinaya*, sentence by sentence.

86. Siggava and Chandavajja (*were*) the pupils of Sonaka. The Thera taught both his pupils the *Vinaya*.

87. And Tissa-Moggaliputta, having learnt the *Vinaya* from Chandavajja, was emancipated by the destruction of the *substrata* (i.e. *became an Arhat*).

88. Moggaliputta, the teacher, taught, Mahinda, his pupil, the whole *Vinaya*, the whole, entire doctrine of the Theras.

89 After the Sambuddha had entered Nirvâṇa, Thera Upâli, endowed with great lustre, taught the whole *Vinaya* during thirty years.

90. Having appointed his pupil, Thera Dâsaka, to the office of (*Chief of the*) *Vinaya*, that high-souled man entered Nirvâṇa.

91. Dâsaka made his pupil, Thera Sonaka, in his turn, Chief of the *Vinaya*, and died in (*his*) sixty-fourth year.[32]

92. Sonaka, possessed of the six supernatural faculties, appointed Siggava, of honourable descent, to the office of (*Chief of*) the *Vinaya*, and died in (*his*) sixty-sixth year.

93. Siggava, possessed of (*true*) knowledge, made Moggaliputta, the youth, Chief of the *Vinaya*, and died after (*completing*) seventy-six years.

94. And Tissa-Moggaliputta made his pupil Mahinda Chief of the *Vinaya*, and died in (*his*) sixty-eighth year.[33]

[23] The first line seems to be corrupt, as the figure is wrong. Perhaps *aṭṭha cha* has to be read for *issaro*.
[24] Probably '*Dhammasoko*' should be read.
[25] Perhaps *Moggali-savhayo* is to be read.
[26] Probably *nibbuto* to be read.
[27] Corrupt, see below. v. l. *asîtivassamhi*
[28] The construction is apparently a mixture of the loc. and gen. absol., and occurs frequently.
[29] *Upasampadâ*, i.e. second or full ordination.
[30] Regarding these dates more will be said below
[31] Pakuṇḍaka is another name of Pandukâbhaya.
[32] The years are to be counted from the *upasampadâ*: see below, *v.* 95.
[33] v. l. in his 88th year.

95. And Upâli seventy-four, and Dâsaka sixty-four, Thera Sonaka sixty-six, but Siggava seventy-six, Moggaliputta eighty (that is, *the number of years elapsed between*) *the upasampadâ ordination of each* (*Thera and his death*).

96. The learned Upâli is chief of the *Vinaya* for all time. Thera Dasaka (*held that office*) fifty (*years*), and Sonaka forty-four, Siggava fifty-five years, and he who is called Moggaliputta sixty-eight.

97. The Kshatriya Udaya reigned sixteen years; when Udayabhadra had (*completed*) six years, Thera Upâli died.

98. Śiśunâga, the lord, reigned ten (?) years; when Śiśunâga had (*completed*) eight years, Dâsaka died.[34]

99. After Śiśunâga's death came those ten brothers; according to hereditary custom, they reigned all (*together*) for twenty-two years. In the sixth year of their (*reign*) Sonaka died.

100. Chandragupta reigned twenty-four years; when he had (*completed*) fourteen years Siggava died.

101. Famous Dharmâśoka, the son of Bindusâra, of royal race, reigned thirty-seven years.

102. When Aśoka had (*completed*) twenty-six years, he who is called Moggaliputta died of old age, after having exalted the Faith.

103. The learned Thera Upâli, the great chief of the school, died in his seventy-fourth year, after appointing the learned Thera Dâsaka, his pupil, to the office of (*Chief of the*) *Vinaya*.

104. Dâsaka, in his turn, made his pupil, Thera Sonaka, Chief of the *Vinaya*, and died in (*his*) sixty-fourth year.

105. Sonaka, endowed with the six supernatural qualities, appointed Siggava, of honourable descent, to the office of (*Chief of the*) *Vinaya*, and died in (*his*) sixty-sixth year.

106. Siggava, possessed of (*true*) knowledge made young Moggaliputta Chief of the *Vinaya*, and died, having (*completed*) seventy-six years.

107. Tissa-Moggaliputta made his pupil, Mahinda, Chief of the *Vinaya*, and died in (*his*) eighty-sixth year.[35]

This passage contains:—1. the dates of the *upasampadâ* of each of the five Theras, from Dâsaka to Aśoka's son Mahinda, according to the chronology of Mâgadha and of Ceylon, together with the spiritual age of the teacher who performed the ordination—*vv.* 76–82.

2. A statement of the teachers under whom each of the six Theras studied the *Vinaya*—*vv.* 83–88.

3. A statement regarding the persons who appointed each to the office of Chief of the *Vinaya*, or head of the church—*vv.* 89–94.

4. A statement of the number of years which elapsed between the *upasampadâ* ordination and the death of each, *i.e.* the length of the life of each while full member of the Saṁgha—*v.* 95.

5. A statement of the number of years during which Dâsaka, Sonaka, Siggava, and Tissa were Chiefs of the *Vinaya* or heads of the church,—which must be completed as far as Upâli is concerned from *v.* 89–96.

6. The dates of the Mâgadha kings in whose reigns the five Theras died, together with the year of the death—*vv.* 97–102.

7. A repetition of the information given above under 3 and 4.

Two other passages of the *Dîpavaṁsa* (IV. 27–46 and V. 69–73) give the same details,—the first regarding Upâli, Dâsaka, Sonaka, Siggava, and Chandavajja; and the second regarding the last two teachers and Tissa-Moggaliputta. These two passages mostly agree word for word with that given above. But they add a few particulars and show some variations, which it will be necessary to quote. Firstly (IV. 31), it is said that Buddha himself appointed Upâli to be Chief of the *Vinaya*:—

saṁghamajjhe visâkâsi Buddho Upâlipaṇḍitaṁ |
aggo vinayapâmokkho Upâli mayha sâsane | 31 |

Secondly, it is stated (IV. 41) that Dâsaka's spiritual age was *forty-five* years, instead of *forty*, when he ordained Sonaka. Thirdly, the date of the ordination of Siggava is specified more exactly as having taken place ten years and half a month (according to the *varia lectio* of bad MS., 'and eight months') after Kâlâśoka's coronation:—

chattârîseva vasso so thero Sonakasavhayo |
Kâlâsokassa dasavasse aḍḍhamâsaṁ cha sesake[36] *|41|*

A corrupt verse adds the statement that at that time eleven years and six months of Pakuṇḍaka—Pandukâbhaya's interregnum had elapsed,—

[34] See note to text. [35] v. l., in his eightieth year.

[36] v. l. *aṭṭhamâsaṁ cha sesake.*

sattarasannaṁ vassánáṁ thero ási paguṇako |[37]
atikkantekádasavassaṁ chhamásaṁ chávasesake
| 42 |

The information regarding the career of Aśoka's son, Mahinda, finally, is completed in the following passages:—(1) VI. 20, where his birth is stated to have taken place after 204 years of the Nirvâṇa,—

dve vassasatáni honti chatuvássaṁ pan' uttari |
samantaramhi so játo Mahindo Asokatrajo | 20 |

(2) VII. 21-24, where it is said that Mahinda became an ascetic when he was full twenty years old, and when Aśoka had reigned six years (after his coronation); that Mahinda received the *upasampadá* ordination at the same time; and that Moggaliputta was fifty-four years old when Aśoka's coronation took place, and sixty-six (?) when Aśoka had reigned six years. The last verse is, however, corrupt, and must be corrected as proposed below:—

paripunnavísativasso Mahindo Asokatrajo |
Saṁghamittá cha játiya vassaṁ aṭṭhárasaṁ
bhave | 21 |
chhavassamhi Asokassa[38] *ubho pabhajitá paju* |
tatheva upasampanno Mahindo dípajotako | 22 |
Saṁghamittá tadá yeva sikkhâyo vasam ádiyi |
ahu Moggaliputto va theravádo[39] *mahágani* | 23 |
chatupaññásavassamhi Asokadhammo abhisitto |
Asokass' ábhisittato chhasaṭṭhi[40] *Moggalisavhayo* |
tato Mahindo pabbajito Moggaliputtassa santike
| 24 |

(3) XVII. 91-93, where the date of his death is given as occurring after the completion of the eighth year of Uttiya, and of the sixtieth year after his ordination,—

Uttiyo dasavassamhi rajjaṁ kâresi khattiyo | 91 |
aṭṭhavassábhisittassa nibbuto dípajotako |
akási saríranikkhepaṁ Tissárâme puratthime | 92 |
paripuṇṇadvádasavasso Mahindo cha idh' ágato |
saṭṭhivasse paripuṇṇe nibbuto Chetiyapabbate | 93 |

The contents of these passages are most easily intelligible if they are given in tabular form, and it is therefore advisable to imitate Mr. Rhys Davids in this respect. It will also be advisable to exhibit the information of the *Dîpavaṁsa* exactly in that form in which it is given, without correcting any of the inconsistencies of the text. If that is done we obtain the following results:—

Name.	*Date of Upasampadá.*	*Spiritual Age at Pupil's Upasampadá.*	*Spiritual Age at Death.*	*Date of Death.*	*Length of Chiefship of Vinaya.*
1. Upâli	[41]	60 years [*D.* IV. 27, V. 76].	74th year [*D.* V. 103]. 74 years [*D.* V. 95].	Udayabhadra 6 = 30 A.B. [*D.* IV. 38, V. 97].	30 years [*D.* IV. 34, V. 89].
2. Dâsaka	Ajâtaśatru 24 = Vijaya, 16 = 16 A.B. [*D.* IV. 26. 27; V. 76, 77.]	40 years [*D.* V. 76]. 45 years [*D.* IV. 41].	64th year [*D.* V. 91, 104; IV. 43]. 64 years [*D.* V. 95].	Siśunâga, 8 = 80 A.B. [*D.* V. 98.]	50 yrs [*D.* V. 96].
3*a*. Sonaka.....	Nâgadâsa 10 = Pandurâja 20 = 58 A.B. [*D.* IV. 41; *D.* V. 78, 79.]	40 years [*D.* IV. 44; V. 70].	66th year [*D.* V. 92, 105]. 66 years [*D.* V. 95].	Nandas 6 = 124 A.B. [*D* V. 99.]	44 yrs [*D.* V. 96].
3*b* Chandavajja	The same.	Not stated.	Not stated.	Not stated.	Not stated.
4. Siggava	Kâlaśoka 10, or 10 + ½ month = Interregnum, 11 or 11 + 6 mos. = 100 A.B. [*D.* IV. 44, 45; V. 80.]	64 years [*D.* V. 69, 81].	75 years [*D.* V. 93, 106].	Chandragupta 14 = 176 A.B. [*D* V. 73, 100.]	55 yrs [*D.* V. 96].
5. Tissa-Moggaliputta.	Chandragupta 2 = Pakunda 58 = 164 A.B. [*D.* V. 69, 81.]	66 years [*D.* V. 82, VII 24].	86th [*D* V. 94, 107]. 80th [*D.* V. 95, 107]. 38th [*D* V. 94].	Aśoka 26 = 244 A.B. [*D.* V. 102.]	68 yrs [*D.* V. 96].
6. Mahinda, 204 A.B. [*D.* VI. 20.]	Aśoka 6 = 224 A.B. [*D.* V. 82, VII. 22-24.]	Not stated.	60 years [*D.* XVII. 93].	Uttiya 8 = 284 A.B. [*D.* XVII. 93.]	Not stated, but may be calculated at 40 yrs.

[37] Dr. Oldenberg's very probable emendation is, *chora ási Pakuṇḍako.*

[38] The genitive stands for the locative, as above.

[39] v. l., and the correct one, *theravâde.*

[40] Dr. Oldenberg proposes *Asokâbhisitte chhavasse*, and I read in addition *saṭṭhi* for *chhasaṭṭhi*, as required by the metre and the sense.

[41] Not stated, but 44 before B. may be obtained by deducting length of chiefship from spiritual age.

The first glance at this table shows that the figures given there are intended to form a chain, each link of which is closely connected with some of the others. The connexion is established in this wise, that the difference between the dates of each teacher's and his pupil's *upasampadâ* gives the age of the former at the latter ceremony; that, further, the difference between the date of the *upasampadâ* and of the death gives the length of the spiritual life; and that finally the difference between the dates of the teacher's and the pupil's death gives the length of the latter's chiefship of the *Vinaya*. But the most cursory inspection also shows that some of the figures given are corrupt and do not answer.

In the case of Upâli the date of the *upasampadâ* is not given, but may be calculated by deducting the length of time during which he was Chief of the *Vinaya* after Buddha's death from his spiritual age: 74 — 30 = 44. His spiritual age at the *upasampadâ* of Dâsaka, sixty years (col. 4), is given, and the correctness of the statement can be controlled by the dates for his own and his pupil's *upasampadâ*, the difference between which—44 B.B. and 16 A.B.—must, and does give exactly 60. The length of his spiritual life, which is once given as full seventy-four years and as the seventy-fourth year, *i.e.* seventy-three years *plus* an indefinite number of months, can be tested by the figure given for his spiritual age at Sonaka's *upasampadâ* and the difference between the date of the latter and the date of Upâli's death, which together amount to 60 + 14 = 74. The discrepancy between the two statements which mention both the seventy-fourth year and seventy-four years, may be got over by assuming that he died in his seventy-fourth year, but that his death took place towards the *end of the year*. As the author of the *Dîpavaṁsa* nearly throughout uses round figures, he found it more practical to substitute in his calculation seventy-four full instead of seventy-three full years. This explanation applies also to the spiritual ages of Dâsaka, Sonaka, and Tissa. In the case of Siggava seventy-six complete years (*chhasattati*) are given everywhere. Hence it may be concluded that his death occurred either exactly at the end of the seventy-sixth year or in the beginning of the seventy-seventh. The same remark holds good for Mahinda, whose age is always given as sixty years.

In the case of Dâsaka, the date for his spiritual age at Sonaka's *upasampadâ* has not been given correctly in the text, which in one passage reads forty years, and in the other forty-five years. The correction can be made only with the help of the dates of Dâsaka's own and Sonaka's *upasampadâ*. The former is placed in Agâtaśatru 24 = Vijaya 16 = 16 A.B., and the three periods agree exactly. The date of Sonaka's *upasampadâ* is given as having taken place Nâgadâsa 10 and Paṇḍurâja 20. The former date corresponds with 58 A.B., and the latter, if it is taken to refer to *completed* years, with 59 A.B. For Vijaya ruled full thirty-eight years; after his death came an interregnum of one year, and then only followed Paṇḍuvâsa's *abhisheka*.[42] The *Dîpavaṁsa* (XI. 10) says also expressly that Nâgadâsa had completed twenty-one years when Panduvâsa died; *ekavîsaṁ Nâgadâso Paṇḍuvâso tadâ gato*. The text of the *Dîpavaṁsa* does not seem to be corrupt in the two passages which contain the equation Nâgadâsa 10 = Paṇḍuvâsa 20 (IV. 41 and V. 78, 79). Still the date 58 A.B. is required for Sonaka's ordination, as he is said to have died at the end of Nandas 6 = 124 A.B., and the difference between 58 and 124 A.B. exactly agrees with the length of his spiritual life, or nearly sixty-six years. The discrepancy therefore, must be, either real and owing to a slip of the author, or it may have been caused by his using round numbers instead of exact dates in his calculations. An author who talks as loosely as the Ceylonese chroniclers do might perhaps say that at the close of Buddha 58 Nâgadâsa had ruled ten years, and Paṇḍuvâsa twenty, though in reality the former counted three or four months in excess of ten years, and the latter seven or eight months less than twenty. He further might assert that eleven years later, at the close of 69 A.B., ten years of Nâgadâsa's reign had elapsed, and that Paṇḍuvâsa died after ruling thirty years. This explanation appears to me the most likely. For it may be considered certain that in very few cases only the initial dates of the reigns of the Mâgadha kings and of the Ceylon kings fell on the initial dates of the corresponding years of Buddha. It seems also, from the case of the date of Siggava's ordination, which will be discussed below, that the chroniclers possessed more exact figures, but

[42] *Dîpavaṁsa* IX. 42, XI. 2, X. 6, and XI. 3-10.

mostly thought it unnecessary to use them. If now the ordination of Sonaka must be placed at the end of 58 A.B., and that of Dâsaka fell at the close of 16 A.B., the age of the latter at Sonaka's *upasampadâ* must have been forty-two years, not forty or forty-five. The number 42 has therefore to be entered in col. 4, and in the text of the *Dîpavaṁsa dvechattâlisa* has to be written for *panchatiâlisa* (IV. 41) and for *chatiâlîśeva* (V. 76). The emendation suits the metre in both passages.

The length of Dâsaka's spiritual life, (*nearly*) sixty-six years, corresponds with the difference between the dates of his *upasampadâ* 16 A.B. (col. 3) and of his death 80 A.B. (col. 9). The length of his chiefship of the *Vinaya*, too, agrees with the difference between his own and Upâli's death: 80 A.B. — 30 A.B. = 50 years (col. 7).

In the case of Sonaka all the figures agree, with the exception of that for his spiritual age at the *upasampadâ* of Siggava, which, though twice given as forty, must be forty-two. For the difference between the dates Nâgadâsa 10 = Paṇḍurâja 20 = 58 A.B., and Kâlâśoka 10 = *interregnum* 11 = 100 A.B., is 42 years. The text of the *Dîpavaṁsa* again may be altered accordingly, viz.—

IV. 44. *dvechattâlîsavasso so* thero sonasakasavhayo, instead of the nonsensical *chattârîśeva vasso so, &c.*

V. 76. *dvechattâlîsavasso so* thero sonakasavhayo | instead of *chattâlîsavasso dîâro thero, &c.* The latter alteration recommends itself, because corresponding passages are mostly given in exactly the same words.

As regards Siggava the date of his *upasampadâ* requires a remark. In one passage (V. 80) we have the equation Kâlâśoka 10 = *Interregnum* (Ceylon) 11: in the other passage (IV. 44-46) Kâlâśoka 10 + ½ month = *Interregnum* 11 + 6 months. Immediately after the last verse it is further stated that "But at that time, forsooth, one hundred years after Buddha's death," the Vesâliya schism occurred.[43] It seems, therefore, that the author meant to place Siggava's ordination just at the end of the first century after Buddha. The discrepancy in the dates of the kings may be adjusted by assuming that the beginning of Kâlâśoka's reign, as well as that of *the Interregnum*, did not fall exactly in the beginning of the ninety-first and of the ninetieth year of Buddha, but that the former began fifteen days, and the latter six months, after the beginning of the corresponding year of Buddha. If that was the case, it would seem that the author gave in the first passage the exact figures, and in the second, according to his usual manner, round figures only. The difference between Siggava's *upasampadâ* (100 A.B.) and Tissa's *upasampadâ* Chandragupta 2 = Pakuṇḍaka 20 = 164 A.B., is exactly 64, and agrees with the number of years allotted to him in col. 4. The length of his spiritual life (seventy-six years) likewise corresponds with the difference between the dates for his *upasampadâ* and for his death. But he cannot have been Chief of the *Vinaya* for fifty-five years, as the difference between his death and that of his predecessor amounts to fifty-two years only. It seems certain that in this case also we have to deal with a corruption of the text only. Besides the total of the figures entered in col. 7 for the first five Theras must agree with the date of the last in col 6.—244 A.B. This agreement can only be obtained if we substitute 52 for 55. If the latter number is retained, we get 247 = 244, which is obviously nonsense. Finally the half-verse (V. 96*b*) in which the date occurs is obviously corrupt I propose to read for

panchapaññâsavassam Siggavassa aṭṭhasaṭṭhi
Moggaliputtasavhayo |

paññâsavassaṁ Siggavo aṭṭhasaṭṭhiṁ Moggalisavhayo |

In order to make out the metre, it is necessary to elide the first syllable of *aṭṭhasaṭṭhiṁ*, and to make a disyllable of *Moggali*, as has to be done in other cases.

In the case of Tissa the figure given for his spiritual age at the *upasampadâ* of Mahinda is wrong. For the difference between Chandragupta 2 = Pakuṇḍaka 58 = 164 A.B. and Aśoka 6 = 224 A.B. is sixty years, not sixty-six as given in the text and in the table. Though the faulty figure occurs in two passages (V. 82 and VII 24*b*), still the latter verse 24*a* contains a certain proof that the mistake belongs to the copyists, not to the author, of the *Dîpavaṁsa*. For in that line it is explicitly stated that Moggaliputto was *fifty-four* years old at Aśoka's coronation. It is obvious that six years later he could not be sixty-six years old, but must be sixty.

[43] tena kho samayena vassasatam hi nibbute bhagavate vesâlikâ Vajjiputtakâ, &c.

The length of his spiritual life (col. 5) is given variously as 86, 80, and 38 years. The second date is the correct one, because this figure agrees with the difference between the dates for his *upasampadâ* and for his death. The dates given for Mahinda all agree, and require no remark or rectification. The subjoined second table gives a summary of this discussion, and shows the corrected figures, as well as the faulty ones in brackets.

Name.	*Birth.*	*Date of Upasampadâ.*	*Spiritual Age at Upasampadâ of Pupil.*	*Spiritual Age at Death.*	*Date of Death.*	*Length of Chiefship of Vinaya.*
Upâli	Not stated.	44 bef. B.	60	cir. 74 years.	30 A.B.	30 years.
Dâsaka	Do.	16 A.B.	42 years (40,45).	cir. 64 years.	80 A.B.	50 years.
Sonaka	Do.	58 A.B.	42 years (40)	cir. 66 years.	124 A.B.	44 years.
Siggava	Do.	100 A.B.	64 years.	76 years.	176 A.B.	52 years (55).
Tissa	Do.	164 A.B.	60 years (66).	80 years (86, 38).	244 A.B.	68 years.
Mahinda	204 A.B.	224 A.B.	Not stated.	60 years.	284 A.B.	40 years.

If we compare the above passages of the *Dîpavaṁsa* with Mr. Rhys Davids' first table and his remarks thereon, the mistakes which I imputed to him, and to Mr. Turnour before him, are perfectly clear. The terms *Vinâyapâmokkha*, 'Chief of the *Vinaya*,' and *Vinayaṭṭhâna*, the office (of Chief) of the *Vinaya*, occur frequently, and in V. 96 the former is expressly connected with the periods of 50, 44, 52 (55), and 68 years which occur in col. 4 of his first table, and in col. 3 of his second table. Further *Dîp.* V. 95 precludes the possibility even of a doubt whether the natural or the spiritual age of the Theras is indicated by the figures in col. 5 of Mr. Rhys Davids' first table. The period after the *upasampadâ* ordination alone can be referred to. Hence the whole basis for Mr. Rhys Davids' deductions, by which the chronicles are shown to give really 150 years, not 218 years, as the interval between the Nirvâṇa and Aśoka, disappears. The *Dîpavaṁsa* gives, on the contrary, a very simple history of six Theras, the fifth of whom was a contemporary of Aśoka, and died about the middle of his reign. If the four corrections proposed by me are accepted, the story shows not only no absurdities, but not even the slightest inconsistency. As regards the date of Aśoka's coronation, 219 A.B., it is clear that it cannot be the result of an absurd mistake in addition, made, as Mr. Rhys Davids supposes, by the Ceylonese Buddhists.

It is no less evident that this date is the only one for the coronation of Aśoka which the Ceylonese tradition supports, and that the *Dîpavaṁsa* does not contain any evidence in favour of a shorter interval between the Nirvâṇa and Aśoka's accession. Nor do I think that the other points which Mr. Rhys Davids brings forward in order to show its incredibility carry much weight. When he points out that the number of Theras enumerated in the *Dîpavaṁsa* is too small to fill a space of more than two hundred years, the obvious answer is that the correctness of this list is by no means proved, and that, as Mr. Turnour[**] has pointed out and he himself admits, another and longer list is in existence. But even if the shorter list were proved to be correct, it could not be said that the account of the *Dîpavaṁsa* involves impossibilities. If we assume that each of the five Theras received the *upasampadâ* ordination at the legal age of twenty, the longest-lived among them would have reached the age of one hundred years, and the shortest-lived the age of eighty-four. The succession of five very long-lived Chiefs of the *Vinaya* would certainly be something remarkable, but it is not absolutely impossible. Again, Mr. Rhys Davids' objection drawn from the small number of Ceylonese kings (para. 107) who are stated to have reigned between the Nirvâṇa and Aśoka has very little weight. He himself, like all other scholars who have written on the subject, has seen that the Ceylonese history from Vijaya to Duṭṭhagâmini is untrustworthy. It is impossible that Mutasiva lived to the age of 147 years, and that his sons reigned after him, with interruptions, 102 years. Hence no portion of a story which contains such statements can be used in order to discredit another independent tradi-

[**] *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. VII. p. 791; compare also Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* vol. II. p. 92, 2nd ed.

tion, or to support an adjustment." It is quite true that the number of kings is too small for the interval of 236 years stated to lie between Vijaya and Devânâmpiya Tissa. But instead of reducing that interval, we may just as well assume that Vijaya's invasion falls later than the Nirvâṇa, or that the chroniclers did not possess the names of all the princes who ruled between Vijaya and Duṭṭhagâmini, and were tempted by the legend of the synchronism of Vijaya's conquest and Buddha's death to spread the scanty materials over too large an area. Finally, it seems inadvisable to bring forward (para. 110) the Brahmanical tradition in order to prove that Śiśunâga, Kâlaśoka and his ten sons reigned before Bhâtiya, and to allow the number of years given by the Buddhists to stand. An indiscriminating combination of portions of two contradictory traditions, however much its results may agree with preconceived notions, has not hitherto been recognized as being in accordance with the principles of historical criticism.

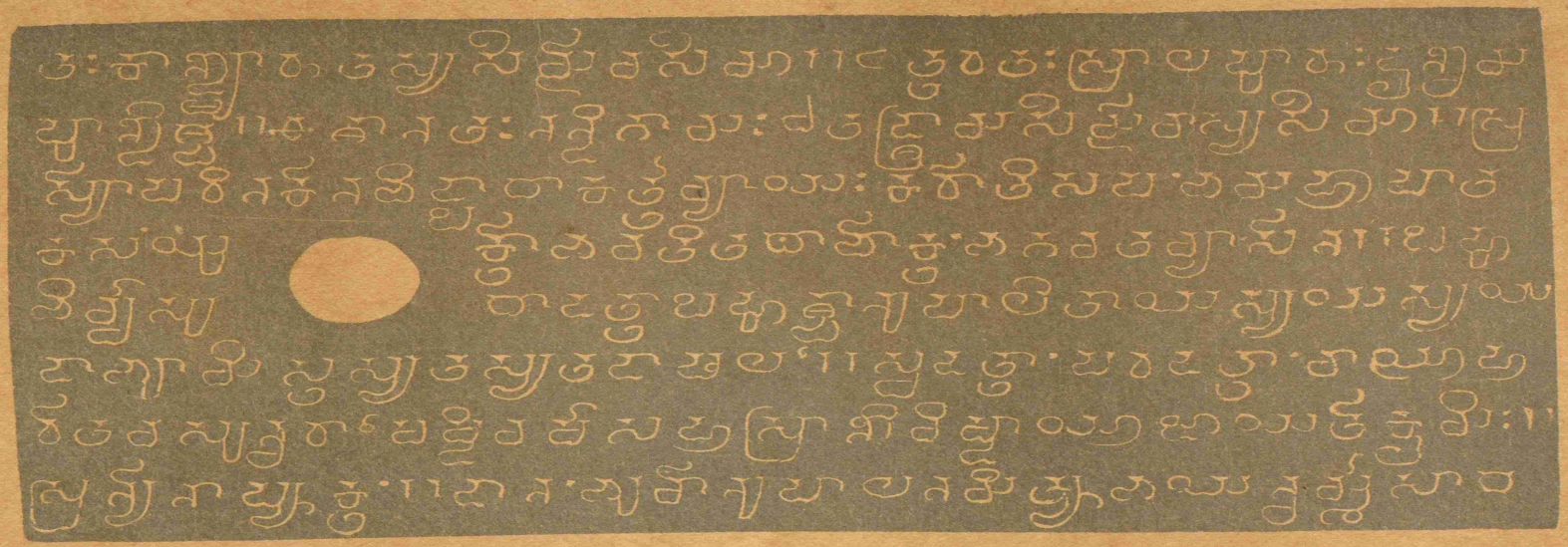
These remarks may suffice to show that hitherto no evidence, be it external or internal, has been brought forward which proves the date 219 A.B. for Aśoka's coronation to be spurious. It *may*, therefore, be either really historical, or at least go back to Aśoka's own time, *i.e.* have been calculated by the Indian Buddhists from the Mâgadha *Râjâvalis* and their *Therâvalis*, when Aśoka became a patron and adherent of their faith, and have been carried by the missionaries to Ceylon. Several points can be adduced in favour of the latter hypothesis. Firstly, it seems only reasonable to suppose that the Buddhists, who, through Aśoka's protection, obtained a fresh start in the race for spiritual influence, should have tried to ascertain the distance of the royal *dâyâda* or 'relative' of their faith from their first teacher. If their account of this period is at all to be trusted, their sect was, just about the time of Aśoka's conversion, in a somewhat fallen condition. Quarrels had taken place among the Bhikkhus, and not less than eighteen mutually hostile sects had arisen. Aśoka's conversion at first made matters only worse, as it induced numerous followers of other faiths to pass themselves off for disciples of Buddha in order to participate in Aśoka's bounty, and to create confusion in the Buddhist doctrines. The resistance of the orthodox ascetics against this state of things led to the council in Aśoka's seventeenth year. Its immediate consequence was a purification of the Buddhist Church from the foreign intruders, and a new redaction of the sacred texts. Another result was the appointment of missionaries for the conversion of foreign, and even Mlechchha, countries,—an undertaking which in later times gave to Buddhism a place among the great religions of the world. It seems only natural that the Buddhist Theras, at such a period, the importance of which for their faith they must have fully felt, should have revised, together with their sacred books, the lists of their teachers, and of the data referring to the chief events of their spiritual career, and that they should have connected the history of their patron and of his predecessors in Mâgadha with the history of their sect. These considerations make it, in my opinion, more probable that a *Therâvali* and a Mâgadha *Râjâvali* similar to, if not identical with, that which the Ceylonese chronicles give, were arranged in India and carried to Ceylon by the first missionaries, than that fragmentary materials only, out of which the Ceylonese later manufactured their account, came over from the continent. This hypothesis, though it would not prove that every one of the figures and events contained in the Ceylonese chronicles has remained unchanged, would make it probable that some considerable portion of the southern tradition might be ancient and of Indian origin. The date of Aśoka's coronation, against which no particular objection can be urged, would probably have to be included in the latter category.

Secondly, a much stronger argument for the Indian origin of the same date is furnished by a fact which first has been brought forward by M. Burnouf (*Introd. à l'Hist. du Bouddh.* pp. 432-36), but has received little attention. This is the statement of a fragment of an *Avadâna*, entitled *the Council*,—that Aśoka lived not, as the northern Buddhists usually assert, one hundred, but *two hundred* years after the Nirvâna. The story begins: "Deux cent ans après que le bien-heureux Buddha fut entré dans le Nirvâṇa complet régnait dans la ville de Pâtaliputtra un roi nommé Aśoka." It contains in the sequel an account of the birth of Kuṇâla and the story of Sundara, which agree with the common northern traditions. M. Burnouf

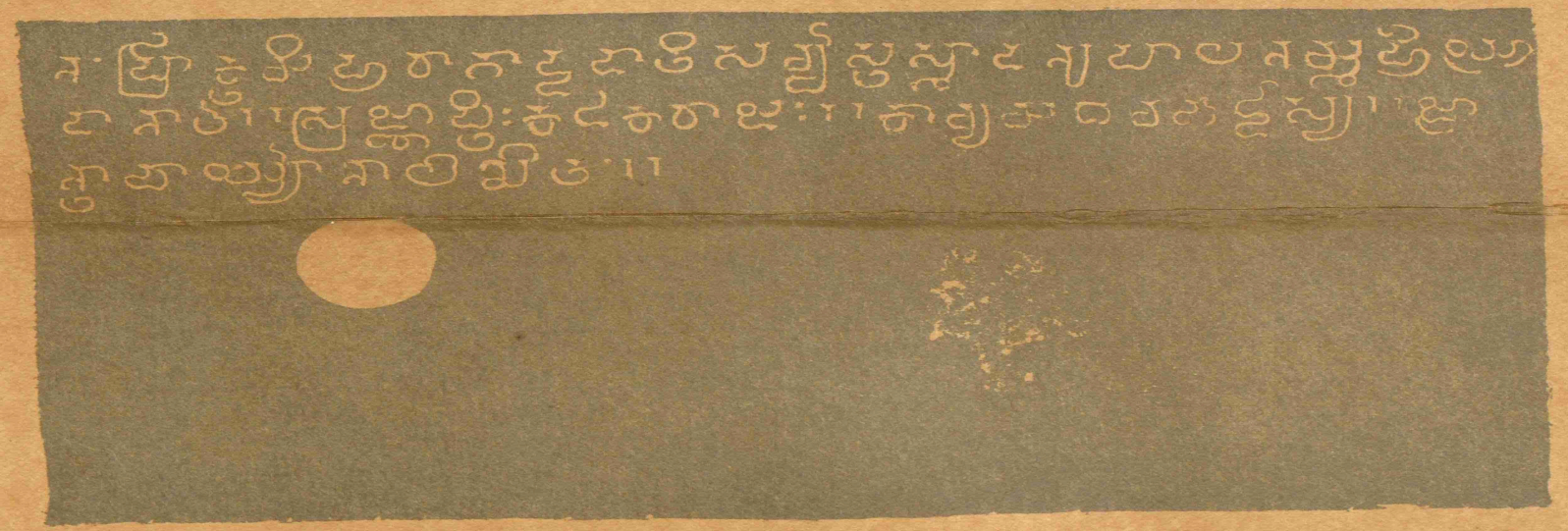
COPPER-PLATE OF THE EASTERN CHÂLUKYA DYNASTY.

DATED ABOUT ŚAKA 867.

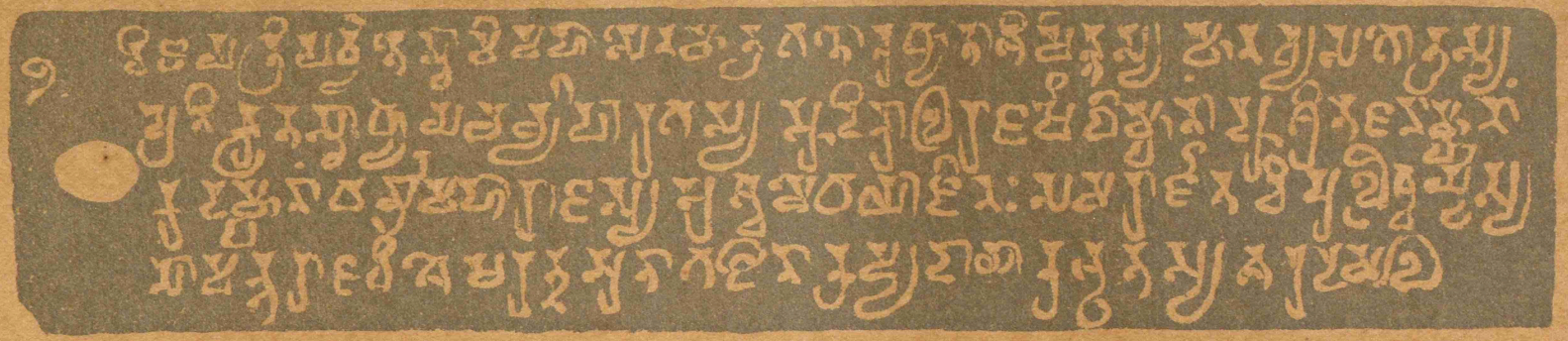
IV b.



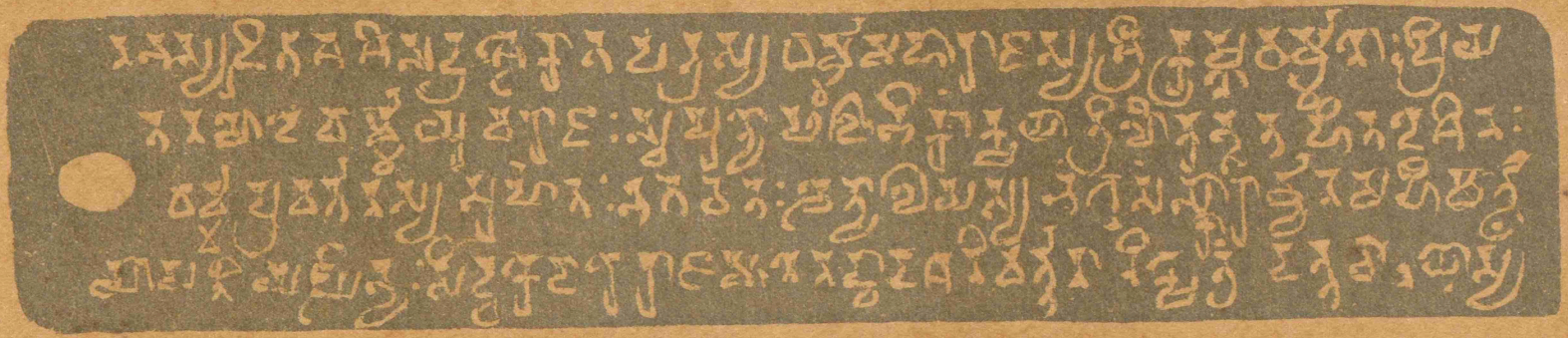
V



I



IIa



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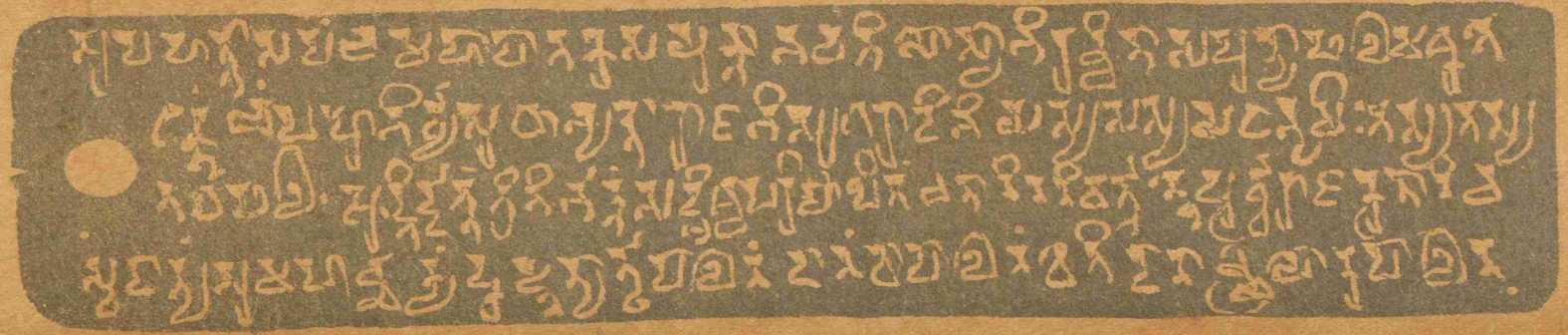
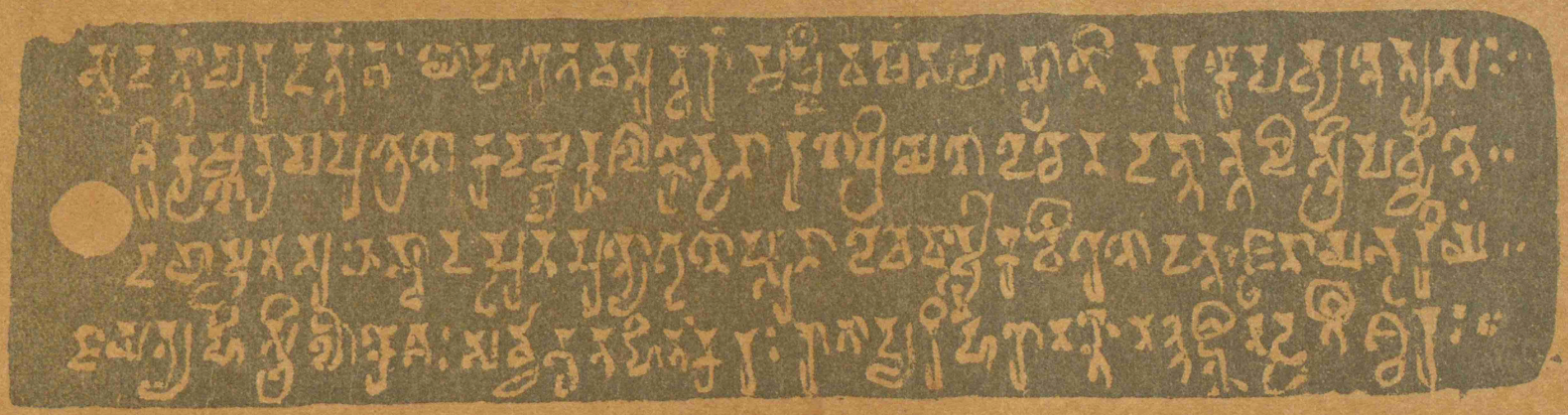


KADAMBA GRANT OF DEVAVARMÂ. *4th. Side.*

III



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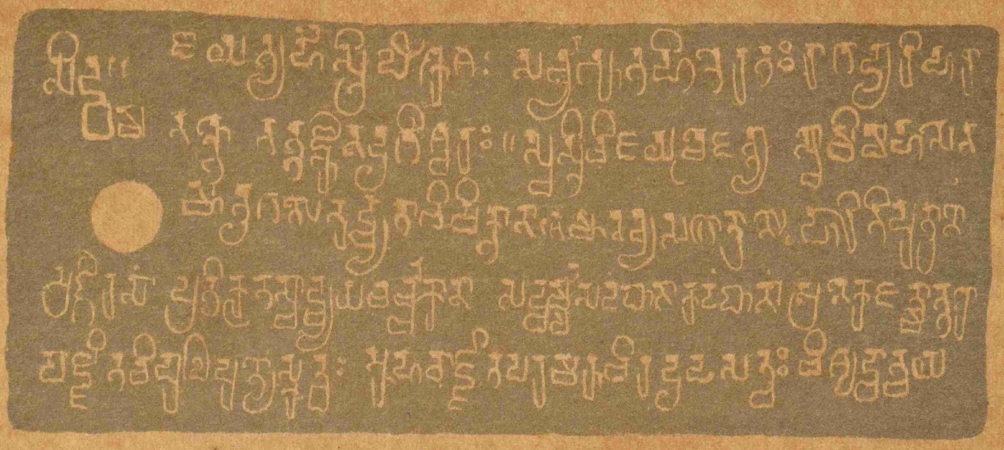
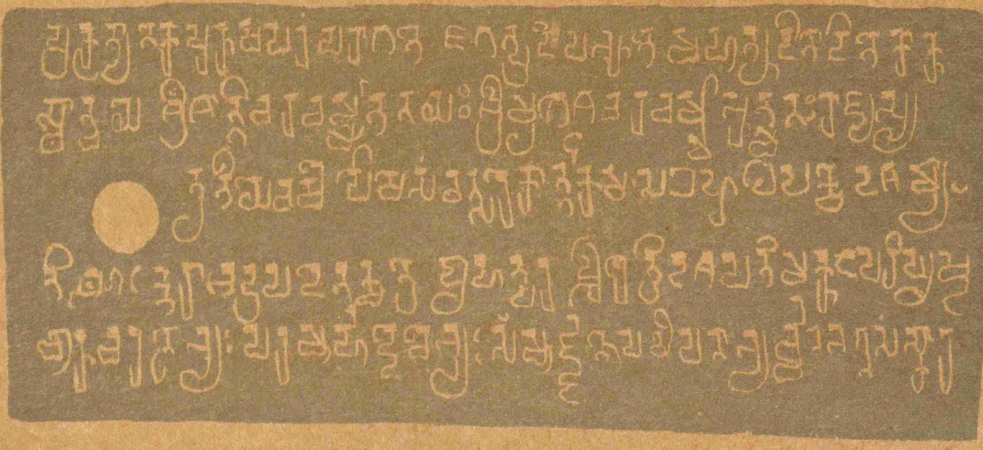


II a.



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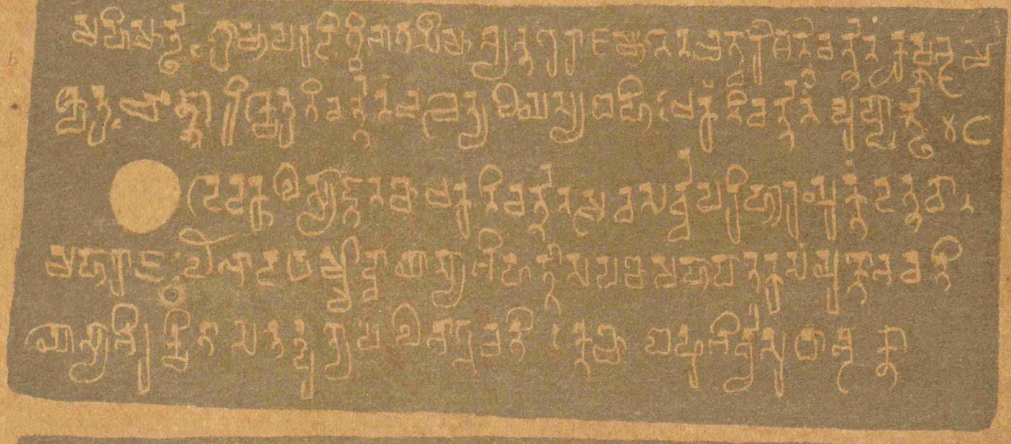
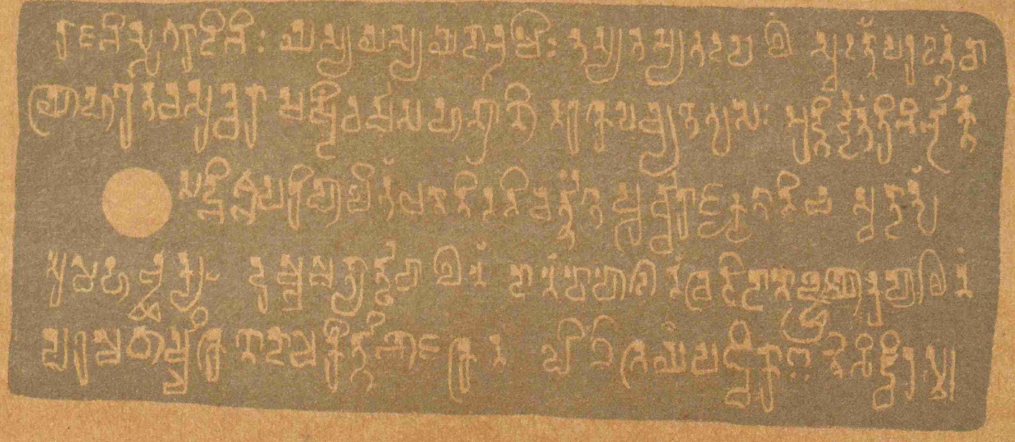


III



KADAMBA COPPER-PLATE OF MṚIGÊŚAVARMÂ.

KADAMBA GRANT OF MṚIGĒSAVARMĀ

3rd & 4th Sides

II b

III a

KADAMBA GRANT OF MṚIGÊŚAVARMÂ.

5th & 6th Sides.

IV.

SEAL

SANSKṚIT AND OLD CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S, M.R.A.S.

(*Continued from p.* 112).

No. XL.

IN the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. III., Part II., p. 203, there is a paper by Major-General Sir George LeGrand Jacob on seven copper-plate grants dug up in April, 1848, at Nĕrûr in the 'Kûdal' division of the Sâwantwâḍi State. The originals belong to the India Office Library, from which I have obtained them to prepare revised transcriptions and translations.

The third of these grants is the earliest of the set. It consists of three plates, about $6\frac{3}{4}''$ long by $3''$ broad. They have no raised rim for the purpose of protecting the writing, such as is spoken of by Dr. Burnell in his *South-Indian Palæography* (p. 72, para. 4). The ring connecting the plates is uncut. It is about $\frac{1}{5}''$ thick, and $2''$ in diameter. The seal of it has the representation of a boar, facing to the proper right. The language is Sanskṛit. The characters are square and upright, and of the same standard as those of my Kadamba grants (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI., p. 22), agreeing most closely with the characters of No. XXV. (*id.*, p. 30).

The grant is one of the early Chalukya dynasty, anterior to the separation of the Western and the Eastern branches. The name of the dynasty is here spelt 'Chalikya.' The first king mentioned is Vallabha,—the Pulikêśi-Vallabha or Pulikêśî I. of my previous inscriptions of this dynasty. The second is his youngest son, Maṅgala,—the Maṅgalîśa or Maṅgalîśvara of my previous inscriptions. No mention is made in this grant of Maṅgala's elder brother Kîrttivarmâ I. The donor is Maṅgala; and the grant made is of the village of Kuṇḍivâtaka in the district of the Koṅkaṇas.[1]

The grant is not dated in any era. But Maṅgala is spoken of as having driven out king Buddha, the son of Śaṁkaragaṇa, and having slain king Svâmî of the Chalikya family; and as these facts are not referred to in his stone-inscription (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI., p. 363) dated in the twelfth year of his reign, when Śaka 500 had expired, I would place the present grant slightly subsequent to that inscription. Who these two kings, Buddha and Svâmî, were, I am not at present able to suggest.

Transcription.

First plate.

[1] Svasti Śrîmatâṁ Svâmi-Mahâsêna-pâd-ânudhyâtânâṁ Mânavya-sagô-
[2] trâṇâṁ Hâritî-putrâṇâṁ Chalikyânâṁ vaṁśê saṁbhûtaḥ Mânava-pu-
[3] râṇa-Râmâyaṇa-Bhârat-êtihâsa-kuśalaḥ nîtau Bṛihaspati-samaḥ
[4] agnishtôma-vâjapêya-pauṇḍarîka-bahusuvarṇṇ-âśvamêdh-âvabhṛitha-
[5] snâna-pavitrîkṛita-śarîraḥ sva-guṇair=llôka-vallabhô Vallabhaḥ [||*] Tasya pu-
[6] traḥ parama-brahmaṇyaḥ para-râshṭr-âvamarddî sva-râptrê(shtrô) nyây-ânuvarttî dêva-dvija-
[7] guru-pûjâ-niratah sakala-mahî-maṇḍala-vyâpi-vimala-yaśâḥ

Second plate; first side.

[8] sva-bhuja-bala-parâkkra(kra)m-ôpârjjit-ânya-râja-vittaḥ vṛishabha-gamana-nayana-ninâ-
[9] daḥ samada-vara-vâraṇa-vilâsaḥ siṁha-vikramaḥ naya-vinaya-dâna-dayâ-
[10] dâkshiṇya-satya-saṁpad=ôpêtaḥ śakti-traya-saṁpannaḥ parama-bhâgavataḥ
[11] Maṅgala-râjaḥ [||*] Babhau sa Vainya-pratimâna-kîrttis=tamaḥ-pramṛidnat-sva-
[12] guṇ-âṁśu-jâlaiḥ [||*] Têna râjñâ Śaṁkaragaṇa-putraṁ gaja-turaga-padâti-
[13] kôśa-bala-saṁpannaṁ Buddha-râjaṁ vidrâvya Chalikya[2]-vaṁśa-saṁbhavaṁ ashtâ-
[14] daśa-samara-vijayinaṁ Svâmi-râjaṁ cha hatvâ saṁvatsara-pûjyatamâyâṁ

Second plate; second side.

[15] Kârttika-dvâdaśyâṁ kṛit-ôpava(vâ)sên=ârchchita-Vishṇunâ Kâśyapa-sagôtrasya vêda-

[1] The Koṅkanas were seven in number,—*sapta-Koṅkana*. The word is used in the plural, though without the numeral prefixed, in transcr. l. 10 of No. XIII. of this Series, Vol. V., p. 67.

[2] The first syllable looks somewhat like *chh*, but this is owing, I think, only to a slip of the engraver's tool. The vowel is properly short.

[16] vêdâṅga-vidushaḥ Sumati-svâminaḥ puttrâya vêda-vêdâṅga-pâragâyaḥ(ya)
[17] Priya-svâminê kula-śîla-vṛitta-sampannâya Koṅkaṇa-vishayê niśrê-
[18] yasam=udaka-pûrvvaṁ Kuṇḍivâtaka-grâmô dattaḥ [||*] Uktaṁ cha têna râjñâ [|*]
[19] Yô smat-kul-âbhyantarô nyô vâ râga-dvêsha-lôbha-môh-âbhibhûtô hi(hiṁ)syâ
[20] sa pañcha-mahâpâtak-ôpapâtakaiś=saṁyuktas=syât [||*] Dharmma-śâstrêshv=apy=uktaṁ [|*]

Third plate.

[21] Bahubhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhis=Sagar-âdibhiḥ yasya yasya yada
[22] bhûmiḥ tasya tasya tadâ phalam [||*] Sva-dattâṁ para-dattâṁ vâ yô harêta vasu-
[23] ndharâm shashtiṁ varsha-sahasrâṇi vishṭhâyâṁ jâyatê krimiḥ ||. Shashtiṁ
[24] varsha-sahasrâṇi svarggê tishthati bhûmi-daḥ âchchhêttâ ch=ânumantâ
[25] cha tâny=êva narakê vasêt || Svan=dâtuṁ su-mahach-chhakyam duḥkha-
[26] m=anyasya pâlanaṁ dânaṁ vâ pâlanaṁ v=êti dânâch=chhrêyô nupâlanam=iti[||*]

Translation.

Hail! Born in the family of the Chalikyas, who are glorious, and who meditate on the feet of Svâmi-Mahâsêna, and who are of the lineage of Mânavya, and who are the descendants of Hâritî; conversant with the code of laws of Manu and the *Purâṇas* and the epics of the *Râmâyaṇa* and the *Bhârata*; equal to Bṛihaspati[3] in philosophy; having his body purified by ablutions performed after celebrating the *Agnishṭôma* and *Vâjapêya* and *Paundarîka* (*sacrifices*) and horse-sacrifices that cost much gold; the favourite of the world on account of his meritorious qualities.—(*such was*) Vallabha.

His son (*was*) king Maṅgala, who was an excellent worshipper of (*the god*) Brahmâ; who devastated the countries of his enemies; who adhered to justice in his own country; who delighted in worshipping the gods and the twice-born and spiritual preceptors; whose pure fame pervaded all the countries of the earth; who acquired the wealth of other kings by the strength and prowess of his own arm; who had the gait and the sight and the voice of a bull; who had the actions of a choice elephant infuriated with passion; who had the valour of a lion; who was endowed with the wealth of statesmanship and modesty and charity and tenderness and sincerity and truth; who was possessed of the three constituents of power; and who was an excellent worshipper of (*the god*) Bhagavân.[4] He was glorious,—being possessed of fame that resembled (*the fame of*) Vainya[5],—with the rays of his virtues, which dispelled the darkness (*of sin*).

By that king,—when he had driven out king Buddha, who was the son of Śaṁkaragaṇa, and who was possessed of the power of elephants and horses and foot-soldiers and treasure; and when he had slain king Svâmî, who was born in the family of the Chalikyas, and who had been victorious in eighteen battles,—having fasted on the twelfth day of (*the month*) Kârttika, which is the most worshipful (*lunar day*) in the year, and having done worship to (*the god*) Vishṇu, the village of Kuṇḍivâṭaka, in the district of the Koṅkaṇas, was piously given, with libations of water, to Priyasvâmî, who was thoroughly conversant with the *Vêdas* and *Vêdâṅgas*, and who was possessed of character and behaviour such as is honourable to a family, the son of Sumatisvâmî, of the Kâśyapa *gôtra*, who was acquainted with the *Vêdas* and *Vêdâṅgas*.

And it was said by that king:—"He shall incur the guilt of the five great sins and the minor sins, who may injure (*this grant*), being overcome by envy or enmity or avarice or folly, whether he be born in my family, or whether he be another person!"

Moreover, it has been said in the sacred writings:—Land has been enjoyed by many kings commencing with Sagara; (&c.)! He is born for the duration of sixty thousand years as a worm in ordure, (&c.)! The giver of land abides for sixty thousand years in heaven; the confiscator (*of land*), or one who connives (*at such an act*), dwells for the same number of years in hell! It is easy to give one's own property, but the preservation of (*the grant of*) another is difficult; (&c.)!

[3] The preceptor of the gods.
[4] Vishṇu.
[5] Vainya, or Vanya,—a patronymic of the Purânic king Prithu.

No. XLI.

The first of the Nĕrûr inscriptions is the next in point of age. The plates are three in number, about $7\frac{1}{2}''$ long by $3''$ broad. They seem to have a very slightly raised rim to protect the writing; but it is not very decided, and may have been accidentally caused in beating out and shaping the copper. The ring, which is uncut, is about $\frac{1}{4}''$ thick and $3''$ in diameter. The seal has, as before, the representation of a boar, facing to the proper right. The language is Sanskṛit. The characters are decidedly rude and irregular, compared with the usual standard of the Chalukya alphabet of this period. The most noticeable points are:—1, The triangular shape of the *va*; 2, the method of marking the vowel *ê* by a stroke *above* the consonant, instead of at the side of it; and 3, the form of the *tha*, which,—instead of being like *dha*, with a side stroke inside it, as in other early instances, or with a *bindu* inside it, as in later instances,—is like *dha* with a loop formed on the bottom stroke. These three special peculiarities may be seen distinctly in, for instance, the words *pṛithivî*, l. 10, and *paramêśvára*, l. 11. Though only a few letters are absolutely illegible, yet the plates are so very much worn and abraded that, but for the recurrence of well-known expressions, many passages must have remained doubtful.

This grant gives us two new names in the Western Chalukya genealogy,—Chandrâditya, the eldest son of Pulikêśî II., and the elder brother of Vikramâditya I.,—and his wife Vijayabhaṭṭârikâ. Some doubt may be felt as to the name of Vikramâditya's brother. The reading, in l. 14, is undoubtedly *Śrîndrâditya*, which, if divided as it stands, would give 'Śrî-Indrâditya.' But this person is mentioned again in the 'Kochrê' grant, which is given by General Jacob after the Nĕrûr series, and the reading there seems quite plain:—*Anivârita-Vikramâdityas=tasyajyêshṭhô bhrôtâ Śrî-Chandrâditya-pṛithivivallabha-mahârâj-âdhirâjas-tasya priya-mahishî Kalikâla-pratipaksha-bhûtâ Śrî-Vijayamahâdêvî* (four letters uncertain) *sarvvân=âjñâpayati*. Had the name been 'Indrâditya,' the composer of the inscription would certainly have avoided an awkward coalescence of vowels by writing *Śrîmad-Indrâditya*, just as in *Śrîmad-Upêndra*, which occurs in l. 32 of another of the Nĕrûr grants to be noticed below. I myself feel confident, with General Jacob, that the name is really 'Chandrâditya,' the first syllable, *cha*, being omitted here through carelessness on the part of the engraver.

The grant is not dated in the Śaka era; but the details of the date,—at the autumnal equinox, on the second day after the full-moon of the month Âśvayuja,—may perhaps suffice, if a calculation is made, to fix its date in that era. If this grant stood alone, the expression *svarâjya*, in l. 15, might indicate the reign of Vikramâditya, as much as that of Vijayabhaṭṭârikâ. But, taking this grant with the 'Kochrê' grant, it appears that Vijayabhaṭṭârikâ did reign after her husband's decease,—probably as regent during the childhood of a son, whose subsequent death led to the accession of Vikramâditya I.

Transcription.

First plate.

[1] Svasti Śrîmatâṁ sakala-bhuvana-saṁstûyamâna-Mânavya-sa-
[2] .gôtrânâṁ Hâritî-putrânâṁ sapta-lôka-mâtṛibhis=sapta-mâtṛibhir=abhi-
[3] râ(ra)kshitânâṁ Kkâ(kâ)rttikêya-parirakshaṇa-prâpta-kalyâṇa-paraṁ[parâ*]ṇâṁ
[4] bhagavan-Nârâyaṇa-prasâda-samâsâdita-varâha-lâñchhan-êkshaṇa-ksha-
[5] ṇa-vaśîkṛit-âśêsha-mahîbhri(bhṛi)tâṁ Chalukyânâṁ kulam=alaṁkarishṇôr=aśvamê-
[6] dh-âvabhritha-snâna-pavitrîkṛita-gâtrasya Śrî-Pulakêśi-Vallabha-mahârâja-

Second plate; first side.

[7] sya prapautraḥ parâkkra(kra)m-âkkrâ(krâ)nta-Vanavâsy-âdi-para-nṛipati-maṇḍala-praṇibaddha-
[8] viśuddha-kîrtti-Śrî-Kîrttivarmma-pṛithivîvallabha-mahârâjasya pautras=sama-
[9] ra-saṁsakta-sakal-ôttarâpṛi(pa)th-êśvara-Śrî-Harshavarddhana-parâjay-ôpalabdha-
[10] paramêśvar-âpara-nâmadhêyasya Satyâśraya-śrî-pṛithivîvalla-

[11] bha-mahârâj-âdhirâja-paramêśvara-bhatâ(ṭṭâ)rakassya(sya) priya-ṭanayô
[12] râjâ ripu-narêndrâ[n*] hatvâ diśi [diśi*] jitvâ sva-va[ṅśa-jânâm] lakshmîṁ prâ(?)pya

Second plate; second side.

[13] prâpya cha paramêśvaratâm=a-nivârita-Vikramâdityaḥ [||*] Tasya jyêshtha-
[14] bhrâtuḥ Śrî-[Cha*[6]]ndrâditya-pṛithivîvallabha-mahârâjasya priya-mahi-
[15] shî Vijayabhaṭṭârikâ [||*] Sva-râjya-pañchama-ssaṁ(saṁ)vatsara A(â)śva-
[16] yuja-paurṇṇamâsasya dvitîyâyâm vishuvê bahu-puṇy-ârtthaṁm(rttham)
[17] Na(?)rakâgâharê Vatsassa(sa)gôtrâyaḥ(ya) Gṛihapatêḥ pautrâya Svâmi-Cha-
[18] turvêdasya putrâya Âryyasvâmi-dîkshitâya Pâliyama-

Third plate.

[19] pa(?)thadigi(?śi)ri(?)kâ-prabhri(bhṛi)ti-dakshiṇô pâriśvashta(?shu)ddê-kshêtrâḥ[7]-udaka-pû-
[20] rvvaṁ dattâḥ [||*] Tasya vaṅśa-jô nirvviśêshaṁ parî(ri)pâlâ(la)yati[8] sa
[21] dâtuḥ puṇya-phala-bhâg=bhavati yô sy=âpaharttâ sa pañcha-
[22] bhir=mmahâpâtakais=saṁyuktô bhavati [||*] Uktañ=cha bhagavatâ Vyâ-
[23] sêna [|*] Sva-dattâṁ para-dattâṁ vâ yô harêta vasundharâṁ shashṭiṁ varsha-
[24] sahasrâṇi vishṭhâyâṁ jâyatê kṛimiḥ ||

Translation.

Hail! The great grandson of the Great King Śrî-Pulakêśi-Vallabha, whose body was purified by ablutions performed after celebrating horse-sacrifices, and who adorned the family of the Chalukyas, who are glorious, and who are of the lineage of Mânavya which is praised over the whole world, and who are the descendants of Hâritî, and who have been preserved by seven mothers who are the seven mothers of mankind, and who have attained an uninterrupted continuity of prosperity through the protection of Kârttikêya, and who have had all kings made subject to them on the instant at the sight of the sign of the Boar which they acquired through the favour of the holy Nârâyaṇa;—the grandson of the Great King Śrî-Kîrttivarmâ, the favourite of the world, whose pure fame was established in the territories of the hostile kings of Vanavâsî and other countries that had been invaded by his prowess;—the beloved son of the favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the venerable one, Satyâśraya, who was possessed of the second name of 'Supreme Lord,' acquired by defeating Śrî-Harshavardhana, the warlike lord of all the country of the north;—(*was*) the king Vikramâditya, the unrepulsed, who, having slain the hostile kings, and having conquered in country after country, recouped the fortunes of those of his family, and attained the supreme lordship.

His elder brother (*was*) Śrî-Chandrâditya,[9] the favourite of the world, the Great King; whose beloved queen was Vijayabhaṭṭârikâ.

In the fifth year of her reign, on the second day after the full-moon[10] of (*the month*) Âśvayuja, at the equinox, for the sake of much religious merit, at (*the village of*) Narakâgâhara, the fields of ..... [11], to the south of Pâliyamapathadigirikâ &c., were given (*by her*), with libations of water, to Âryasvâmidîkshita, the son of Svâmi-Chaturvêda, and the son's son of Gṛihapati of the Vatsa *gôtra*.

He of that (*king's*) lineage, who preserves (*this grant*) without distinction, enjoys the reward of the religious merit of the giver; he, who confiscates it, incurs the guilt of the five great sins! And it has been said by the holy Vyâsa:—He is born as a worm in ordure for the duration of sixty thousand years, who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another!

[6] See para. 2 of the introductory remarks.

[7] General Jacob's Pandits read *Pâliyamapathâdigirikâprabhritidakshinôparisvashtâṭṭêkshikâ*, and translate "the privilege of supervision (*i.e.*, benefice) of the eight markets, Pôliyama, Âdigirikâ, &c." I do not quite see how that translation is made out of that reading. I cannot much improve on their reading; but the last two syllables seem to me *kshêtrâ*, not *kshikâ*.

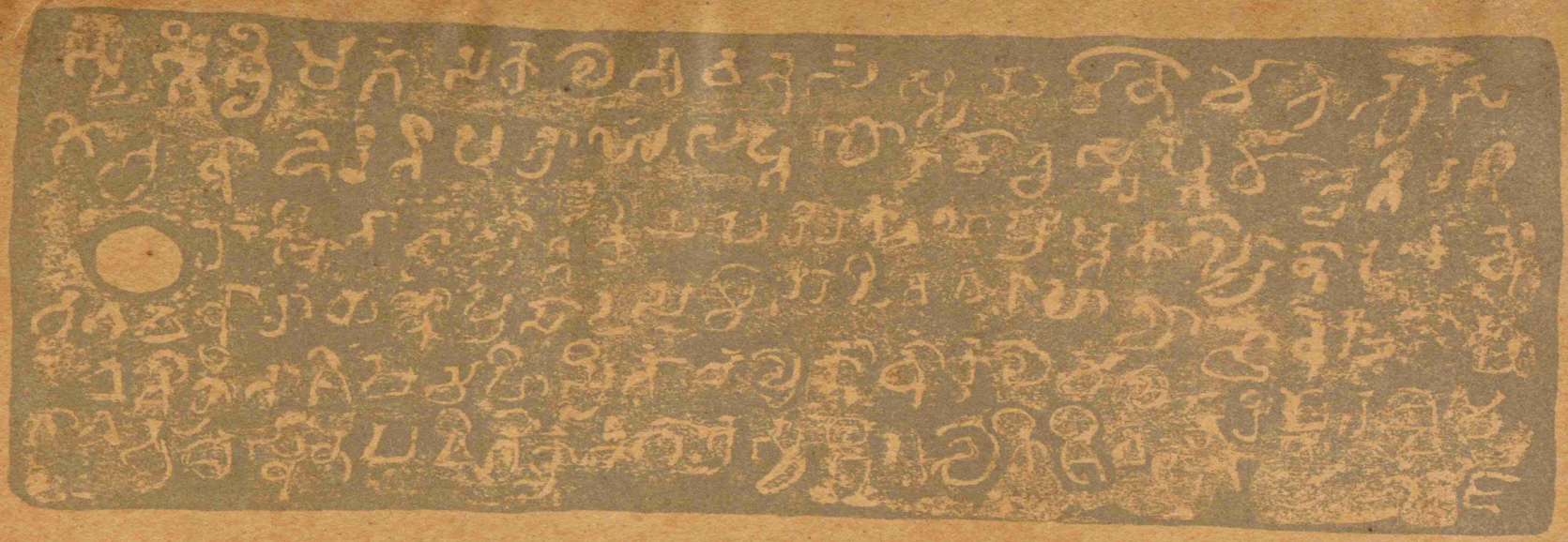
[8] There are perhaps two letters, now illegible, after this word.

[9] See note 6 above.

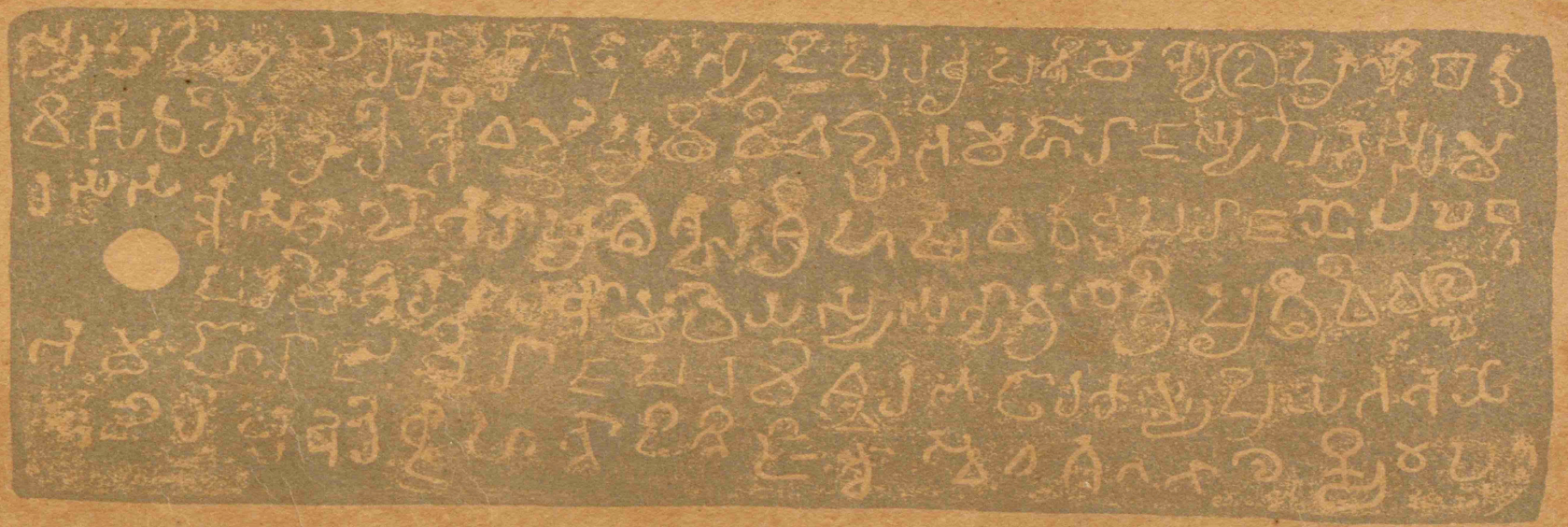
[10] Or, perhaps, "on the second day of the fortnight of the full-moon, *i.e.*, of the bright fortnight."

[11] See note 7 above. *Pâriśvashṭa(? shu)ddê* is unintelligible, but perhaps contains the names of some fields, since *kshêtra*, which is a neuter noun, is used in the masc. or fem. nomin. plural.

I.



IIa.



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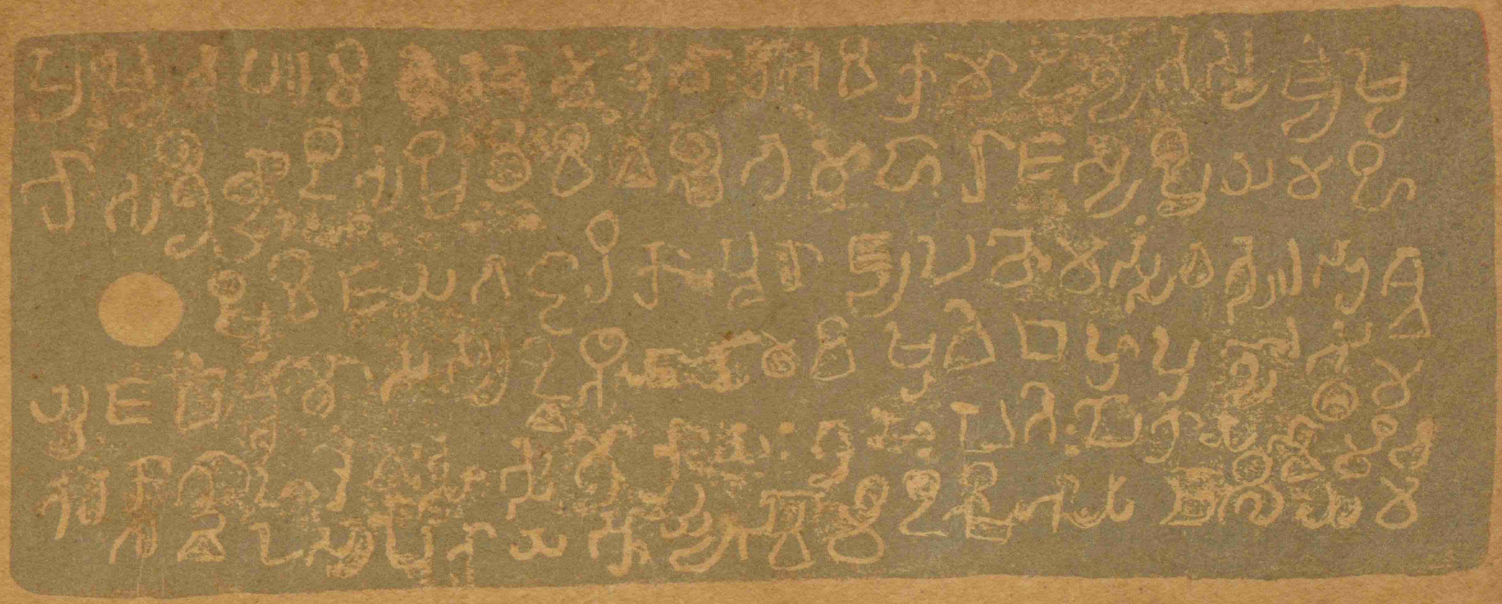

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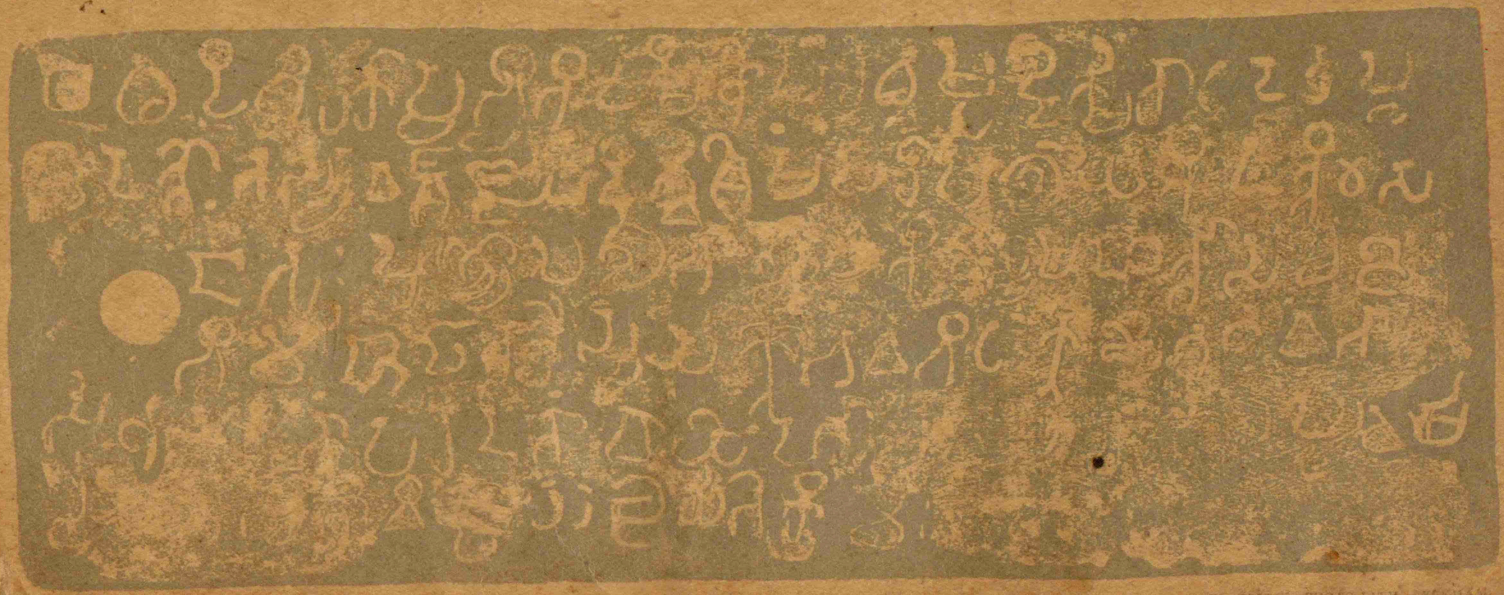


W. GRIGGS PHOTO-LITH. BECKHAM.

PERSONAL NAMES IN THE SOUTHERN PART OF THE AHMADABAD COLLECTORATE AND NEIGHBOURING COUNTRY.

BY C. E. GORDON CRAWFORD, Bo.C.S.

This is a revisal of the lists published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. IV. p. 236, with additions. The gathering-ground may be said to be now Gohilwâḍ, Jhâlâwâḍ, Kâṭhiâwâḍ proper, and the Bhâl; the former list was pretty nearly confined to the tâlukâs of Dhaṅdhukâ and Ǧoghâ, which are arbitrary political divisions.

Experience having shown that attempts at classification are premature, one list in dictionary order has been substituted for the four lists formerly given. In it the specification of caste is only meant to show the uses which have come under the compiler's observation, without implying that other uses are non-existent.*

Abhe-sing, Gr.; -chand, W.; -ji, Kâth.
Abuji, Mol.
Adâ, Ko. Ch.; -sing, Gr. Âdit, Bâ.
Agâbhâi, Gr. Agarsing, Gr.
Âjâ, Ko. Wâg.; -bhâi, Mol. Akubhâ, Mol.
Âlâ, Kâth. Bh. Ko. Ḍh.
Alaiyâ, Kâth.
Aleḳ, Kâth.
Amâbhâi, Gr.
Ambâ, Ko. Kuṁ. Kaṇ.; -lâl, Ksh.; -râm, Kaṇ. Ambaidâs, So.
Ami-ji, Mol. V.; -chaṅd, W.
Amrâ, Kâth. Bh. Ko. Kuṁ. Ḍh. Wâg.; -siṅg. Gr.; -si, Sut. Sat.; -chaṅd, W.
Ânand, Khaḍ. Khojâ; -ji, W.; -râm, Br.
Anḍa, Ko. Kuṁ. Ḍh. Mâ.
Anubhâi, Gr. Aprub, Ko.
Arjaṇ, Wâg. Ko. R. Kuṁ. Sut. Kath. Lâ.; -lâl, Br.
Âshâbhâi, Gr. Âtâbhâi, Gr.
Baḥâdar, Ko. Bakâ, Bâ.
Baliâbhâi, Gr. Bâpji, Gr.
Banâ, R.; Banc, Bâ.; -sing, Gr.
Bâpu-bhâi, Gr.; -miâṅ, -sâheb, Mol.
Bâwâ, Kâth. Ko. Bh. Wâg. Kum. Ḍh. Lâ. W. -ji, Gr. Mol.; -miân, Mus.
Bechar, Wâg. Ko. Jogi, Bhau. W. Kaṇ. Kuṁ. R. Sat. Kh. Bhang.; -sing, -ji, Gr.
Bhâbhâ, Ko. R. Bhai-ji, Ko; -chand, W. Kuṁ.
Bhagâ, Bhagu, Ko. Ch. Chaṁ. R.
Bhagwân, Ko. D. Br. Kuṁ. R. Bh. Sat.
Bhalâ, Ko.
Bhâṇâ, Kâth. Kaṇ. Ko. Kuṁ. Mâ.; -ji, R.
Bhânkhar-ji, R. Bhârâ, -mal, Ko. Mus.; -ji, Gr.
Bhâthi, Ko. Bhâwâ, Ko. R.
Bhaṭṭâ, Ko. Bhâusing. R.
Bhawân, Kaṇ. Râw. R. W. Ko. Mus.
Bhâyâ, So. Ch. Kâth.; -ji, Gr.
Bhimâ, Bhim, Ko. Kâth. Bh. R. Kan. Kum. Râw. Sat. D W.; -ji, Gr.
Bhojâ, Ko. Kâth. Rab. Cham.
Bholâ, Lr.; -bhâi, Gr.
Bhupat-sing, Gr. Bhurâ, W.
Bijal, Wâg. Ko. Rab. Âh. Ḍh. Bhaṅg.
Boghâ, Ko. Jogi, W. Kuṁ. Wâg. Bh. R. Sat.
Butâ, Bh. Ko.
Chhagan, Ko. Br. Chaku, Ko. W.
Châmpâ, Kâth.; -si, W. Chelâ, Kâth. Wâg. Ḍh.
Chauthiyâ, Ko.
Chikâ, Ko. W. R. Chomla, Kâth. Chonḍâ, Ko.
Dâdâ, Kâth.; -bhâi, Mol. Gr.; -ji, Gr.
Dâji, R. D. Ch. W. Bhaṅg.; -bhâi, Gr.
Dalâ, Ko.; -bhâi, Gr.
Dânâ, Ko. Kâth. Ah. Kh. R.; -siṅg, Ko.
Daśâ, Kâth. Dayâ, Kaṇ. Ko.
Depâljî, Gr. Desal, R.; -ji, Gr.
Devâ, Wâg. Kâth. R. Kuṁ. Cham. Ko. Sat.; -dân, Wag.; -râj, Râjgar; -ji, -bhâi, Gr.; -karaṇ, Ch.; -si, -chaṅd, W.; -shankar, -ji, Br.; -dâs, Rab.
Devi-sing, Gr. Desâ, Âh. Kâth.; -bhâi, Gr.
Devit, Kâth. Dewal, W.
Dhanâ, Kan. Bh. Jogi, D. Ko. Ch. Kuṁ. R. Sat.
Dhârsi, W. Dipâ. W.
Dosâ, Ko. R. Kâth. Kh. Sat. Bhang.; -ji, Gr.; -bhâi, Gr.; miâṅ, Mus.
Dudhâ, Ko. Kaṇ. Kuṁ. Sat.; -bhâi, Gr.
Dungar, -ji, Gr. Dyâlâ, Bh. D.
Ebhal, Kâth.
Gadhâ, Ko.
Gagâ, Wâg. Ko. Bhau. Râw. Gagû-bhâi, Mol.
Gagal, W. Galâ, Ko. Gajâ, R.; -bhâi, Gr.
Gândâ, Ko. D.
Ganesh, Kan. Ko. Kuṁ. Sat. Bhaṅg.
Ganga-bhâi, Gr.; -ji, Gr. Gemalsing, Gr.
Ghchelâ, Wâg. Kâth. Ko. W. Kaṇ. R.; -bhâi, Gr. Bâ.
Giga, Kho. Meh. Ko. W. Kâth. Sut. Râw.
Gobar, Ko. Âh. Kuṁ. Godad, Kâth. Godbhâi, Gr.
Goïtâ, Kh. Gokal, Ko. Kuṁ. Sat. Ch.
Golaṇ, Kâth. Gopâ, Ko.
Gopâl, W. Ko. Kaṇ. Lâ; -ji, R.; -siṅg, Gr.

The following abbreviations are used:—

Âh. Âhir	Ch. Châran	Ko. Koli	Ksh. Kshatrı	Mol. Molesalâm	So. Soni
Bâ. Bârot	Cham. Chamâr	Kh. Khawâs	Lâ. Luwâṇâ	Mus. Musalmân	Sut. Sutâr.
Bh. Bharwâd	D. Darzı (Sai)	Khaḍ. Khaḍak	Lr. Luwâr	R. Râjpût	V. Vohrâ
Bhaṅg. Bhaṅgiyâ	Dh. Dhed	Kho. Khojâ.	Mâ. Mâli	Rab. Rabâri	W. Wâniyâ
Bhau. Bhausâr.	Gr. Grâsiâ	Kuṁ. Kumbhâr	Meh. Mehman	Râw. Râwal	Wâg. Wâghrı
Br. Brâhmaṇ	Kâth. Kâṭhı	Kan. Kanbi	Mo. Mochi	Sat. Satwarâ.	

Gorâhan, W Lr.
Govind, Wâg. Ko. Kum. Bh. Lr. Sat.; -ji, W.
Goyâ, Kan Dh. W. ; -bhâi, Gr.
Gumân, Ko.; -bhâ, Mol.
Gultân, Bhang. Gumânbhâ, Mol. Gusâ, Bh.
Hada, W. Hadbhâi, Gr. Hagâbhâi, Gr.
Hâjâ, Ko. Wâg. R.
Hakâ, W. Kh. Br.; -bhâi, Gr. Hâlâ. Ko.
Hâlâbhâi, Gr Hâmâ, -ji, Ko. Bh.; -bhâi, Gr.
Hamir. R Ko. Kâth. Âh.; -ji, Gr. R.
Hanji, -bhâi, Gr. Bâ. Hansrâj, W.
Hanubhâi, Gr. Harbham, Ko.; -ji, Gr.
Hari, Ko. R. Kan. Br. W. D. So. Wâg.; -sur, Kâth. Ch.
Harji, Ko. W Kum. Lâ.
Harkhâ, Mâ. So.; -ji, W. Kan.
Hathi-yâ, Ko. R ; -bhâi, Gr.
Hâthî, Ko. Bh. Kâth. R. Kan. Bhang.; -ji, R.
Hima, Ko.; -chand, -râj, W.
Hirâ. Ko. R.; -ji, Sut. Hothi, Bh. Mol.
Ichchhâ, -ji, R.
Jâdrâ, Kâth. Jâgâ, Ko.
Jagâ, R.; -mâlji, Mol. Gr.
Jagubhâi, Gr. Jâîta, or Joitâ, Kâth.
Jalu, W. Jâmâ, Ko. Jamâbhâi, Gr.
Jasâ, Ko. R. Wâg. Kâth. Sat. Ch.; -ji, -bhâi, Gr.; -râj, W.
Jasmat, Ko. Kum.; -sing, Gr.
Je-râj, Ko. Bhang.; -malji, Gr.; -sing, R. Ko. W. Kan.; -chand, W.; -shankar, Br.; -karan, Ko.; -râm. Kan. Br.
Jesâ, Ko. Jet, R.
Jethâ, Kan R. Ko. W. Kum. Kâth. Khad. Mâ. Dh. Cham.; -sûr, Kâth.; -si, W.
Jethi, R. Mus.; -sing, -bhâi. Gr. Jhâhâlâ, Wâg.
Jhâlam, Wâg.; -sing, Gr
Jhaver, Kan. W. Lâ.
Jhinâ, Bh. Mus. Ko. Bhang.; -bhâi, Gr.
Jhunjhâ, Wâg. W. Bhan.
Jiji-bhâi, Gr. Châ. Jibâwâ, Gr.
Jivâ, Ko. Kâth. Bh. Mus. Kum. Âh. Cham. Sat. Dh.; -bhâi, Gr.; -râj, Ko. W.
Jivan, Mus. R. Ch.; -ji. Gr.; -â, Kâth.
Jodhâ, Ko. R. Mo.; -bhâi, Bâ.
Jothâ, Kan. Kâth. W.
Kabâ, Ko. R. Kâbhâi, Ko.
Kadwâ, Wâg. Dh Ko. W.
Kâbâmâ, Wâg. Ko. Bh. Kan. Kum. Kh.; -ji, So.
Kâkâ, Kâm. Ch.: -bhâi, Gr Kâkal, Ko.
Kalâ, Ko W. Kum. Kan. Cham Sat.; -bhâi, Gr.
Kâlâ, Ko. Kâth. Kum. R Bhang.
Kâlu. R. Ko. Mus.; -bhâi, Gr.
Kalyân, Ko. W. Br. Sut.; -sing, Gr.
Kamâ. Ko.; -bhâi, -jibhâi, Gr.
Kanthad, Kâth. Âh ; -bhai, Gr.
Karamsi, Sat. Lâ. Karmal, Rab. Karmâ, R
Karsan, Ko. Kan. W. Kum. R. Lâ Bâ
Kaslâ, W. Ko. Mus. R. Dh. Bhang. Kan ; -bhâi, -sing, -ji, Gr.
Kâwâ, Ko. Kayâbhâi. Gr.
Kesâ-bhâi, Gr. Kesar, R
Kesav, Ko. So. Lr.; -ji, So.; -lâl, W. Ksh. Keswâji, R.
Kesri, -sing, Gr. Khengâr-bhâi, Gr. Kheng, Bh.
Khetâ, Ko. Bh. Sat.; -si, W.
Khimâ. Ko. Cham Dh. W.; -bhâi, Gr.; -chand, W.
Khimâ, Ko. Cham.; -chand, W.; -bhâi, Gr.
Khodâ, Ko W. Lr. Kan. Kâth. Sat.; -bhâi, Gr.
Khumânsing, Gr.
Khusâl, W. Kan. Kuber, So. W.; -ji, Br.
Kikâ, W.; -bhâi, Gr. Kumpâ, Kâth.
Kumbhâi, Gr.
Kunwarâ, Ko. Kan.; -ji, W.; sing, Mol.
Lâdhâ, Kum. Ladhâ, W.; -bhâi, Gr.
Lagdhir, Kâth. Lakhâ, Ko. Kh. Meh.
Lâkhâ, R. Ko. Bh. Kum. Kâth. Ch.; -bhâi, Gr.
Lakshman, Kâth. Sut R.
Lâlâ, Ko. Mus. Kum.; -chand, W Lalu, So.
Lomâ, Kâth. Lunâ, Ah. Kâth.; -vir, Kâth.
Mâchâ, Kâth. Madârsing, Gr.
Mâdhâ, Ko. Sat. Kan. Sut.
Mâdhav-ji, W. Kho.; -sing, Gr.
Maghâ, Ko. Sutâr. Makan, Lâ. W. Sat.; -dâs, Kan.
Mâlâ, Ko. Bh. Wâg. R. Kum. Bhang.
Mâmaiyâ, Kâth.
Mânâ, Ko R. Bhang.; -sing, R Ko. Wâg.; -ji, Gr.; -sûr, Kâth.
Mândan, Ko. Kum. Sut., Kâth. Wâland.
Mangâ, Ko. Manor, Br. D.
Mânsiyâ, Kâth. Manubhâ, Gr.
Masru, Ko. Kâth. Mathura, Br. W. Mâ.
Mâtrâ, Kâth. Mâu. Ch.
Mâwâ, Ko R. Kum. Cham.; -ji, W. Sut. Kan. Sat.; -singji, -bhâi, Gr.
Mechar, Ch.
Meghâ, Ko. Cham. Bhang. R. Sat. Ch.; -ji. Kho Koligor; -râjji, -bhâi, Gr.
Mehâ, Kâth. Mehtâb, Bâ. Mekâ, Ch.
Melâbhâi, Gr.
Mepâ, Ko.; -ji; -bhâi, Gr. Merâm, Ko. Kâth.
Meru-bhâi, Gr.; -ji, R. Mesur, Kâth. Ch.
Mitha, Ko. W. V. Modbhâi, Gr.
Mohou-ji. Gr. Moti, Kum.; -bhâi, Mol. Gr. -lâl, W.
Mokâ, Kâth.; -ji, Gr. Mujâjal, Ch.
Mulâ, Ko.; -ji, Sat., Ko. Lr.; -chand, W.
Mulu, Ko. Kâth Khad.; -bhâi, Gr. Mol. Bhât
Nâg, Kâth. Bh.; -ji, W. Ko. Gr.; -jan, Kâth.
Nâgar, W.
Nâjhâ, Wâg. Ko. Bh. Kâth. Rab. Wâland.
Nânâ, Ko. So. Kan. D. Cham. W., Kâth. V.; -bhâ. Gr.; -ji, Sat. Gr.
Nanu, Ch. Nâpâ. Kâth.
Nâran, Bh. Br Ko Dh. R Cham. Wâg. Kum. Kan.; -sing, Gr.

Narsi, Kâṅ. D. Kum.
Nârsingji, Gr.
Nâtha, Ko. Kum. Kaṇ. Sat. Bhaṅg.; -ji, Mol. Mus.; -bhâi, Gr.
Nathu, R. Kâth. Mus. W. Ko. Jogi, Kum. Dh. Koligor, Bâ. D. Mo. Bhang. Wâg.; -râm, Br.; -bhâi, Gr.
Noghaṇbhâi, Gr.
Oḍha, Kâth. Ko. Odhav, W. Râjgar.
Oghad, Kâth. R Bâr. Okha, R.
Pachân, Bhaṅg.; -ji, Gr.
Panâ, Cham.; -ji, W. Pânâ, W.
Pâṅchâ, Ko. Bh. Kum.
Parmâ, Ko. Ch. Kum.
Parśottam, W. Sut. Kaṇ. Pârvati-siṅg, R.
Pâthâ, -bhai, Gr.
Pathâ, Ko. R. Wâg.; -bhâi, Gr.
Pathu, Ko.; -bhâi, Gr.
Petha, Kum. Châ. Phate, Mus.; -siṅg, Gr.
Phaljibhâi, Gr. Phulâ, Ch.; -ji, W. Mol.
Pitâmbar, Ko. Lâ.
Piṭha, Dh. Pomlâ, Kâth.
Prâg, Kan. Ko. Mâ. Sat.
Prabhâtsing, Gr.
Pratâp-sing, Gr. Premâ-ji, Ko.; -bhâi, Gr.
Punâ, Ko. Jogi, Bh.
Punjâ, Ko. Kum. Kâth. R. Rab.; -bhâi, Gr.
Râghâ, Bh. Ko.
Raghâ, Ko. W.; -nâth, W. Kh.; -bhâi, Gr.
Râghav, Kan. Raimal, Mus. Bhât.
Râjâ, Ko Rab Ch.; -sur, Gh.; -bhâi, Gr. Râje, Mus.
Râm, Râmâ, Ko. R. Kum. Bhau. Wâg. Kâth. Bhaṅg; -bhai, -sing, Gr.; -ji, Br.; -ji, -sing, R. Ko. Ch. Mo.; -si, Rab.; -râo, -sur, -dâs, Ch.; -chandra. Br.
Ramtu, Ko.
Rânâ, Kân. Kâth. Ko. Bh.; -bhâi, Gr.
Ranchhod, Ko. R. Kum. Kan. W. Wâg.; -ji, Gr.
Râṇiṅg, Kâth.
Râsâ, Kh. Ko.; -bhâi, Gr.
Ratnâ, Bh. Ko. Rab. R. Mo.; -siṅg, Gr.; -ji, Br. -si, W.
Râwâ-bhâi, Gr. Râwat, Kâth.
Rayâ, Ko. Rewâ, Ko. W.
Ruḍâ, Bh. Jogi, Ko. Dh. Sat.; -bhâi, Gr.
Rukhad, Ko. Kâth. Rab.; -bhâi, Gr.
Rupâ, Ko. Rab; -sing, Ko. R.; singji, Gr.
Sadâ, Jogi. Sâdul, Ko. Ah. Kâth.
Sagâ, Bh.
Sagrâm, Ko. Bh. Gr.
Sâjan, Ch.
Śâmâ, R. Kum. Sut. Bhang. W. Dh. Cham.; -ji, So. Lâ. Br.
Śambu, Kan. Sâmtâ, Sâmat, Ko. Kâth. Cham.
Sângâ, Ko. Kâth.; -bhâi, Gr.
Sangâ, Ko.; -ji, W.; -jibhâi, Gr.
Sârâ, Ko. Sartânsing, Gr. Satâbhâi, Gr.
Sawâ, Ko. Bhang. Bhau. Cham. Wâg.; -bhâi, Gr.
Selâr, Kâth. Sesâ, Kâth. Śibhai, Ko.
Somâ, Ko. Somlâ, Kâth. Subhâg, -chand, W.
Sujâbhâi, Gr. Sundar, -ji, W.
Surâ. Ko. Kâth. Rab. Cham.; -siṅg, Ko.
Surang, Kâth. Surbân, Ko.
Takhâ, Ko. Takhtsing, Gr.
Tejâ, W. Ko. Bh. Kum. Sat. R.; -bhâi, Gr.
Ṭhâkar, -si, W. Kan.
Thebâ, Kâth. Thobhan, Wâg. Ko Sut.
Ṭiḍa, Ko. Trikam, Dh. Sat. Khoja; -ji, Br.
Ugâ, Kâth.
Ukâ, Wâg. Dh. Ko. W. Kaṇ. Rab. Sat. Bhaṅg.
Unaḍ, Kâth.
Vehelâ, Kâth. Ko.; -si, W. Vikamsi, Kâth.
Vijâbhâi, Gr. Vikabhâi, Gr.
Virâ, Ko. R. Sut., Kâth. Kum. Lr.; -bhâi, Bhât.; -ji, Sat.
Visâ, Ko. Rab.; -bhâi, Gr.
Viṭhal, Lâ. Kaṇ. Voldân, Kâth
Wâghâ, Kâth R. Ko. Kum. Ch. W. Rab.; -ji W.; -bhâi, Gr.
Wâhâlâ, Ko.; -ji, W. Wajâ, Bh. Ko. Wâg. Sat R.; -bhâi, Gr.
Wâjâ, -sur, Kâth. Waju, Ko. R.; -bhâi, Gr.
Wakhtâ, R.; -sing, bhâi, Gr. Wanmâli, Sut.
Warjâng, Bh. Warsâbhâi, Gr.
Warsi, Ko. Warsing, R.
Wasâ, Ko. Wâsaṇ, Kan.
Wasrâm, Ko. D. Ch. Kum R. Sut. Mâ Rab. Cham. W.
Wastâ, Ko. Khad. Khoja, Sat. W.

Names of Females.

Ajubâ, Gr.; Ambi, So.; Andibâ, Gr.; Bâjirâj, Gr.; Bâkunwar, Gr.; Bâlubâ, Gr.; Benâ, Ko.; Devdebâi, Kâth; Dhani, Ko.; Dhanubâ, Gr.; Godâvari, Lâ.; Harakh, Mâ.; Hari, Kaṇ.; Hirbâ, Gr.; Jekor, Br.; Jhakal, Sat.; Kâsi, W.; -bâ, Gr.; Kasli, Sut.; Kanku, Mâ.; Kesar, Ko.; Lâdu, Ko; Lakshmi, Ko. W.; Lâkhu, Ko. Rab.; Mâidebâ, Kâth.; Mâjibâ, Gr.; Me, Âh.; Monghi, Gr.; Nânibâ, Gr.; Pâmbâ, Gr.; Pân, Ko. Kum.; Pârvati, W.; Phaibâ, Gr.; Photri, Ko.; Phul, Kum.; Pûn, Ko. W.; Punji, Ko.; Râdhâ, Kum.; Râju, Kum.; Râṇi, Ch.; Shambâ, Gr.; Sujâbâ, Gr.; Tâjubâ, Gr.; Teju, Ko.; Uji, Br.; Wakhtubâ, Gr.; Walu, Ko.

The following names were collected by the compiler in the northern tâlukâs of Ahmadâbâd (Daskrohi and Parântij):—

Aṇḍâ, Agrâ, Alu, Bhâiji, Dosâ, Gobar, Gokal, Hari, -bhâi, Hira, Hamir, -ji, Hema, -chand, Jagu, -ji, -Jodhâ, Jumâ, -ji, Kâlâ, Kamâ, Kâhânâ, Kishor, Magâ. Mânâ, -sing, Râghu, -ji, Ranchhod, Sagâ, Vitâ, Ko.

Banâ, -ji, Jâmâ, -ji, Thâkarḍâ, Ko.; Bechar, Ko. Kaṇ. W.; Dâdâ, Desâi, -bhâi, Kaṇ.; Dev-karan, Bâ.; Gopâl, Lr.; Kâlidâs, Kaṇ.; Kuber, Bhan.; Mulu, -ji, Gr.; Nâhâlâ, Bâ.; Nâthâ, Bhan.; Nathu, Kaṇ. Ko.; Paśwâ, Bhoi (this is a diminutive of Parśotam); Raiji, Bâ.; Râmâ, Bhan. Ko.; Wakhtâ, -chand, W.; Wâsâ, -ji, Gr.; Waśrâm, Bhoi; Wasta, Bhoi; Leju, a Koli woman.

Experience justifies the following notes and hints:—

Of affixes, *lâl*, *chaṅd*, *râm*, *dâs*, are high-caste; *ji* is universal, *bhâi* and *siṅg* are chiefly used by the Râjpût Grâsiâs; aspiring Kolis also use *siṅg*, or *śaṅg* as it is locally pronounced. The diminutives *lâ*, *ḍâ*, *iyâ* are usually appended to the names of Kolîs, Ḍheḍs, Wâghris, and the like, by members of other castes; *kâ* is used for boys.

Only such Musulmân names are given as are plainly Hindu. These are found very numerously among the Molesalâm Grâsiâs, and point to the imperfect character of their Muhammadanism.

In many cases final *o* is represented by *â* in these lists; it often disappears before an affix.

Such uncomplimentary names as Gâṅḍâ and Juṭhâ may be given to denote the qualities of their bearers. In one instance I had a name before me which was certainly due to such a cause,—a deaf and dumb Bharwâḍ boy was called Mugâ.

By Rajput all through, as opposed to Grâsiâ is meant the non-land-owning Rajputs—mere cultivators, servants, and hangers-on.

Does not the affix *-sur*, which is used only by Kâthis and by the Châran of Kâthiâwâḍ proper, point to sun-worship?

The Kâthis always prefer the forms Bhîm, Bhoj, Râm, Bhân, &c. to Bhimâ, Bhojâ, Râma, Bhâṅâ. Nor do they ever use affixes such as *-siṅg*, *-bhâi*, *-ji*, but are always spoken of with the name of their tribe, as Alâ Khâchar, Bhoj Khâchar, Bhân Khâchar; Jivâ Dhândhal, or 'dhal; Rukhaḍ Khawaḍ.

A correspondent of the *Bombay Gazette*. took exception to *-sing* on the Dehli banners of some chiefs, saying it should be *-siṅh* or *-siṅgh*. Doubtless, but the Gujarâtis at least always write it *-siṅg*, or even, as it is often pronounced, *-śaṅg*

Sawa is sometimes pronounced Śawa, and with the diminutive Śivla. Is then Śawa a form of Śiv, and another instance of Gujarâti fondness for changing *i* into *a*?

The following, which have been given above as independent names, would seem to be, in origin at least, diminutives:—

Jasâ for Jasmat = Jaswant; Kalâ for Kalyân; Lakhâ for Lakshman; Bhagâ and Bhagu for Bhagwân; and Gopâ for Gopâl.

CHERA OR GAÑGA GRANTS OF A.D. 350 AND 481.

BY LEWIS RICE, BANGALOR.

Two more important inscriptions have come to hand relating to what have been denominated the Chera kings, but whom it seems more correct to call the Gañga kings,—a designation given to them in all the inscriptions yet discovered, not one of which contains any mention of the title Chera.

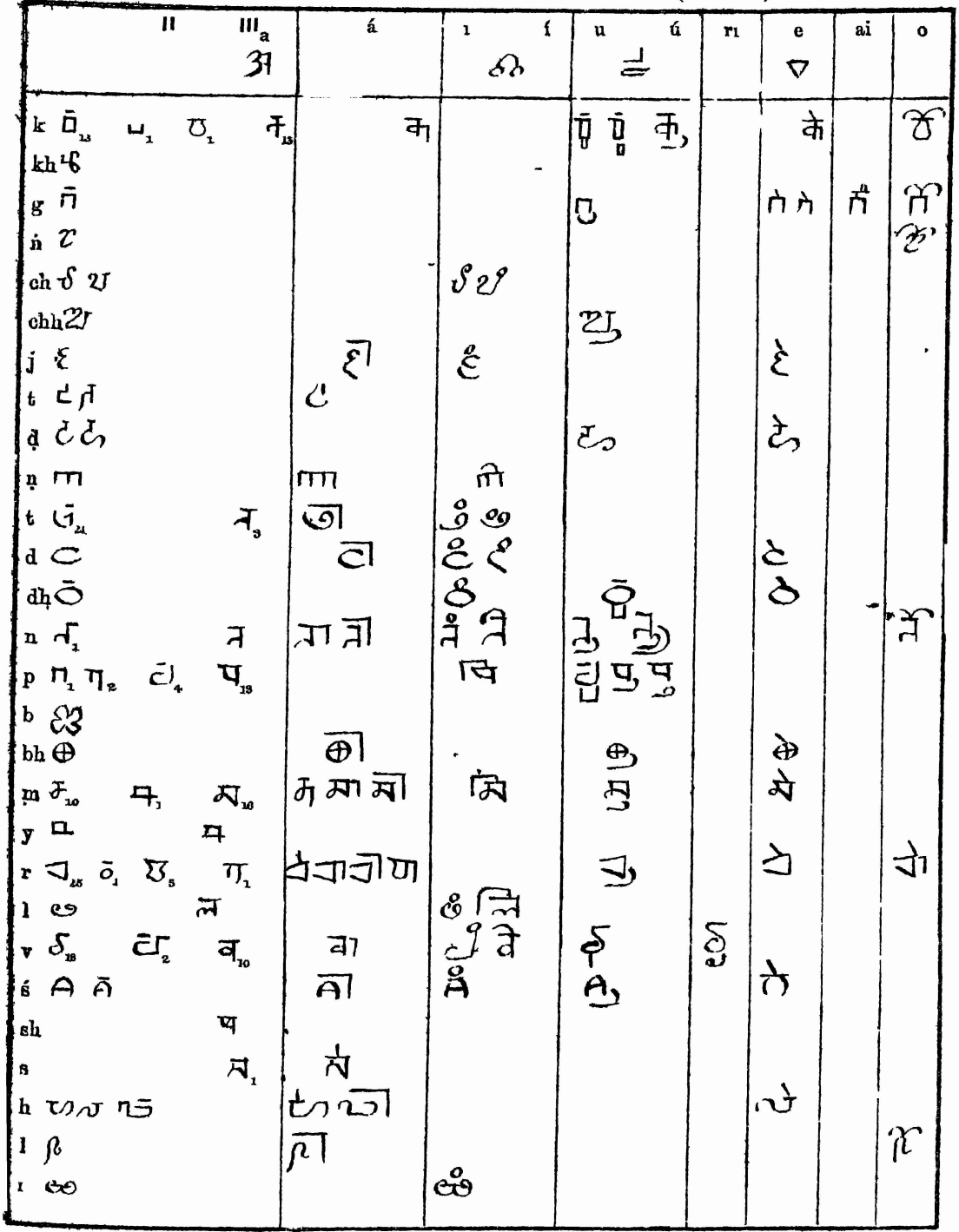
The first of these inscriptions was produced at Harihara before Major Cole, Superintendent of the Inâm Settlement, in support of an alleged endowment by Bukka Râya of Vijayanagar (!),—a sufficient evidence that its possessor had not the remotest notion of its contents, for they purport to be a thousand years older than Bukka Râya, and relate to a part of Maisur diametrically opposite to Harihara. The grant is engraved on three copper plates (6¼ in. by 2¾ in.), which are in a fair state of preservation. They are strung together on a metal ring, secured by the figure of an elephant, about an inch long, the ring passing between the four legs, which are closed together below. The most remarkable feature about this inscription is the singular admixture of characters in which it is written. There are certainly two, if not three, alphabets used; the chief one, which appears to me of much importance, a very primitive form of Haḷe Kannaḍa; another a slightly later form, but only used in a few letters; the third a form of Devanâgari.[1]

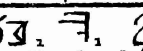
The date of this inscription, it is calculated, must be A.D. 350. It is therefore 116 years older than the Merkara plates, and—with the exception of one, mentioned by Prof. Eggeling as contained in Sir Walter Elliot's collection—the oldest yet discovered of this line.

The second grant was found among the old

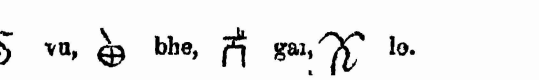
[1] The accompanying facsimile plate will best exhibit the characters in which these plates are inscribed.—ED.

ALPHABETS OF THE HARIHARA PLATES (A.D. 350)



Doubtful characters —  Unless included in the foregoing, the following letters do not occur.—gh, ñ, th, dh, th, ph

It is conjectured that the following letters show the original forms of vowels in combination with consonants —



records of the Assistant Commissioner's Court in Bangalor, while removing to new premises, and has been placed in the local Museum. It consists now of four copper plates ($7\frac{3}{4}$ in. × $2\frac{1}{4}$ in.) a good deal worn, strung on a metal ring as usual, but the seal is gone, and a fifth plate—the last—has evidently been abstracted. The inscription is very lightly engraved in thin but distinct and well formed Haḷe Kannaḍa characters. The last side, however, is quite illegible. There is no information as to how, when, or whence the plates found their way to where they were discovered.

In the first inscription we have the record of a gift of land in the village of Devanûru, in Karenâḍ, within the government of Talavanapura, made by the ruler of that district, a prince who was the son of Vishṇu Gopa, and whose name was apparently Râja Malla. The endowment was a reward for a gallant exploit performed by Râma Deva, the son of a Gavuḍa, a village chief or head-man, of the Yerakula caste, in rescuing the prince's wife and attendants from the hands of some enemy and conducting them in safety to the capital. The date of the transaction is given, as far as I can make out, according to the *Śaka*, here written *Śaga*, or era of Śâlivâhana, followed by the name of the cycle year, which is Sâdhâraṇa.[2] Guided by this I calculate that the date is S. Ś. 272 (A.D. 350)[3]; but some of the characters used in this part are so strange and unfamiliar that I am uncertain whether they are numerals or letters, or the latter used for the former. An old cave-numeral occurs in the Merkara plates, but the characters here do not correspond with any of the old numerals that have been published. The letters *nayana*, which if 'eyes' would stand for 2, alone seem plain. If the next word is *gîr*, language,' it would be 3. But, I have failed to decipher this sentence to my satisfaction, and possibly it may not be a date at all.

But, in whatever way this may be read, there is little doubt that the date above given must be arrived at. For we are limited to the year Sâdhâraṇa, and, according to the only information we have, Vishṇu Gopa's predecessor on the throne, Hari Varmma, was reigning in 288, and the reign of Mâdhava, his successor on the throne, ended in 425. The Sâdhâraṇa in question must evidently be one falling between these two dates as extremes, and it will thus be found that we have only two years to choose from,—either S. Ś. 272 (A.D. 350) or S. Ś. 332 (A.D. 410). That the former is the right one seems to me antecedently more probable. For between 288 and 425, taking it for granted we know of all the kings who ruled then, we have to allow, first, for the conclusion of the reign of Hari Varmma, already for certain at least 41 years on the throne; second, for the entire reign of Vishṇu Gopa, which must have been a very long one, for the expression regarding him in the first of the grants of this line last published by me (*Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 137), that "his mental energy was unimpaired to the end of life," seems only consistent with a career prolonged beyond the usual limits; third, for the reign of Mâdhava. Now the donor in the present grant is the son of Vishṇu Gopa, and we may conclude from the way in which he is mentioned that he was a provincial governor under his father, who was still alive. Assuming that Vishṇu Gopa came to the throne about 290, he would in 350 have reigned 60 years. If, on the other hand, the date 410 is adopted, we must keep him on the throne 120 years! Whether Mâdhava, declared in the various inscriptions to have been the son of Vishṇu Gopa, was the same as this Râja Malla seems very doubtful. The Tamil chronicle relating to these kings describes a break in the succession after Vishṇu Gopa, and, although the inscriptions hitherto found give no countenance to such a break, there certainly seems room for one or more kings between him and Mâdhava, and Râja Malla may have so intervened. The second of our present inscriptions abstains, it will be noticed, from calling Mâdhava the son of Vishṇu Gopa, but the next king is also treated in the same way, though there seems no doubt that he succeeded his father.

The genealogy of the kings is not given in this inscription, which mentions only the founder of the line, and the donor's father. The royal

[2] It is pretty generally agreed that the cycle of sixty years is a comparatively recent invention, and was not used before the tenth century: see *Jour. As. Soc. Beng* vol. II. p. 57; Reinaud, *Frag. Arab. et Pers* p 140. The *saṁvatsara* year Vibhuva is given in the British Museum plates professing to be of the reign of Pulikeśi I. and dated Saka 411; but that grant is a forgery—probably of the tenth or eleventh century.—ED.

[3] Though I once thought 332 might be made of it, or even 989 forced out.

prince, Râja Malla, as we have assumed, has among others the title 'lord of Kôḷâlapura' or Kolar, and this title continued to be borne by the same line of kings long after, as may be seen in the Coorg inscriptions of the 9th century,* one of the kings in which was also called Râcha Malla.

The site of the grant can be easily identified. The village Devanûru is still known by the same name, and is situated about fifteen miles south-west of Talavanapura or Talakâḍu. It now forms one of the endowments of the temple of Châmarâjeśvara at Chânrâjnagar. It is interesting to note that the subdivision to which it belonged was called Karenâḍ, literally 'black country,'—no doubt on account of the black cotton soil which there abounds—for this is exactly the form conjectured by Dr. Gundert to be the original of Karṇâṭa, and he gives the same reason for the name. Another village, that of Badanevâla, mentioned in describing the boundaries, is close to Devanûru, and still bears the same name. The grant is witnessed by the Head of the Edenâḍ Seventy. This sub-division has already been identified in connection with two inscriptions (*Ind. Ant.* I. 362, V. 135), but in the first of them, owing to a slight mistake of the engraver of the grant, it was described as *saptari*, 'seven,' instead of *saptati*, 'seventy.' The latter is undoubtedly correct, as we have similar divisions mentioned in various parts of Maisur in old grants, such as the Jiddudige or Jiddulige Seventy, the Arabela Seventy, &c.

But, as before stated, the great peculiarity of this inscription, and what seems to me to constitute its chief interest, is the primitive old characters, different from any yet published that I have met with, in which it is mostly written, and the singular changes from that to Devanâgari, apparently without any rule. I think this may perhaps be partly accounted for on the ground that the grant was not one made, as usual in such cases, to a temple, a Brâhman, or a member of a learned class, but to a Gauḍa's son. He probably knew as little of Sanskrit or the orthodox forms adopted by the genealogists of the court as the same class do now: hence a sort of patchwork introduction, contributed it may be by different persons, themselves imperfectly acquainted with the forms and language. On the other hand, the exploit of which he was the hero, and for which he obtained the reward, is described in the most straightforward manner, in the plainest Kannaḍa: for this part he could fully comprehend, and there was no mistake about it. The boundaries again run off into Sanskrit, and were perhaps written down by some Brâhman *shânbhog*.

The primitive old character, to which I have referred, evidently has an affinity to those used in the edicts of Aśoka, but still does not correspond with either the earlier or the later alphabets employed in them. I am strongly inclined to believe, from the uniform reference in the inscriptions of these Gañga kings to the first Koṅgaṇi's achievement in overthrowing a certain pillar, that one of those columns erected by Aśoka and inscribed with his edicts, of which several have been found in the north, may be referred to, and still awaits discovery in the south. The pillars were called *śîla stambha*, or 'virtue-pillars,' and on referring to the Merkara plates I find that *śîlâ* is the term most distinctly there used. It is true it is written *śilâ stambha* in the present grant, but one peculiarity of this is that no distinction is made between long and short *i*, and no conclusion, therefore, can be founded on it. The term *śîla stambha* would be unintelligible, as a rule, to Brâhmans and the uninitiated, and hence its conversion into *śilâ stambha*, as used in nearly all the grants—the most natural in the world.

Having gone so far as to hazard the prediction that a pillar inscribed with the edicts of Aśoka may yet be found in the south, it may be allowable to venture a step further, and anticipate that the most ancient alphabet used in the present grant may prove to be the one in which it is written, so much does it resemble in general style those deciphered by Prinsep.

The second inscription attached to this paper records a grant by a king whose name is generally given as Avinîta or Durvinîta, but who is here simply styled Koṅgaṇi Mahârâjâ. In the second of the grants last published by me (*Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 133), most of the

* Published in *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p 100. Mr. Kittel will no doubt permit me to suggest a correction in the third inscription, line 5, which should read *Ereyanga Gâmuṇḍana mayange*, 'to the son of Ereyanga Gâmuṇḍa.' The word *gâmuṇḍa*, 'a village chief or headman,' has passed through *gaunḍa* into the modern *gauḍa*.

particulars of which are confirmed by this one, he was called Koṅgaṇi Vṛiddha. The present grant was made in the third year of his reign, which, according to the calculations in connection with that one, gives us the year A.D. 481, and consisted of a gift to the Somayâji Vâsa Śarmmana, a resident of Mahâsenapura. The particulars of the gift are totally illegible, and the conclusion is missing. There is no clue, therefore, to the situation of Mahâsenapura.

The description of the various kings corresponds with that given in the chief grants already published. But with regard to Mâdhava II., Koṅgaṇi II., and Avinîta, or Koṅgaṇi III. (as it now seems we should call him), fresh information is supplied, confirmatory of what was obtained from the grant of A. D. 513 already referred to. Such are the Brâhmaṇical revival under Mâdhava II., the coronation of Koṅgaṇi II. while an infant on his mother's lap, and the romantic attachment which gave Avinîta his wife. Regarding this king it is further added that "though not matured in age, yet he was ripe in virtue," than which no expression could more fully confirm the accuracy of the calculations as to his age made in connection with the grant above mentioned.

Our advancing knowledge regarding the reigns of the Gañga kings of Maisur, as I will now call them, may be summed up as follows :—

Koṅgaṇi I. .....A.D.	188-239
Mâdhava I.	239-
Hari Varmma	-247-288-
Vishṇu Gopa	-350-
? Râja Malla	
Mâdhava II.	-425
Koṅgaṇi II.	425-478
Avinîta, Koṅgaṇi III. ...	478-513-
Mushkara	
Śrî Vikrama	-539
Bhû Vikrama	539-
Vilanda, Śrî Vallabhâkhya	
-Nava Kâma, Śivamâra,	
Koṅgaṇi IV.	-668-
? Bhima Kopa	
? Râja Kesari	
Prithivi Koṅgaṇi	727-777-
Râja Malla Deva	
Gaṇḍa Deva	
Râcha Malla, Satya Vâkya	
Koṅgaṇi	857-869
Permmanâḍi, do.	869-
Malla Deva II.	-878-894-

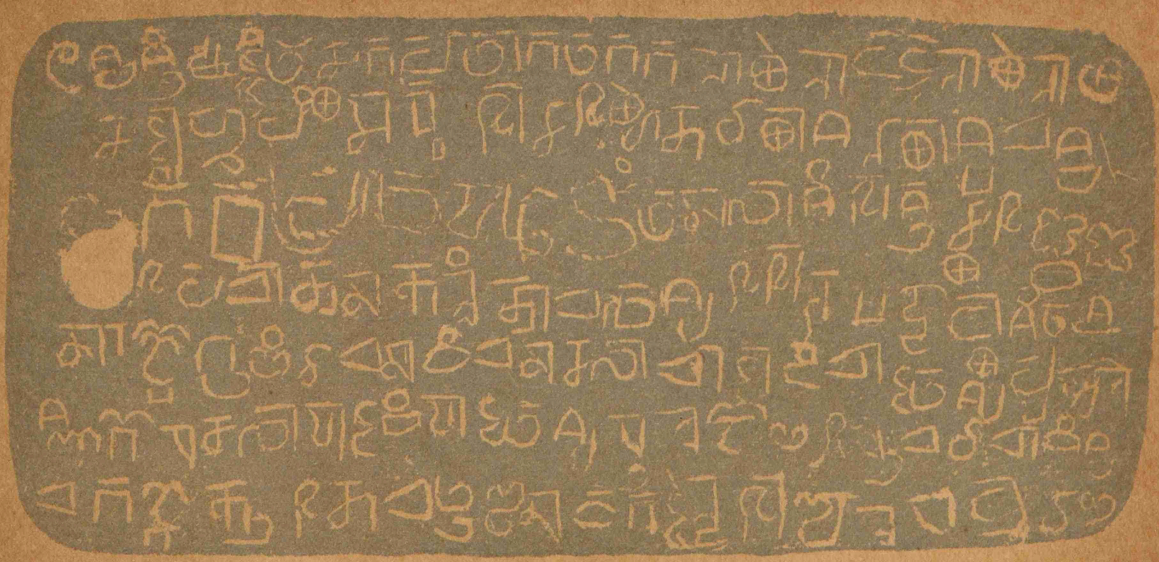
About this time the dynasty was overthrown in Maisur by the Cholas, and not long after the Hoysaḷa Ballâḷas of Dorasamudra rose to power in this country. Of the inscriptions at the foot of the statue of Gomaṭeśvara at Śrâvana Belgoḷa, one which precedes a Ballâla grant informs us that a Gañga Râja built the *sattâlayam* or enclosure. An inscription at Nirgunda, dated A.D. 1065, exhibits a Gañgarasa still retaining the sounding titles of Konguḷi Varmma Dharmma Mahârâjâdhirâja, but as a petty officer of the Hoysaḷa Ballâḷas, ruling the Arabela Seventy. About the same time the Hoysaḷa king Ereyanga assumes the name of Vîra Gañga; and Udayâditya, at first a general and then governor of Banavaṣe under the Chalukya king Bhuvanaika Malla, 1069-1076, calls himself a Gañga, "lord of Koḷâlapura (Kolâr) and Nandagiri (Nandidurga), and possessor of the elephant crest."[4]

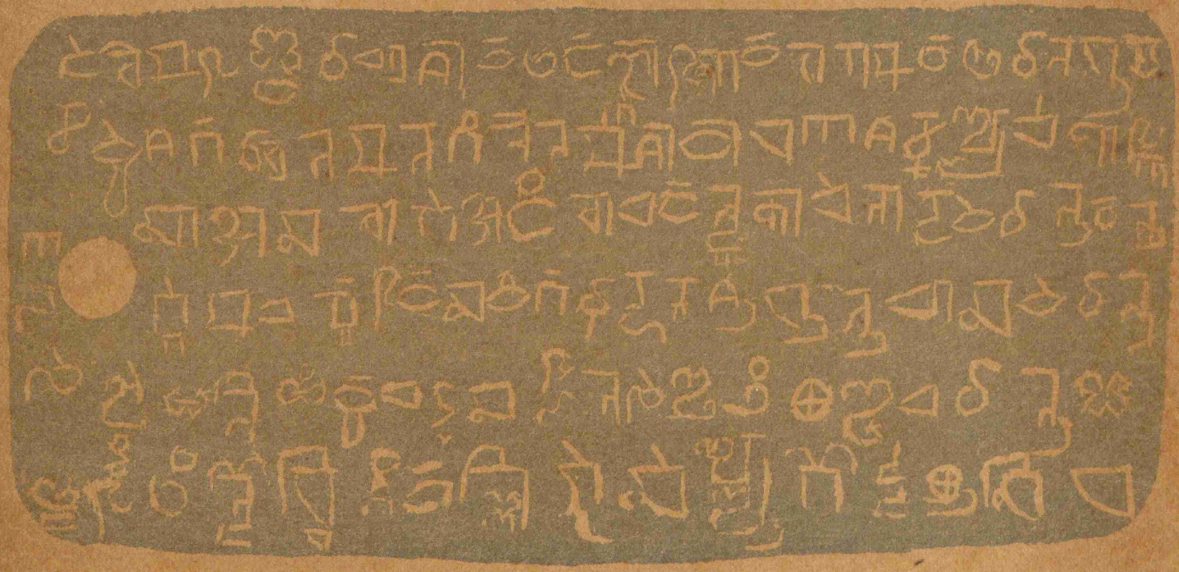
It thus appears that when the final catastrophe occurred the family dispersed to the northwards. Some members of the same line, I think it is evident, founded the Gañgâvaṁśa dynasty of Orissa, acknowledged to have come from Karṇâtaka, and also called Gajapatis or the elephant lords, which, commencing at the end of the 11th century, ruled that country till subdued by the Muhammadans in 1534. Wilson shows (*Macken. Coll.* vol. I. p. cxxxviii.) that the founder was Ananta Varmma, "also called Koḷâhala, sovereign of Gañgarâṛhi." This I am convinced should be "lord of Koḷâhala (the same as Koḷâla-pura) and sovereign of Gañgavâḍi."[5]

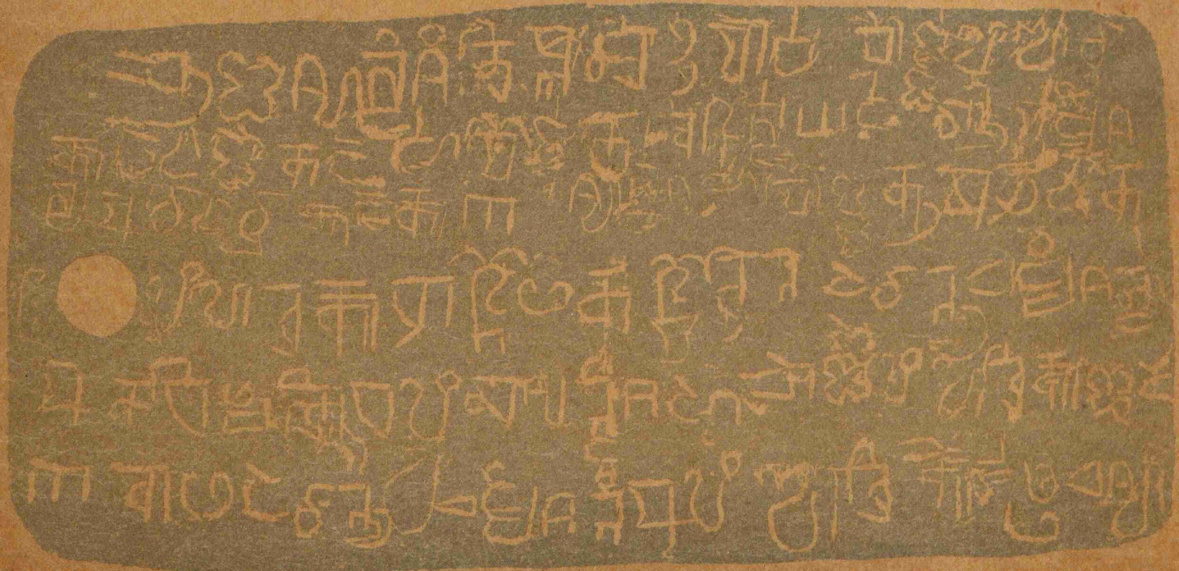
The province of Gaṅgavâḍi, or the Gaṅgavâḍi Ninety-six Thousand, occurs so frequently in the Maisur inscriptions as to be as familiar to me as the name Maisur itself. I have also determined its limits as embracing almost the whole of the southern half of Maisur westwards. It formed a principal province under

[4] Among the epithets applied to him is also *nâmniya Gaṅgâ*, 'a Gañgâ of truth,' which bears an evident reference to the title of *Satya Vâkya* given to one or two of these kings

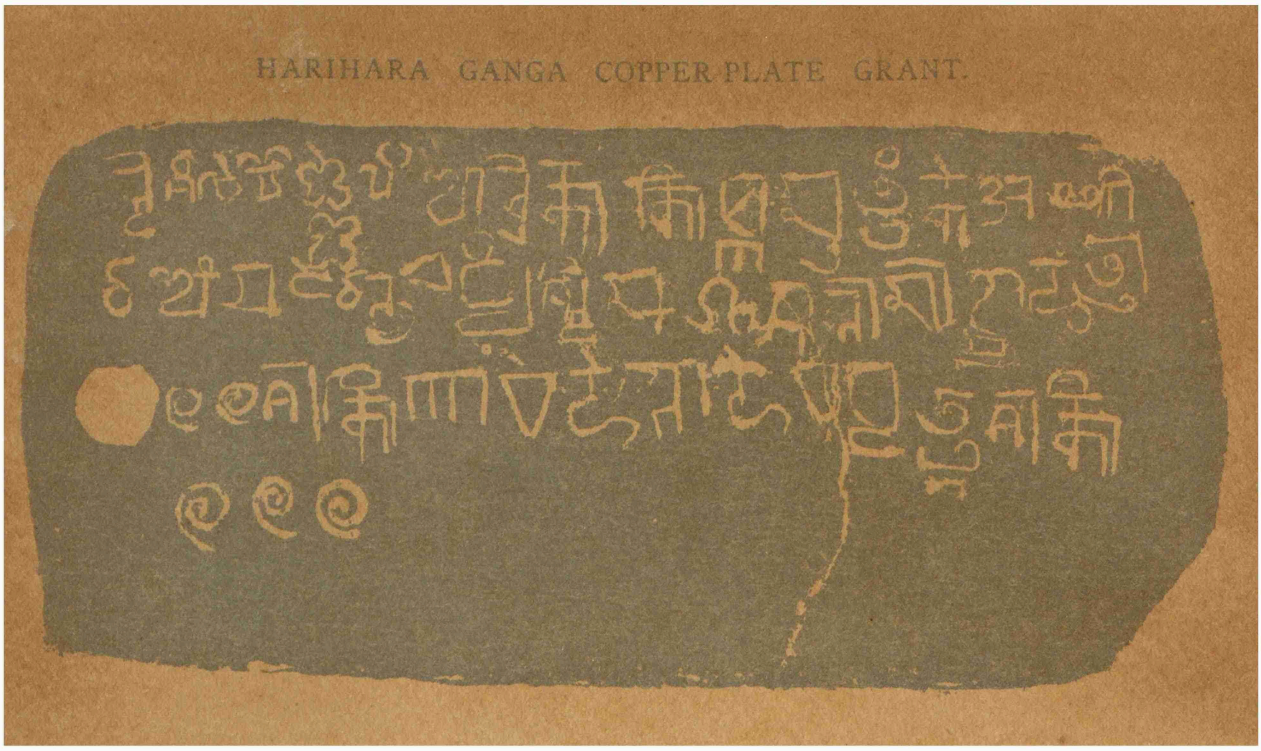
[5] It is true that Wilson seeks to bring them 'from the low country on the right bank of the Ganges, or Tamluk and Midnapur," but this is untenable in the face of the evidence we now have. Cf. Dr. Hunter's *Orissa*.







HARIHARA GANGA COPPER-PLATE GRANT.



the Gañga kings, and may be the same as the Gañgâkunḍa mentioned in the *Vikramânka Deva Charita*: the curious Begur stone in the Bangalor Museum, which may belong to the interval between the overthrow of the Gañgas and the rise of the Hoysaḷas, presents us with a king[6] ruling Gañgavâḍi as an independent sovereign (*eka chhatra chhâyeyâḷ*): an inscription at Kandeya describes the Hoysaḷas as originally kings of Gañgavâḍi; and the Gañgavâḍi Ninety-six Thousand is afterwards enumerated among the provinces of their empire. The large body of Gañgaḍikâra rayats are, it is conjectured, the old subjects of this territory.

The Gañgas eventually turn up again in their old dominions in the sixteenth century, in the persons of the Gañga Râjas of Śivasamudram, the island at the Falls of the Kâvêri, about twelve miles north-east of Talkâḍ, and the line was here extinguished in the third generation.

HARIHARA PLATES.

Transcript.

I. [7]Śvaśti * Jitam bhagavatâ gata gaganâbhenâ Padmanâbhenâ śrîmaj Jâhnaviya kuḷâmaḷa bhyomâvabhâśana bhâśkara śva khaḍa ◯ gaika prahâra khaṇḍita mahâ śilâ stambha ḷabdha ba- ◯ la parâkrama [kanni kshura * śya] ḷaḷâṭakaṭṭodbhâśita śrîmâñ Ko[n]guli Varama Dhirama mahârâjâdirâja taśya putra Viśṇu Gopa mahârâjadhirâja taśya putra Kolaḷapura varâdhiśvara Gañga kuḷa mârattaṇḍa madha gajendra ḷâ[n]chhana Padmavati
II*a*. Deviya ḷaḅdha vara praśâdha tadaṅgâḷtâda parama Talavanapura madye Śaga [* nayana gi * neyâ] Śâdhârana śammachhchharâda Palguṇa ◯ mâ amavâśe Adivâradandu Kârenâḍa Dhevanuranuḷa ◯ gge Yarakuḷadha Madhi gavuḍana śu-putta Râma Dhevanu He * ran iṛidhu Raja Maḷḷana hendati bhaṇṭar avanu bal valâtind oppiśidh allige mechhchhu gotta bhûmi pû-
II*b*. rubbaśyândiśi krishṇa mrittikâhâkorbba[8] chiñchâ vriksha taṭâkadahâkorbba kâvaḷastâṇa Devanura dviśandiya vaṭa vriksha dakshiṇaśyândiśihâkorbba kupa taṭâka ◯ chiñchâ vriksha prâḷgoḷa Kaḷkontina Devanura dviśandhiya kapit vriksha pachchimaśyândiśahârorbba chiñcha vriksha Baḍeṇavâḷa Devanûra dviśandiya chiñchâ vriksha uttaraśyâ-
III. ndiśihâkorbba chiñchâ vriksha krishṇa muttike Alaṇivañchiya Devanura dviśandiya îśânâm ânduḍuttâ.

◯ Śâkshiṇâm Eḍenâḍe Eppattga śâkshi.

Translation.

May it be well! Success through the adorable Padmanâbha, resembling (*in colour*) the cloudless sky.

A sun illumining the clear firmament of the Jâhnavi kula, of mighty valour acquired by the great pillar of stone divided with a single stroke of his sword, ... resplendent as a jewel on the forehead, was Śrîmân Kongali Varmma Dharmma mahârâjâdhirâjâ.

His son was Vishṇu Gopa mahârâjâdhirâjâ.

His son, the lord of Kolâḷapura, a sun to

[6] Named Eroyappa, and described as 'brilliant as lightning descending among the stars in the clear firmament of the world-renowned Gañga kula', by which it is perhaps to be understood that he was an usurper.

[7] Ś is used throughout for s, except in one word, *stâna*.

The sign * indicates a letter not deciphered. Words in brackets doubtful.

[8] The characters read *rôb* are precisely the same as *bbe*, but the word must be '*orbba*,' one.

the Gaṅga kula, having the sign (*or crest*) of a lusty elephant, having received a boon from the goddess Padmâvati,—in the middle of the excellent Talavanapura which he was then ruling, [in the Saga year, 'eyes' . . . . .

] the year Sâdhâraṇa, the month Phalguna, full-moon day, being Sunday,—within Devanûru in Karenâḍ,—Râma Deva, the good son of Madi Gavuḍa of the Yarakula (*caste*), having slain[9] He . . . and with great devotion conducted Râja Malla's wife and guards thither, (*he*) being pleased thereat bestowed the following land :—

The eastern boundary runs along a field of black soil, a tamarind tree and a pond, to the banyan tree at the common boundary of the guard-house and Devanûru; the southern boundary runs by the tamarind tree of the shining pond and the old watercourse to the wood-apple tree at the common boundary of Kalkonte and Devanûru; the western boundary runs by a tamarind tree to the tamarind tree at the common boundary of Badenavâla and Devanûru; the northern boundary runs by a tamarind tree and field of black soil to the common boundary of Alaṇivanchi and Devanûru, and thus ends on the north-east.

Witnesses :—He of the Eḍenâḍ Seventy, witness.

BANGALOR MUSEUM PLATES.

Transcript.

1. Jitam bhagavatâ gata ghana gaganâbhena Padmanâbhena. Śrîmaj Jâ-
Svasti. hnaveya kulâmala vyomâvabhâsana bhâskarasya svaja java ja-
ya janita janapadasya ḍâruṇâri gana raṇâlabdha (v)raṇa vi-
bhûshaṇa bhûshitasya Kânvâyanasa gotrasya śrîmat Koṅgaṇi
Varmma Dharmma mahâdhirâjasya. Putrasya pituranvâgata guṇa
II*a*. yuktasya vidyâ vinayâ. . . . . sya samya prajâ pâla matrâdhiga-
ta râjya prayojanasya vidvat kavi kañchana nikashopala bhûtasya
viśeshatopy anaviśeshasya nîti śâstrasya vaktṛi prayoktṛi kuśa-
lasya suvibhakta bhakta bhṛitya janasya dattaka sûtra vṛitti praṇaî-
na śrîmat Mâdhava mahâdhirâjya. Putrasya pitrupaitâmaha guṇa
yuktasya aneka chaturddanta yuddhâvâpta chatur udadhi salilâ-
II*b*. svâdita yaśasah sama dvirada turagâdhirohaṇâtiśayotpanna tejaso
chatur abhiyoga sampâdita sampad viśeshasya śrîmadd-Hari Varmma mahâdhirâja-
sya. Putrasya guru go brâhmaṇa pûjakasya Nârâyaṇa charanânudhyâta-
sya śrîmad Vishṇu Gopa mahâdhirâjasya. Triyambaka charanâ(m) bhoruha raja
pavitrîkritottamângasya vyâyâmodvṛitta pîna kathina bhuja dvayasya svâ bhu-
ja bala parâkrama kraya krita râjya chira pranashta deva bhoga brahmâdeyâneka sa-
hasra visarggâgrayaṇa. . . . kâriṇa parabhaya hariṇa vitata kârmuka
III*c*. ghâtikiṇa maṇih vidyottamana bhuja yugasya kumudi dalabhikara śiśira kara kiraṇa
samudaya bhavad utara yaśa pratâna vibhâsyamâna jâtah śrîmat Mâdhava mahâdhirâja-
sya. Avikalâśvamedhâvabhridâbhishiktah śrîmat Kadamba kula nabhastala gabhasti mâli-
na śrî Krishṇa Varmma mahâdhirâjasya priya bhâgineyasya jananî devatânka pariya(n)-
ka ta-
la samadhîgata râjyâbhishekasya parasparânavamarddopabhujamâna tri vargga sârasya
vidyâ vinayâti śampanna paripûtântarâtmanah aneka vara vijayopâjjita vipula yaśa
kshîrodaikârṇṇavîkṛita jaga trayasya samadana śara patana vidhura vanitâ nayana ma-
dhukara kulâkula krupâravinda jalaśayasya kavi janâgragaṇasya ati patushu
III*b*. paṭutasya śrîmat Koṅgaṇi mahâdhirâjasya. Putreṇa tad gunânugâmina pitrâpara-
suyârthe samâjjitayâpilashya sagrahanâlingita vipula vaksha stalena
vijṛimbhamâna śakti trayopanamita samanta sâmanta maṇḍalena niranta-
ra prema bahumânânurakta prakṛiti maṇḍalena niśita nistrimśa kara
karârddita bhujonmûlitâri maṇḍalena prati dinâbhivarddhyamâna purusha
vara guṇa maṇi sanâtha satvṛittâbharaṇâvabhâsyamânavapurushâ a-

[9] Literally, 'stabbed' or 'pierced.'

pariṇata vayo vilâsenâpityapariṇata satva sampadâ prîthitâneka guṇa gaṇa nidhâna bhûtena yathârha daṇḍatayânukṛita Vaivasvate-

IV*a*. na varnnâśramâbhilakshaṇa dakshiṇâ diśâbhigoptum pariyâptavatâ prâtijanatena suprajasâ parama dhârmmakena bhagavan Kamalodara charaṇanudhyâtena kim bahunâ khali yugena Yudhishṭirana śrîmatâ Kongaṇi mahârâjena âtmana pravarddhyamâna vipulaiśvarye tritiye savatsare Śrâvaṇe mâse tithâ vâma . . . syâyâ âhitâgnaye Mahâsenapura vastavyâya Vâsa Śarmmaṇe mathu. . . .

IV*b*. (*totally illegible*).

V. (*wanting*).

Translation.

May it be well! Success through the adorable Padmanâbha, resembling (*in colour*) the cloudless sky.

A sun illumining the clear firmament of the Jâhnavi kula, master of countries born from the rapidity of his own victories, adorned with the ornament of a wound obtained in war with hosts of terrible enemies, was Śrîmat Koṅgaṇi Varmma Dharmma mahâdhirâja, of the Kânvâyanasa gotra.

His son, inheriting all the qualities of his father, possessing a character for learning and modesty, having obtained the honours of the kingdom only for the good government of his subjects, a touchstone for (*testing*) gold the learned and poets, skilled among those who thoroughly expound and practise the science of politics in all its branches, preserving due distinction between friends and servants, author of a treatise on the law of adoption, was Śrîmat Mâdhava mahâdhirâjâ.

His son, possessed of all the qualities inherited from his father and grandfather, having entered into war with many elephants (*so that*) his fame had tasted the waters of the four oceans, of a glory acquired from the equal skill with which he rode on elephants and horses, of enormous wealth acquired by the practice of the four modes of policy, was Śrîmad Hari Varmma mahâdhirâjâ.

His son, devoted to the worship of *gurus*, cows and Brâhmaṇs, praising the feet of Nârâyaṇa, was Śrîmad Vishṇu Gopa mahâdhirâjâ.

His head purified by the pollen from the lotuses the feet of Tryambaka, his two arms grown stout and hard with athletic exercises, having purchased the kingdom with his personal strength and valour, the reviver of many thousands of long-ceased donations for the festivals of the gods and endowment of Brâhmaṇs, performer of the offering of firstfruits (*âgrayaṇa*), both his arms shining with the gems of hard knobs produced by the drawing of his bow for the destruction of (*or against the deer*) the fear of the enemy, his race illuminated by his great and widespread glory, was Śrîmat Mâdhava mahâdhirâja.

The beloved sister's son of Śrî Kṛishṇa Varmma mahâdhirâjâ—who, being anointed with the final ablutions of a completed *aśvamedha*, was the sun to the firmament of the auspicious Kadamba kula—having obtained his royal anointing (*or corṇation*) on the couch of the lap of his divine mother, enjoying the essence of the three objects of worldly desire without one interfering with the other, of a mind purified by the acquisition of learning and modesty, his fame acquired by the conquest of many mighty kings surrounding the three worlds like the unbroken expanse of the milk ocean, a lake to the lotus of compassion for the bees the eyes of fair women disturbed by the shower of Kâma's arrows, reckoned the highest theme of poets, the ablest among the most able, was Śrîmat Koṅgaṇi mahâdhirâjâ.

By his son, successor to the qualities of his father, his broad chest embraced by the arms of one who desired him though assigned by her father to the son of another, surrounded by bands of feudatories from all sides subjected by the growth of the three powers of increase, having parties of counsellors attached to him by constant affection and gifts, having with the sharp sword in his hand cut down the hosts of his enemies and with his arms plucked them up by the root, of a form glorious with virtue and set with the gems of the daily improving qualities of the best of men, though not matured in age yet possessed of ripe virtue, a mine of clusters of distinguished qualities, in punishing according to desert the superior of Vaivasvata, able in protecting the castes and religious orders which prevailed in the south, a

friend to all, of good descent, of the highest religious merit, praising the feet of the adorable Vishṇu,—what more? the Yudhishṭhira of the Kali yuga, Śrîmat Koṅgaṇi mahârâjâ, in the third year of the great wealth increased by himself, the month Śrâvaṇa. . . . . to the Somayâji Vâsa Śarmmaṇa, a resident of Mâhâsenapura. . . . .

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

BY M. J. WALHOUSE, LATE M.C.S.

(*Continued from* p. 129.)

No. XX.—*Trojan and Indian Prehistoric Pottery, and the Svastika symbol.*

While lately looking over the extraordinary collection of antiquities disinterred by Dr. Schliemann at Hissarlik, the supposed site of old Troy, now in the South Kensington Museum, I was struck by likenesses between some of the pottery and the earthenware found in Indian cairns. In some remarks on "Miniature and Prehistoric Pottery," chiefly from graves in Coorg, in vol. IV., pp. 12 and 13, of the *Indian Antiquary*, I have mentioned certain urns or jars standing upon three or, occasionally, four legs,—specimens are figured in the plate at the place referred to,—and observed that modern Hindu pottery is generally without feet. Indeed I knew of no other prehistoric pottery with any but the slightest indications of feet, and that very rarely. But in Dr. Schliemann's collection one is struck by the number of vessels, of all shapes and sizes, that are supported on legs. Three or four large urns, figured at pp. 152-3 of the doctor's book, *Troy and its Remains*, especially recall the legged Coorg vases, differing chiefly in the legs being longer and the bodies rounder and fuller, and moreover in being furnished with a loop-handle, a feature never seen in Indian cairn-pottery, and very rare in European. In the Trojan collection, however, legged vessels are most abundant and various in shape, and frequently have handles on one or both sides. Some of the most striking are figured at pp. 166, 229, 282, 285 of the doctor's book. Even miniature vessels no larger than coffee-cups are furnished with legs; but, as far as I could see, the number *never* exceeded three, whereas the Indian urns not unfrequently have four.[1]

Another resemblance was the large amount of miniature pottery: cups, jugs, and vases no larger than walnut-shells are exhibited in numbers; and miniature urns and utensils have also been largely found in the Coorg graves. Examples are figured in the *Indian Antiquary* above referred to, and a passage is quoted from Mr. Fergusson's *Rude Stone Monuments*, in which he observes that such miniature pottery was probably made and placed in the tombs as symbols of traditions and primeval usages that had died out. I ventured rather to dissent from this hypothesis, which hardly seems strengthened by the quantity of miniature vessels discovered in ancient Troy. They are smaller even than the Indian dwarf-ware, and their use more problematical, unless indeed they were the toys of Astyanax and his playmates! *Châṭṭis* of the true Indian form also appear in the Schliemann collection, and there is one medium-sized black *châṭṭi* perfectly corresponding with those often found in Madras cairns. There are also two or three vessels with side-spouts like that numbered 7 in the plate in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. IV. previously mentioned. Earthenware platters or saucers, so abundant in Indian cairns, are also frequent, of the same shape and size, amongst the pottery from Hissarlik, as well as heads of oxen and other animals in terra-cotta; and similar objects of the same size have been found in scores in the cairns on the Nilgiri Hills; while the quaint pieces in the Museum, termed by Dr. Schliemann "Juno and Minerva idols", strongly recall some clay figures depicted by Captain Congreve and Mr. Breeks in their works on the antiquities of the Nilgiris.

Far surpassing the rest of the fictile assemblage in bulk and height, a very Ajax Telamon in earthenware, an immense jar is conspicuous in the Museum. Nearly six feet high and tapering from the shoulders, where it is 4¾ feet across, to a point at bottom, it is marked as

[1] Vessels standing on round bottom-rims, as in modern brasns, occur in the Trojan ware,—never I think, in Indian, ancient or modern

probably a "substitute for a cellar," and considered by Dr. Schliemann to have been used as a magazine. He gives an illustration (p. 290) of a row of these colossal jars, found side by side underground, as though used for storing wine, oil, and perhaps grain. Such indeed may have been their intention. Huge jars have served such purposes in the East long before the days of Ali Baba. This Trojan example, however, reminded me of the great burial-jars often found in the south of India, which it resembled in size, shape, and general appearance. These have been lately touched upon by Bishop Caldwell in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VI. p. 279, and a further notice of them may be read in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, *N. S.* vol. VII. p. 31. I have often found them, buried with the mouths at no great depth underground, and a large flat stone laid above; they were of coarse red ware, five feet or more high, tapering to the end, and within filled with earth, and pieces of bone at the bottom. In Travankor they are said by the natives to contain the remains of virgins sacrificed by râjas, on the boundaries of their estates, to protect them and confirm their engagements. Near Chaughât a large vault was found full of these jars, which recalls the row of jars underground depicted in Dr. Schliemann's book. Upon this subject, and with reference also to Bishop Caldwell's remark that from the smallness of the mouths of the urns it would seem the bodies must have been put in piece-meal, I beg to subjoin a curious communication which appeared in the *Athenæum* in February 1876, and shows that the idea of burying in earthenware vessels was not unknown in Rome:—

"I cannot yet state anything definitely about the beautiful ruins found in the 'Villa Aldobrandini,' for their name, their destination, is still a mystery to the topographers. I shall simply mention, as a matter of curiosity, the discovery of a common wine *amphora* of terra-cotta, which had been used as a receptacle for a human skeleton of mature age. As the orifice of the jar was simply three inches in diameter, the different parts of the body, and especially the largest bones, had been cut, and forced through the opening. This strange process had certainly some connexion with sorcery, or rather with the superstitions of the lower classes in the fifth and sixth centuries; for I have gathered myself among the bones one of those thin rolled sheets of lead containing a formula of imprecation on a matter of love. The document, written in Greek, has not yet been deciphered, and probably will not be, owing to the corrosion of the lead, but there is scarcely any doubt of its design. This reminds me of the discovery related by Count Caylus—a discovery of the same nature, but on a gigantic scale. About the middle of the last century, he says, under the walls of the Pincio, facing the Villa Borghese, a subterranean corridor was found containing some thousand *amphoræ* still fixed in the earth. In each was the most strange collection of objects—human bones mixed with those of horses, oxen, and monkeys, teeth, lizards, coils of serpents, and small hands of wax. No satisfactory explanation has ever been given of this discovery, and I hope that the recent instances of the same kind will turn the attention of the archæologist towards the study of this very peculiar ancient custom."

Lastly, the extraordinary frequency with which the Svastika symbol 卐 appears on the Trojan prehistoric pottery gave occasion to Dr. Schliemann obtaining a remarkable and striking communication from the distinguished Orientalist E'mile Burnouf, author of *La Science des Religions*," &c., which he prints in the earlier part of his book. M. Burnouf holds that this mysterious and much-debated symbol is intended to denote the invention of the fire-drill, and preserve the sacred remembrance of the discovery of fire by rotating a peg in dry wood. It represents, according to him, the two pieces of wood laid cross-wise, one upon another, before the sacrificial altar, in order to produce the holy fire. The ends of the cross were fixed down by arms, and at the point where the two pieces are joined there was a small hole in which a wooden peg or lance (*pramantha*, whence the myth of Prometheus the fire-bearer) was rotated by a cord of cow-hair and hemp till the sacred spark was produced. The invention of the fire-drill would doubtless mark an epoch in human history. Mr. Tylor, in his *Early History of Mankind*, has largely shown its use at some period in every quarter of the globe, and it is conceivable that its invention would be commemorated by a holy symbol.

But in the *Athenæum* of 12th January last[2] Mr. Hodder Westropp altogether discredits the origin assigned to the symbol by M. Burnouf, and considers the Greek archaic cross, as he terms it, to have been evidently derived from the punch marks on early Greek coins, which marks were originally composed of four small squares, ⊞, the centre assuming the form of a cross; but in the stamping of the coin the squares went a little on one side, and made the punch mark take the shape of the archaic cross 卐, so found on old Greek coins, and thence adopted as an ornamental device on early Greek pottery, as in Samos, Cyprus, and Hissarlik. Mr. Westropp goes on to remark that the Indian or Buddhist *svastika* is almost invariably drawn 卍, the reverse of the Greek archaic cross, and is a monogram or character composed, as General Cunningham has pointed out, of two Pâli characters, signifying 'it is well.' As a Buddhist emblem it cannot be older than the 6th century B.C., Buddha having died about 480 B.C., and the earliest Buddhist monuments are placed by Mr. Fergusson at about 250 B.C.

There appears, however, reason to think that on the first appearance of the symbol in Europe it was used not merely as an ornament, but as an emblem peculiar to some deity, generally connected with the air, or sometimes water; Mr. Newton of the British Museum designated it the Mæander, and considered it emblematical of water. Its first appearance is on the pottery of archaic Greece, as on that in the British Museum ascribed to between the years 700 and 500 B.C., and now on that disinterred by Dr. Schliemann on the site of Troy. On all this pottery and on its earliest examples the sign occurs profusely, and is found drawn *both* ways, occurring so on the same archaic Greek urn in the British Museum; hence the distinction made by Mr. Westropp between the Greek and Buddhist forms hardly seems tenable, especially as it is found drawn both ways in India, as well as all over Europe. As an emblem it appears to have been associated with the Sky-god Zeus, the chief deity of the archaic Greeks, and to have symbolized his thunderbolt, as subsequently in Scandinavia it was called the hammer of the Thunder-god Thor,—nor is this the only indication of a common origin of the early Greeks and Norse. After the 6th century it disappears from Greek earthenware, and is found on early Latin, Etruscan, and Sicilian ornaments, coins, and pottery, as well as in Asia Minor and North Africa, especially where there had been Phœnician colonies. It is remarkable that the symbol is not found on Egyptian, Babylonian, or Assyrian remains: crosses are frequent, but not the *svastika*; neither does it occur on Mexican monuments.

In the museums of Sweden and Denmark there are several hundred gold *bracteates*, which appear to have been worn as amulets or medals, and, according to Professor Stephens of Copenhagen, belong almost without exception to the heathen period of Scandinavia, ranging from the 3rd or 4th to the 7th or 8th century of our era. They are mostly after Byzantine models, and many of them have a marked Indian character. They frequently bear the *svastika*, drawn both ways, and Professor Stephens remarks that in the earliest runes the letter G is drawn thus 卐, and appears so on grave-slabs in Denmark of the 8th or 9th century. He also calls attention to the resemblance between the runes and the Himyaritic alphabet, used in Arabia during the first six centuries. A character, 卐, nearly resembling the runic G, occurs in a Pâli inscription, and reversed, 卍, in a rock-inscription at Salsette: see *Jour. R. As. Soc.* vol. XX. page 250, &c.

In the Roman Catacombs the *svastika* occurs not unfrequently, so placed as to have been then evidently adopted as a Christian symbol, and is seen in Roman mosaic work in England, France, Spain, and Algeria. It is abundant on pottery, ornaments, and weapons of Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon times, and of corresponding periods in Scotland, Germany, Switzerland, and Denmark. A sepulchral urn found at Shropham, Norfolk, and another preserved at Cambridge, bear the *svastika* in continuous lines; the latter urn is peculiarly interesting as exhibiting the symbol surrounded by almost every other device of cross, circle, and solar emblems, and occupying, as it were, the place of honour. As Christianity spread the *svastika* disappears, and when found again has been adopted as a Christian device. It is so used in heraldry, where it is termed the *croix cram*

[2] Reprinted *ante*, p. 119.—ED.

ponne. Planché, in his *Pursuivant of Arms*, says of it: "It is a mystic figure called in the Greek Church *gammadion*. It is very early seen in heraldry, and appeared in the paintings in the old palace of Westminster. Its signification is at present unknown." It was constantly introduced in ecclesiastical vestments, and, doubtless with a belief in its talismanic efficacy, is often found on ancient bells in parish churches,—so keeping up its connection with the air, our forefathers, firmly believing that demons—the 'powers of the air'—were driven away by the clang of church bells. In our own day it has become a favourite ornamental device,—we may be sure with no thought of symbolism,—and the archæologist returning from India may observe it covering ceilings, cornices, fenders, and other iron-work.

In India the *svastika* is found on Buddhist coins referred by Mr. E. Thomas to about 330 B.C., and also appears in Prinsep's engravings of Hindu coins. It is a sacred Buddhist emblem in Tibet, is the *chinha* or device of Supârśva, the seventh Tîrthaṅkara of the Jains,[3] and is said to be used by the Vaishṇavas also as a mark on their sacred jar. (Moor's *Hindu Pantheon*.) But probably its most remarkable existing use is in China and Japan, respecting which we will quote a passage from a very interesting article on Japanese Heraldry in Volume V. of the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, premising that heraldry has existed in Japan from a period far earlier than 900 A.D., and every *daimiô* family had its own cognizances. At page 12 we read that the *svastika* "is the *Manji* badge of the Hachisuka family, Daimiôs of Ava, sometimes drawn 卍, and sometimes, but less frequently, 卐. It is taken from a Chinese character meaning 'ten thousand,' and is a Buddhist symbol supposed to be emblematic of good luck. It is frequently to be seen on Buddhist temples as a sign of Fudô Sama, or 'the motionless Buddha.' It is often marked upon the lids of coffins, being supposed to act as a charm to protect the corpse against the attack of a demon in the shape of a cat, called *Kin'asha*, which is said to seize and mangle the dead bodies of human beings." In China it is common, enters largely into ornament, and is often worn as a charm. It is curious indeed to find the same symbol used with a mystic meaning both in English and Japanese heraldry, and, for the same office of repelling demons, on Japanese coffins and English church-bells! But, whatever may have been the origin of this most archaic and wondrously wide-spread symbol, there seems little to support the theories of Messrs. Emile Burnouf and Westropp. Mr. E. Thomas (*Jour. R. As. Soc. N.S.* Vol. I. p. 486) thinks it may have been a mere ornamental variation of the simple cross, that might have suggested itself anywhere, without any definite meaning, but singular enough in outline to attract professors of magic and cabalistic rites. Still this hardly explains its adoption in countries so widely separated as Norway and Japan, and its strange defect in the far older intermediate lands of Egypt and Mesopotamia, the very nurseries of magic and mysticism.

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

PÂRSÎ FUNERAL AND INITIATORY RITES.

SIR,—Allow me to correct a few errors in the valuable paper that appears in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VI. pp. 311-315, on "Pârsî funeral and initiatory rites, and the Pârsî religion," by Prof. Monier Williams.

It appears that the learned professor was wrongly informed that the priestly race among the Pârsîs is divided into three classes of Dasturs, Mobeds, and Herbads. Herbad, or Erwad (ઇરવદ) as it is more commonly called, is no separate division of priests, but a mere generic term for Dasturs and Mobeds. The title of Herbad is affixed to the name of one who has passed the Nâvar ceremony, to distinguish him from Ostâ (ઓસતા or non-Herbad. Thus, a Dastur as well as a Mobed is a Herbad, which is not, as Professor Williams says, the name of the lowest order of priests. Pârsîs are divided into Herbad and Ostâ, according as they have or have not performed the ceremony called *Nâvar* (નાવર). Again, Herbads are either Dasturs or Mobeds by virtue of their office, the former being superior to the latter.[1] But these divisions do not engender any

[3] Poor worshippers in Jaina temples may often be seen laying down a few grains of rice before the image, and arranging them into the form of the *svastika* while repeating a *mantra*.—ED.

[1] Some Herbads are neither Dasturs nor Mobeds, for they do not choose to enter the holy order.

difference in civil or social rights, as is the case among the Hindus. Females are all Ostâ. They cannot be Herbad so long as they are not eligible to the holy order.

In another place the learned writer confounds the corpse-bearers with Nasasâlârs. The former are called Khândhiâs (ખાંધિયા), from *khândh*, meaning 'a shoulder,' and their office is to carry the bier on their shoulders from the door of the deceased's house to that of the Tower of Silence. They are held inferior to Nasasâlârs, who cannot strictly be called corpse-bearers.

When a Pârsi dies the Nasasâlârs bring an empty bier from the *Nasânkhând* (નસાનખાના)—a house where they and Khândhiâs are required to be present to attend any instantaneous call for service—to the house of the deceased. An hour before starting for the Tower, they enter the room where the body is deposited on a smooth slab of stone. The Nasasâlârs take up the body from the slab and place it on the bier, which then rests on the slab. Then, after the Mobeds have chanted some prayers, the Nasasâlârs remove the bier to the entrance door of the house, where the Khândhiâs wait to receive it. This delivered, the Nasasâlârs, who are always two, except when the corpse is very heavy, walk with the bier, one on each side to the door of the Tower. Here the Nasasâlârs again receive the bier and carry it into the inner part of the Tower. The Khândhiâs are on no occasion permitted to enter the Tower. None but Nasasâlârs can do so. The Khândhiâs are "well cared for and well paid;" but to say that they "are not associated with by the rest of the community" is far from true. They associate freely with the rest of the Pârsîs, can reside in the same house with them, can eat at the same table—in fact there is nothing to prevent them from so associating with the other members of the community.

Prof. Williams considers feeding the dog with bread a part of the ceremony called *Sag-dîd*. In this also he is mistaken. The ceremony of *Sag-dîd* is nothing more than showing the corpse to any dog, and not necessarily a white one or a 'four-eyed' one. The very etymology of the word fully explains the ceremony. It is derived from Persian *sag*, meaning 'a dog,' and *dîd*, from *dîdan*, 'to see.'

Again, "the fire sanctuary of the *sagri*," as the writer says, "has a window or aperture so arranged that when the sacred fire is fed with sandalwood fuel by the veiled priest, just before the corpse-bearers enter the Tower, a ray from the flame may be projected over the dead body at the moment of its exposure." This is not correct. With no such design is the *sagri* built. The professor himself admits that "a ray from the sacred fire had barely opportunity to fall on the corpse at all."

The bread with which the so-called funeral dog is fed is supposed by Prof. Williams to be a substitute for the flesh of the dead body. Here, too, he is mistaken. Nowhere even in the whole of the *Zand Avastâ* is bread ever supposed to be a substitute for the flesh. To feed a dog at the Tower of Silence is a practice sanctioned by convention, rather than by religion. Of all animals the dog is most dear to the Pârsîs, on account of its undeviating faithfulness, and consequently they keep up the practice of feeding a dog as almost a sacred obligation.

In another place the learned professor has said that the soul of the deceased man is supposed to hover about in a restless state for the three days immediately succeeding death, in the neighbourhood of the *dakhmas*. This is not quite correct. Only the soul of a sinful man is supposed to do so.

Again, it is not necessary that the initiatory ceremonies on admitting a young boy into the Pârsi religion should take place in a fire-temple. For this purpose, a private dwelling is as good as a fire-temple. Nor is it necessary that the ceremony should be performed by a Dastur presiding over several Mobeds. In many cases, when the parents are not well off, only one or two Mobeds perform the ceremony.

About the bull whose urine is drunk at the initiatory ceremony I have to add that the bull is called *Varasîo* (વરસીઓ), and must be of a white colour: if a single hair on its body be found other than white, the animal is rejected as unfit for the purpose. I will conclude with the remark that I cannot discover what Prof. Williams means by "the *second* shirt."

SORÂBJI KÂVASJI KHAMBÂTÂ.

ŚAKA AND SAṀVAT DATES.

SIR,—Some authorities give 79 A. D., and some give 78 A.D., as the date of commencement of the *Śaka* era; and similarly the *Saṁvat* era of Vikramâditya is by some dated from 57 B.C., and by some from 56 B.C. Which is the correct date in each case, and why?

2. What is the correct method for converting *Saṁvat* and *Śaka* dates into years A. D.? Ordinarily the conversion is made by simply adding 57 (56), or subtracting 79 (78), to or from the date A.D., as the case may be; but, since the *Saṁvat*. *Śaka*, and *Christian* years do not begin on the same day, I do not understand how the ordinary simple method can be correct.

3. What rules fix the day on which the *Saṁvat* and *Śaka* years respectively should begin?

4. Does a year *Śaka* comprise the same number of days as a year *Saṁvat?* and what is the exact length of a *Saṁvat* year?

V. A. SMITH.

Hamîrpur, N.W.P., 22nd April 1878.

The Hindu Śaka year is properly sidereal, commencing with the sun's entry into the sign Mêsha or Aries, and, as its length is 365 days 6 hours 12·6 minutes, its commencement moves very slowly forward on the European solar year. Thus the epoch of the Śaka era was 14th March 78 A.D., but the sun's entrance into Mêsha now falls on the 11th or 12th April, so that the Śaka year 1800 began on Thursday, 11th April 1878,—the sidereal year having gained 28 days on the solar one in 1800 years.

From this it will be seen that, for the approximate conversion of a date,—if it fall within the first three months of the Christian year,—we find the Śaka year by subtracting 79; if in the last nine months, by subtracting 78. The first nine months of the Śaka year correspond to the last nine in the Christian, and the last three in the former to the first three in the succeeding year of the latter reckoning, making the approximate equation to the Śaka era + 78¼ to bring it to the Christian date.

The Saṁvat year is reckoned exclusively by the Chandra-mâna or luni-solar system, and over Northern India begins with the new-moon which immediately precedes the sun's entrance into Mêsha. But, as twelve lunar months (354 days 8 hours 48½ minutes) fall about 11 days short of the sidereal year, an intercalary or 'lound' month is supplied, on a particular principle, about thrice in eight years—making such years consist of 383 days 21 hours 32½ minutes. The epoch of this era was the new-moon of March 57 B.C., whence its equation is — 56¾; or we subtract 56 from the Saṁvat date during the first nine or ten months of the year, but 57 during the last two, to obtain the year A.D.

In Gujarât and south of the Narmadâ, however, the year commences with the new-moon of Kârttika (Oct.-Nov.), whence we have an equation of — 56¼; or we subtract 57 from Saṁvat dates falling in the months of Kârttika, Mârgaśîrsha, and part of Pausha (to 31st Dec.), but 56 for dates falling within all other Hindu months, in order to obtain the Christian year, and *vice versâ*. For fuller information on details Warren's *Kâla-Sankalita*, Jervis's *Weights and Measures of India, &c.*, Prinsep's *Useful Tables*, and Cowasjee Patell's *Chronology* may be consulted.—ED.

ASSYRIAN DRESS ILLUSTRATED BY THAT OF THE HINDUS.

In reading lately Rawlinson's *Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient World* I came across a passage describing the dress of the Assyrian foot archers (vol. I. p. 430), part of which is as follows:—

"Their only garment is a tunic of the scantiest dimensions, beginning at the waist, round which it is fastened by a broad belt or girdle descending little more than half-way down the thigh. In its make it sometimes closely resembles the tunic of the first period, but more often it has the peculiar pendent ornament which has been compared to the Scotch phillibeg (*Layard's Nineveh and its Remains*, vol. II. p. 336), and which will here be given that name."

On this passage I would observe, firstly, that 'tunic' is a misnomer as applied to the garment in question, as the word is more properly used of a garment covering the body, whereas the article of dress in the illustration is fastened round the waist and falls over the thighs. Secondly, I think that any resident of India, looking at the illustration given on the page from which the quotation is taken, would at once remark the similarity of the archer's solitary garment to the Indian *dhoti*. For those readers who have not been in this country, I may explain that the *dhoti* consists of a strip of cotton cloth wound round the waist, the outer extremity being gathered into a thick fold or pleat, of which one end is tucked into the cloth that has been passed round the waist, while the rest of the fold hangs down in front or at the side, looking exactly like the so-called 'ornament' which is supposed to resemble a Scotch phillibeg The same pendent fold is to be seen in the illustrations on pp. 436 and 477 of the same volume.—E. W. W.

ARCHÆOLOGY IN JAPAN.

Japan has an active archæological society, bearing the title of Kobutzu Kai (Society of Old Things). Its members, numbering 200, are scattered throughout the land, but meet once a month in Yeddo. They consist chiefly of wealthy Japanese gentlemen, learned men, and priests; the latter especially have been the means of bringing before public attention a vast number of ancient objects which have been hidden in the treasures of the temples, or preserved in private families. H. von Siebold, Attaché of the Austrian Embassy at Yeddo, and a member of the society, has lately published a *brochure* which will serve as a guide for the systematic archæological study of the land. Von Siebold has lately made a most interesting discovery of a prehistoric mound at Omuri, near Yeddo, containing over 5,000 different articles in stone, bronze, &c. In a recent communication

to the Berlin *Anthropologische Gesellschaft*, he describes the origin of the terra-cotta images found in old Japanese burial-grounds. It appears that up to the year 2 B.C. it was the custom to surround the grave of a dead emperor or empress with a number of their attendants, buried alive up to their necks, their heads forming a ghastly ring about the burial spot. At the date referred to, the custom was abolished, and the living offerings were replaced by the clay figures which have hitherto attracted so much attention.—*Nature.*

'CONTRACTED BURIALS.'

With regard to the remarks at page 46 of the current volume on the practice of contracted burials existing amongst the Abors of the Brahmaputra valley, where the dead are placed in very small graves in a sitting posture, it may be noted that Herodotus (IV. 190) reports that in his time "all the Libyan Nomads, except the Nasamonians, bury their dead sitting, as the Greeks do." This is curiously confirmed by the researches of Dr. Schliemann at Mycenæ, who found skeletons compressed into extremely narrow graves—not, he thinks, as some have surmised, by way of insult, though it is difficult to conceive the cause, as there was no apparent necessity for such a habit. However, in pre-historic interments both in Great Britain and Germany, bodies are not unfrequently found in large graves placed on one side, or huddled up in a corner, in sitting postures—certainly through no lack of space. Bodies, too, are frequently found in roomy barrows compressed into "the attitude of one who curls himself up to sleep," and it has also been proved that bodies were placed in the contracted position for burning, as well as for burial. If the Abors of the Brahmaputra have any reason, traditional or otherwise, for their custom of putting their dead 'trussed up,' face and knees together, in such small graves, it might throw some light on the origin of this very wide-spread, ancient, and unintelligible practice. Perhaps some archæologist, who has an opportunity, might inquire.—W.

BOOK NOTICES.

THE HISTORY OF INDIA as told by its own historians: the posthumous papers of the late Sir H. M. Elliot, K.C.B., edited and continued by Prof. John Dowson, M.R.A.S., Staff College, Sandhurst. Vol. VIII. London: Trubner & Co., 1877.

The volume before us completes one of the most valuable contributions ever made to Oriental science. Eleven years, says Professor Dowson, have now passed since he took up the work of editing Sir Henry Elliot's reliques.

The labours of his predecessors in possession of those papers, though not without value, were unimportant as compared with what remained to do; for the MSS. left by Sir Henry were quite insufficient for the accomplishment of his great design. The labours of the editor, therefore, have been to a great degree original; and he is entitled to far greater credit than might be supposed from the title of the work.

This, as it now stands, contains at least a notice of every Muhammadan chronicle relating to India known to be worth the trouble of opening, with extracts of greater or less bulk from most; so that the student is not only presented with a tolerably complete History of India from the Musulmân point of view and knowledge, but is also furnished with a valuable guide for individual research. It to be regretted, indeed, that in a work with such a title there should be no extract from any Hindu or Buddhist author writing in his own sacred or vulgar tongue,—*e.g.* the *Mahâvaṁso* or the *Râjataraṅgiṇî*:—and still more that the arrangement of the extracts is sometimes confusing; though this latter fault is to a certain extent remedied by the excellent double Index which accompanies the present concluding volume. This contains also the Musulmân authorities for the decline and fall of the Mughal Empire (some of the writers are Hindus, but they all affect the style of Islâm). The decay of literary power was, unfortunately, as marked at this period as that of political and military talent; and the best of the later native chronicles, the *Siyaru'l muta akhkhirin*, is excluded from the volume, because it was impossible to devote much space to a work, however excellent, which is elsewhere attainable to the student. Probably the most interesting extracts given are those relating to the miseries suffered by the last puppet emperors before our entry into Delhi, those showing the native opinion of the invading English and French, and the accounts of the last battle of Panipat. None of these equal in value that of "Kasi Rai," in the *Asiatic Researches*, but several of them confirm it, and mention the writer in terms which show that he has not at all exaggerated his own opportunities of observation.[1]

Oriental students will be glad to hear that Prof. Dowson has been commissioned to supplement the valuable work now completed by two volumes on the southern Musulmân states of Bîjâpur, Ahmadnagar, &c., and we may express the hope that those possessed of rare MS. histories of any of the Bahmani dynasties will communicate with him respecting them.

[1] Prof. Dowson, under one of these accounts, devotes a note (p. 154) to Ibrâhîm Khân Gârdi, and quotes (it does not appear from where) a statement that that commander "in times of yore ran with a stick in his hand before the palankin of M. de Bussy" at Pondicherry. Unless this means that he was a *chobdâr*, or mace-bearer, an office of considerable respectability, it is probably incorrect, as Ibrâhim was a Sayad. His family still hold a small *jâghir* near Punâ, and are highly respected. Prof. Dowson rightly derives the word *Gârdi* from 'guard,' but does not seem to know that it is still in occasional use, and so derived by natives.

NOTES ON THE HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF CHAUL AND BASSEIN, by J. Gerson da Cunha, M.R.C.S., &c., &c. Bombay: Thacker, Vining, & Co.

"Save me from my friends," says a Spanish proverb, with which Dr. Da Cunha, as a member of a kindred race, is doubtless acquainted, and which must have recurred to him pretty often since the demand for his monographs upon the two most ancient ports of the North Konkan induced him (as he tells us in his preface) to unite them in a serious volume, apparently with some slight alterations, and the addition of 26 illustrations and a map. The result is that we have, in an unhandy and costly volume, a large amount of information upon the cities of Chaul and Bassein, "and the domains which there adjacent lie," which would have been far more convenient to the few inquirers interested in the matter in the form of two octavo pamphlets. The illustrations might well have been left out. The photographs, as Dr. Da Cunha seems to be aware, are execrable; the engravings mostly very little better; and the map, with its orthography of no system (and generally different from that used in the body of the work), and its scanty and incorrect topography, is, if possible, worse; and there is no index.

The public (of Bombay at least) has heard so much, and yet so little that was pleasant, of Dr. Da Cunha's method of using his authorities, that we would not willingly enter upon the subject if we were not forced to do so by the fact that we have ourselves been worse handled by him than almost anybody else. A writer on scientific subjects necessarily, and by his own act of publication, places his ideas or opinions (let the value of the same be more or less) at the disposal of other inquirers; and a compiler who does not quote authorities wrongs rather his readers than his informants, though his conduct is reprehensible enough. But when the *ipsissima verba* of any writer are used by another, the former is entitled, by the courtesy of letters, to inverted commas and a marginal citation; nor is his right to be avoided by a mere mutilation or paraphrase of the passage. Of this rule, we regret to say, Dr. Gerson da Cunha is either ignorant or negligent. To quote one instance out of many, an editorial note has been bodily 'conveyed,' *including a misprint*, from *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 182, to his p. 88,[1] and enriched with a pleonasm, but acknowledged in no way whatever.

There is some pleasure in turning from the demerits of an old contributor to his virtues, and there is no doubt that Dr. Da Cunha's work is a better guide to the Portuguese remains around Bombay than any other yet accessible. He troubles himself little with the Hindu period, of which we have, indeed, no very authentic records. The name of Bassein we know to have been from its earliest mention Wasai, which title it retains in modern Marâṭhi. Nor does it appear at an earlier period to have been so well known or prosperous as might be expected from its position.[2] Chaul, on the other hand, has been known for about two hundred years as a great port, and apparently always under its present name. Dr. Da Cunha speaks of "the ancient city of Chaul, now called Rewadanda"; but the fact is that Chaul is still a recognized name for the whole ancient city, which encloses two sides of Rewadanda, as the sea does the other two, and is now chiefly covered with palm gardens. The relation between the two would seem in their best days to have been that of London in general to the parts 'below bridge.'

Chaul, says our author (restricting the name to the parts without Portuguesified Rewadanda), was originally called Champawati. Be this as it may, the Greek name was certainly Simylla[3]; the modern Marâṭhi name (चवल) is (Jonesically transliterated) Chenwal: the local pronunciation may be best phoneticized to the English ear as 'Tsemwŭl'. It is impossible to conceive a modern Greek getting much nearer to the native orthoëpy than by using his ancestors' phrase; and the later writers who called it Chivil, Chivel, Cheul, &c., as exhaustively enumerated by Dr. Da Cunha, were evidently all aiming at the same pronunciation, and led Colonel Yule to an identification of which there can now be no doubt.[4] The second syllable, *wal* or *wali*, is

[1] Our note runs as follows:—"* * * * * A very large gun is said to have been given by the English Government to the Habshi of Zinjira from the Pusauti Burj or S.E. Bastion. The Pâtîl family of Korlé still worship the remaining guns once a year," &c. Dr. da Cunha inserts 'as a present' after 'given'. Pusauti is a printer's-devilry for Pusauti

[2] Probably deeper water then rendered Thâṇê and Kalyân more approachable. Dr. Da Cunha falls into the common error of attributing the gradual shoaling of their approaches to 'silt'. But the fact is that the constant encroachment of man on the Koṅkan creeks has a tendency to narrow the channel, create '*scours*,' and prevent 'silt.' We have no scientific records as to the rise of the west coast by upheaval, though observations are now in progress; but that excellent observer Mr. Thomas, late Collector of Malabar (in his work on Indian angling), and most coast officers, believe in it. From a letter of Mr. Farmer, Bo. C.S., dated from Poona, and quoted by Grant Duff, vol II p. 348, it may be concluded that about 1790 Chaul bar had 4 fathoms of water. Horsburgh in 1817 gives 3 only; and we think the present depth is 2½ *on rock*.

[3] Cl. Ptolem. *Geog.* VII. i. 6, VIII. xxvi. 3, and I. xvii. 3, 4. In the latter place, speaking of the mistakes of Marinus, Ptolemy says: "He places Simylla (τὰ Σίμυλλα), a seaport and commercial city of India, to the west, not only of Cape Komara, but even of the river Indus. Yet that city is mentioned only as south of the mouths of that river by those who have sailed to that country and spent much time there in those parts, and by those who have returned we have been informed that the natives call it Timûla (Τίμουλα)."—ED.

[4] See *Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. p. 282.

common in the nomenclature of Western India, as 'Virâwal,' 'Bhusâwal,' 'Lâkiwli,' &c., and apparently means 'a street of huts.' The first or characteristic syllable is more mysterious, but our author's conjecture that it designates "Chinna Deva Śilahâra" is as unlikely a derivation as is possible to conceive, seeing Chhittadêva (as his name is now properly deciphered) lived long after the name had become well-known. 'Choul' is modern 'Cheechee' language, and it is most unfortunate that this 'pigeon' term should have been selected for 'Hunterization' and official and scholastic use as 'Chaul.'

Dr. Da Cunha, however, as we have said, troubles himself comparatively little about the early Hindu period, and, indeed, is hardly the safest guide upon it. For instance, on the authority (apparently) of the Bhândûp plates, he says that the Śilâhâra family reigned '*at* Śri Sthânaka,' which, as far as nomenclature can be trusted, must be the modern Ṭhâṇê or Tanna, the capital of the island of Salsette. Now there is no evidence in the plates that they reigned *at* Śri Sthânaka at all, but merely *over* it; and the grantee is called sôvereign of 1,400 villages'; whereas Salsette or Shaṭshashṭi seems never to have contained more than 66 (as its name implies), so that it was but a small part of his dominions, and Ṭhâṇê was but the head-quarters of the sub-division in which the grant was made; strictly analogous are the cases of the Portuguese and English, under both of whom grants have been made of land in Salsette by authorities not ruling in Ṭhâṇâ, in which the latter refer, like the old copper-plate grantors, to the local authorities of Ṭhâṇâ. The conjecture therefore taken up by Dr. DaCunha, that Puri, which the Śilâhâra plates mention as their capital, was Thâṇâ, 'the capital *par excellence*,' has no foundation; and, as most authories are agreed in the opinion that Ghârapuri, 'Elephanta,' never can have been the site of a capital city, Râjapûri, which was, within our own days at least, the capital of a tâlukâ in the North Konkaṇ, under the Marâthâs and English, may be taken as the most likely place, the more so as there is some shadow of royalty hanging about the name.[5]

A still more obvious improbabability attaches to the identification (p. 167) of Kalyâṇ in the Konkaṇ with the capital of "Râja Bhuvar the Solankhi, in the year of Vikrama 752", derived from the *Ratnamâlâ*. Surely Dr. DaCunha knows that the name of the royal Solankhi race conjures up no memories of the western sea-board.[6] Similarly the observations on cave-temples at p. 255, and particularly the use of the name 'Vira Chola' for Elûra, rest on obsolete surmises of Dr. Wilson's, and are of no value.

Leaving, however, this ground, we come to the Portuguese period, in respect to which, probably, Dr. Da Cunha's opportunities are only equalled by those of some of the Catholic clergy, one of whom, we believe, assisted him somewhat in his labours. It is a pity that none of the reverend Fathers of the Company of Jesus have as yet favoured us with any treatise upon subjects which must be amply treated of in their own archives. For there is no chronicle of Portuguese India which does not bear witness to the unceasing activity of the Paulistines (Indian Jesuits), and even now their position in the Presidency of Bombay is one which must give every opportunity for research.

An error may be noted at p. 181, where our author quotes (without acknowledgment) from this journal certain fortifications near Bhivaṇḍi as 'built by the Portuguese at Ṭhâṇâ.' They are ten miles from that place, and stand to it as Kars or Batoum, and not as the castles of the Dardanelles, do to Constantinople. It is quite evident the doctor has either not seen them, or not studied military engineering and topography. The forts built 'at Ṭhâṇâ' were doubtless those still visible from the railway bridge. The great fort there, now the jail, was begun after 1728, and was still incomplete in 1739.

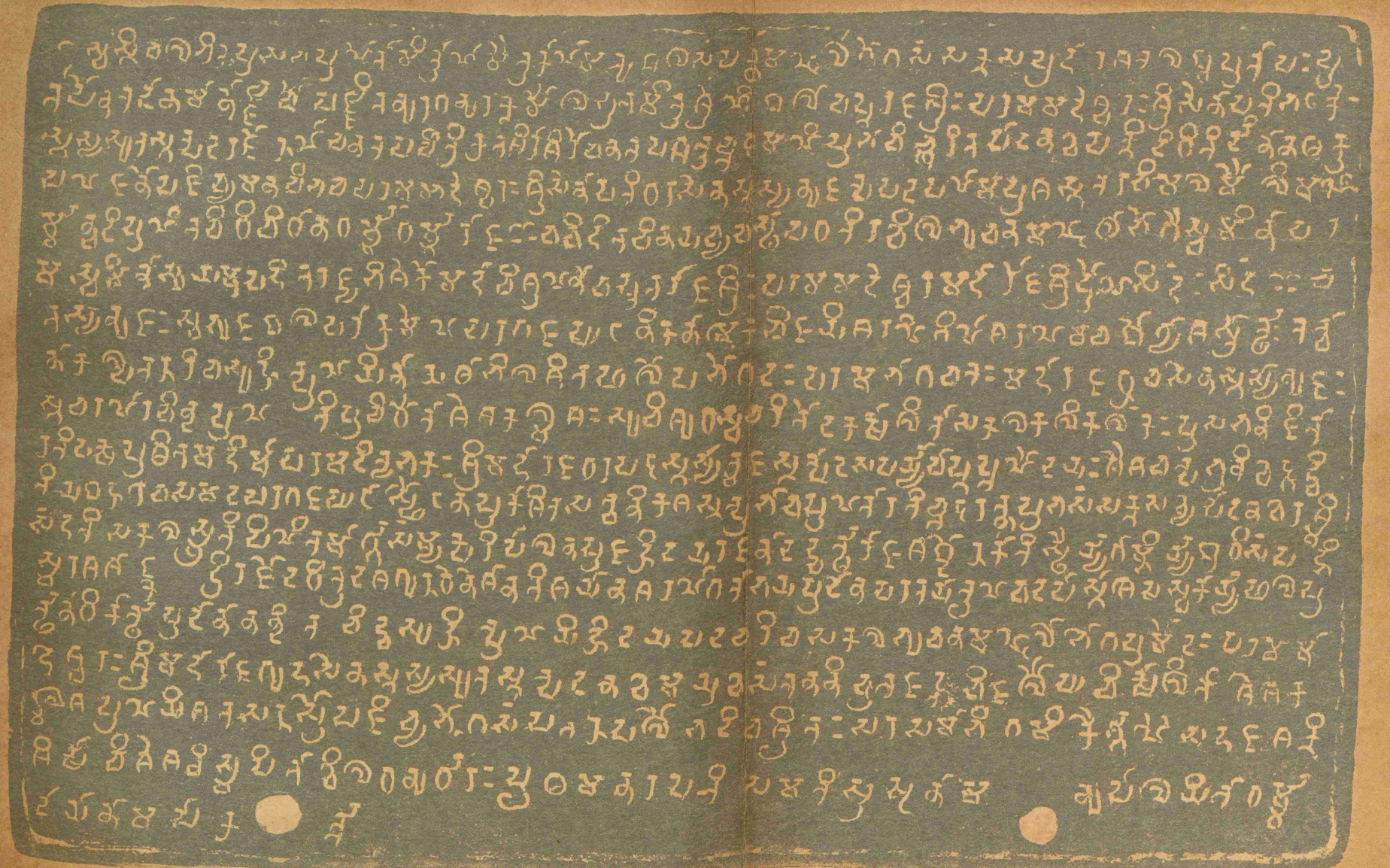
The late English and French authorities are available to most students on the spot; and Dr. Da Cunha would seem not to have been particularly well qualified to deal with the latter, since he speaks, apparently on his own authority, of 'the *spirituese* Du Perron,' a term not admitted by the Academy as applicable to any wit -except perhaps 'Monsieur Ponch.'

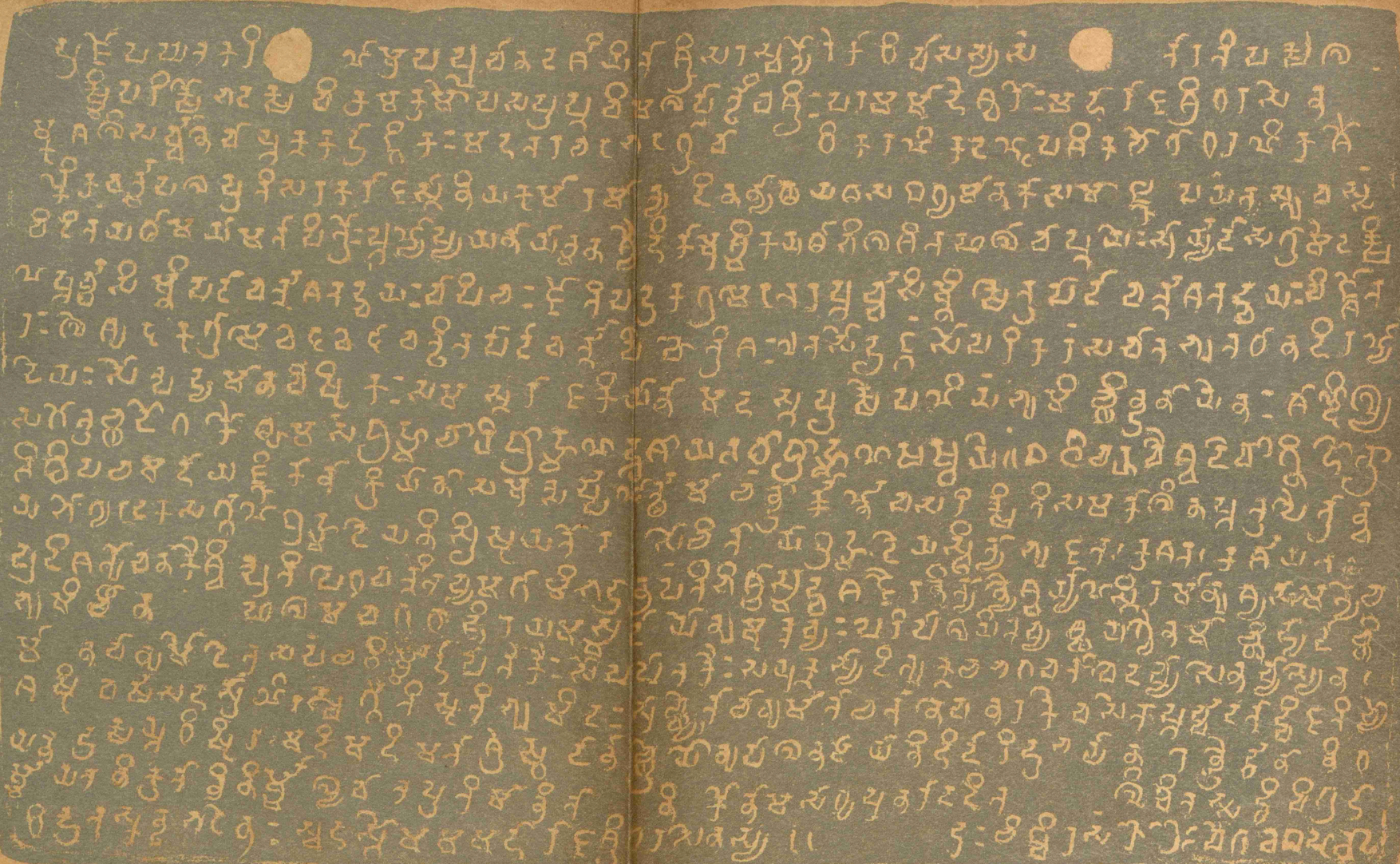
It is unnecessary, therefore, to follow him further, and most of his readers will, we think, agree with the conclusions that he could have done a good deal more if he had tried to do less; and that it is a great pity he did not, as we have certainly no other work on the subject equal to his; and he blocks the way so effectually that unless he should take advice, cut his book again into the original two portions, and substitute for his useless illustrations some sort of an index, and a few notes on the Hindu and Muhammadan periods approaching the present state of knowledge on the subject, we are not likely to get anything better for a good while.

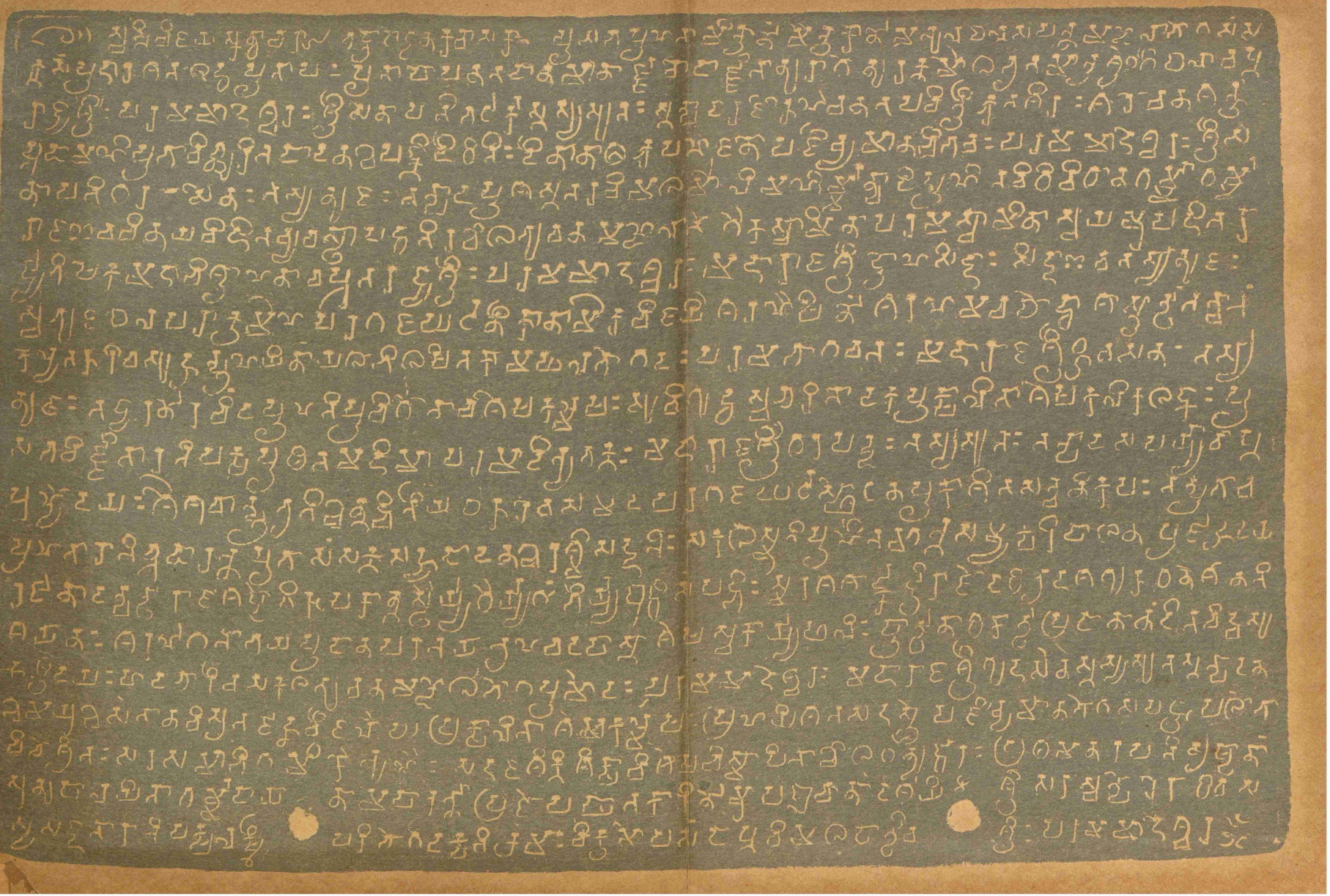
S.

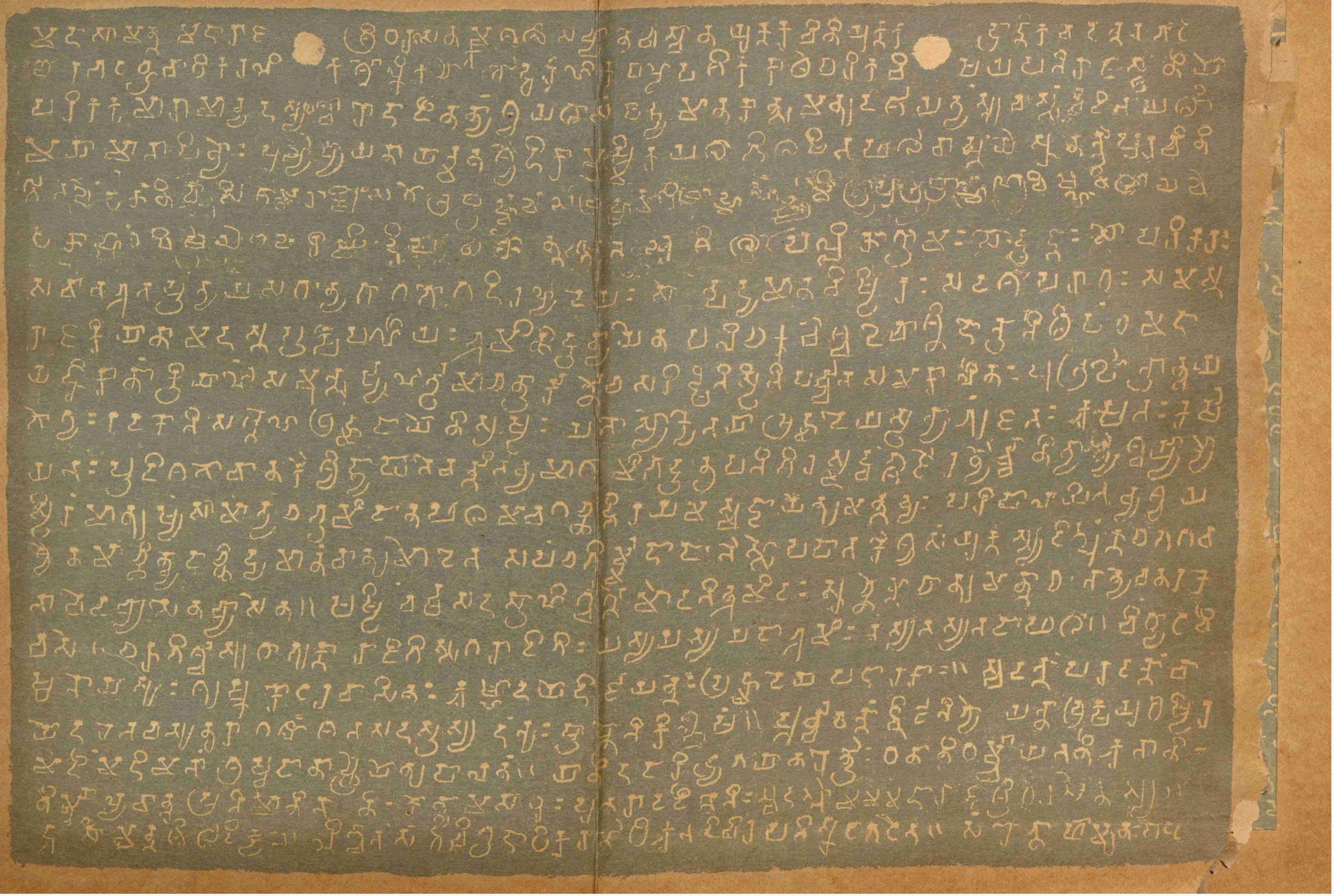
[5] Conf. *Ind. Ant.* vol V. pp. 276, 277.

[6] Conf. *Ratnamâlâ* in *Jour. Bo. B. R. As. Soc.* vol. VIII. 76. where Bhuvad is distinctly said to have come from Kanyakubja; and *Ind. Ant.* vol. III. p. 11 vol. IV. p. 146, vol. VI. p. 183.—Ed.









SANSKṚIT AND OLD CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S., M.R.A.S

(*Continued from p.* 164.)

No. XLII.

AT p. 15 of the present volume, I gave a copper-plate grant of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty. I understood, at that time, that this dynasty had been noticed in print only by Dr. Burnell in his *South-Indian Palæography*. But I now find that an earlier account of it by Sir Walter Elliot is to be found in his second paper on *Numismatic Gleanings* at *Madr. Jour. of Lit. and Sc., N. S.*, Vol. IV, p. 75.

I find, also, that the first of two copper-plate grants published by Bâl Gaṅgâdhar Śâstrî at *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soç.*, Vol. II., p. 1, is a grant of the founder of this dynasty, Vishṇuvardhana I., or Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana, or, as he is named on the seal of the grant, Śrî-Biṭṭarasa, *i.e.* the king Śrî-Biṭṭa or Biṭṭi. It deduces his genealogy from his grandfather Raṇavikrama,—the Pulikêśî I. of the Aihoḷe inscription at Vol. V., p. 67, and his father, Kîrttivarmâ I. The donor is Vishṇuvardhana. But he is only styled *Yuvarâja;* and the grant is dated on the day of the full-moon of the month Kârttika in the eighth year of the reign of the *Mahârâja*, and without any reference to the Śaka era. The *Mahârâja* must be Kîrttivarmâ I., or Maṅgalîśvara, or Pulikêśî II. If it is Kîrttivarmâ I., the inference would be that the formal division of the Chalukya kingdom into the Western and Eastern territories was carried out before the death of Kîrttivarmâ, and that his youngest son, Vishṇuvardhana I., was his *Yuvarâja* for the Eastern division. This inference might be drawn without necessitating any conflict with the statement of the Aihoḷe inscription that Maṅgalîśvara became king on the death of Kîrttivarmâ, and that the succession afterwards went back to Pulikêśî II., the son of Kîrttivarmâ, because he was preferred by the people to the unnamed son whom Maṅgalîśvara destined to succeed himself. But it is hardly compatible with the statement of the Yêwûr inscription that, in conformity with the custom of the Chalukyas, Maṅgalîśvara assumed the government only because Pulikêśî II. was of too tender years to be recognized as king at the death of Kîrttivarmâ I., and that he voluntarily restored the throne to Pulikêśî II., as soon as the latter became of mature age. Whatever may be the circumstances under which Maṅgalîśvara succeeded,—whether as a usurper, or as regent,—the facts that he, by the Bâdâmi inscription at Vol. VI., p. 363, succeeded in Śaka 488 or 489, and that Pulikêśî II. (by No. XXVII. of this Series at Vol. VI., p. 72) did not succeed till Śaka 531 or 532, and (by the Aihoḷe inscription) was still reigning in Śaka 556,[1] show,—1, that Pulikêśî II. must certainly have been of very tender years at the death of Kîrttivarmâ I., and,—2, that, consequently, Vishṇuvardhana I., being his younger brother, must have been a mere infant at that same time, and cannot have been installed as *Yuvarâja*. I would therefore hold,—1, that the formal separation of the Western and the Eastern branches took place at some time after the accession of Pulikêśî II., and also after the date of this grant: 2, that the *Mahârâja* of the grant now noticed is Pulikêśî II., though he is not mentioned in the genealogy; and 3, that, in accordance with this, the date of the grant is Śaka 539 (A.D. 617-8) or 540. The full titles of Vishṇuvardhana I. in this grant are *Śrî-pṛithivîwallabha*, or 'favourite of the world'; *Yuvarâja;* and *Vishamasiddhi*, or 'he who is successful under difficulties.' The last was adopted as one of the standard mottoes of the Eastern Chalukyas and appears on the seals of some of the grants of subsequent kings of that dynasty.

Another copper-plate grant of Vishṇuvardhana I. is given as Plate xxiv. of Dr. Burnell's *South-Indian Palæography*. The only other name mentioned in this grant is that of his elder brother Satyâśraya, *i.e.* Pulikêśî II. An explanation of the title *Vishamasiddhi* is given in l. 3, in the words *sthala-jala-vana-giri-vishama-durggêshu labdha-siddhitvâd=Vishama-*

[1] I shall shortly explain my reasons for altering my reading of the date of the Aihoḷe inscription from "when Śaka 506 had expired" to "when Śaka 556 had expired."

siddhiḥ, *i.e.* '(*he who is called*) Vishamasiddhi, because he acquired success by land and by sea, in the woods and on the mountains, under difficulties, and against fortresses,' or, perhaps, 'because he acquired success against fortresses, difficult of access, (*which were situated*) on land and in the sea and in the woods and on the mountains.' In these plates Vishṇuvardhana I. is styled *Mahârâja*; the grant must, therefore, be subsequent to the formal establishment of the Eastern branch of the dynasty. It was made on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon in the month Śrâvaṇa. And the date, though it is not referred to the Śaka era, is specified more fully in numerical symbols in the last line, in the words *saṁ* 16 *mâ* 4 *di* 15, *i.e.* 'in the sixteenth year and the fourth month (*of his reign*), and on the fifteenth day (*of the month*).'

Also, translations of two more copper-plate grants of this dynasty have been given at *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II., p. 175.

The inscription now published is another Eastern Chalukya grant, from the original plates, which belong to Sir Walter Elliot, and are marked as having been obtained from J. R. Pringle, Esq. I have no information as to where they were found.

The plates are seven in number, about $7\frac{7}{8}''$ long by $2\frac{1}{8}''$ broad. The ring connecting them had been cut before they came into my hands; it is about $\frac{3}{8}''$ thick, and $3\frac{1}{2}''$ in diameter. The seal is rather oval than circular, and has,—at the top, the moon; in the centre, the motto *Śrî-Vishamasiddhi*; and at the bottom, a lotus.

The plates are well preserved, except towards the ends of the lines, where they are rather corroded, though they are sufficiently legible

The language is Sanskṛit,—ungrammatical in the details of the grant. The characters are of the usual early Eastern Chalukya type. The *Anusvâra* is written usually above the line, but is sometimes irregularly placed; and in a few cases it is written on the bottom line,—*e.g.*, in *Chiṁthûrbôyasya*, l. 24, *Aṁjaśarmmaṇa*, ll. 28 and 29-30, *Veṁnśarmaṇa*, l. 34, and *Maṁdubôyasya*, l. 59.

It is a grant of Vishṇuvardhana II., the grandson of Vishṇuvardhana I., with whom the genealogy commences. It is dated on Wednesday, the tenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra, under the Maghâ *nakshatra*,[2] in the second year of his reign. The date is not referred to the Śaka era, but it must be somewhere about Śaka 590 (A.D. 668-9).

This grant, and No. 5 of Major Dixon's copper-plates,—a grant of the Western Chalukya king Vinayâditya-Satyâśraya, which is dated "when Śaka 614 had expired," in the thirteenth year of his reign, on Saturday, at the time of the sun's commencing his progress to the north, under the Rôhiṇî *nakshatra*,—are the earliest instances that I have as yet met with of the day of the week being named.

Transcription.

First plate.

[1] Svasti Śrîmatâṁ sakala-bhuvana-saṁstûyamâna-Mânavya-sagôtrâṇâṁ Hâritî-putrâṇâṁ sa-

[2] pta-lôka-mâtṛibhir=mâtṛibhir=abhivarddhitânâṁ[3] Kârttikêya-parirakshaṇa-prâpta-râjyavi-bhavânâṁ bhaga-

[3] van-Nârâyaṇa-prasâda-saṁ(sa)vâ(mâ)sâdita-varâha-lâñcha(ñchha)n-êkshaṇa-kshaṇa-vaśîkṛit-âśêsha-mahi(hî)bhṛi-

[4] tâṁ mahi(hî)-bhṛitâm=iv=âchala-sthitînâm aśvamêdh-âvabhṛita(tha)-snân-âpanîta-Kali-malânâṁ Chalu-

[5] kyânâṁ kulam=alaṁkarishṇuḥ(shṇôḥ) ânêka-samara-sâṁghaṭṭ-ôpalabdha-vijaya-patâk-âvabhâsit-âśêsha-di-

[6] g-maṇḍalasya Vishṇuvarddhana-mahârâjasya pautraḥ sakal-âvati(ni)pati-makuta-ta[ṭa*]-ghaṭîta-maṇi-mayûka(kha)-puñja(?)-

Second plate; first side.

[7] mañjarita-charaṇa-sarôruhasyaḥ(sya) samâdhi-kṛi(kri)yâ-samâsâdita-sarvva-siddhêḥ Jayasiṁha-Vallabha-ma-

[2] Perhaps two letters, containing the name of another *nakshatra* also, have been broken away after the word *Maghâ* in l. 66.

[3] Here, and in a few places below, the mark over the line seems to be, not the *Anusvâra*, but the final form of *m*.

[9] hârâjasyaḥ(sya) priy-ânujasy=Êndra-sama-vikramasy=Êndra-bhaṭṭârakasya priya-
tanaya(yaḥ) śakti-tray-ânamit-â-
[9] nêka-râjanya-mukha-kamala-sabh-âbhyarchchita-charaṇa-yugaḷaḥ chatur-udadhi-vêlâ-
valaya-pa-
[10] ryyanta-prâpta-kîrttiḥ Manv-âdi-praṇîta-dharmma-śâstra-pracharita-sarvva-lôk-âśrayaḥ
Chakrâ(kra)dhara iva
[11] chakravarttita(tâ)-lakshaṇ-âlaṁkṛita-śarîra(raḥ) parama-mâhêśvarô mâtâ-pitṛi-pâd-
ânudhyâtaḥ Śrî-Vishṇuvarddhana-
[12] mahârâja(jaḥ) sarvvân=êvam=âjñâpayaṭi [|*] Viditam=astu sarvvêshâm [|*]
Karmmarâshṭra-vishayê Pasiṇḍi-Paṁṛunidu(Ḍḷu)-

Second plate; second side.

[13] Mrânumi(?)-Delkontha-Râvinûyu ity=êtasya grâ[ma*]-madhyamasya Rĕyûru-nâma-
grâma(maḥ) Bhâradvâja-gô-
[14] trâya Nâgaśarmmaṇaḥ pautrâya Agniśarmmaṇa(ṇaḥ) putra(trâ)ya Kuṇḍiśarmmaṇê
dvâda[a]śâṁśa(śaḥ) [||*] Bâ(bhâ)radvâ[ja*]-gô-
[15] trâya Nâgaśarmmaṇa(ṇaḥ) pautrâya Śaṁkaraśarmmaṇaḥ putrâya Maṇḍaśarmmaṇê
[16] daśâṁśaḥ [||*] Puna Bhâradvâja-gôtrâya Ṇâgaśarmmaṇaḥ putrâyaḥ(ya) Kumâraśarmmaṇê
[17] ashṭaṁśaḥ || Kauṇḍilya-gôtrâya Śaṁkaraśarmmaṇê dvayaṁśaḥ || Kauṇḍilya-gôtrâya Kumâ-
[18] raśarmmaṇê dvayaṁśaḥ [||*] Tasy=ânuja Agniśarmmaṇê dvayaṁśaḥ || Âlabôyasya
Kauṇḍilya-

Third plate; first side.

[19] gôtrasya Kattiśarmmaṇa putra Kandaśarmmaṇa putra Kappaśarmmaṇa chatâri
aṁśaḥ [|| *] Puna
[20] Kappaśarmmaṇa êka aṁśaḥ [|| *] Puna Rêvaśarmmaṇa dvê aṁśaḥ [|| *] Puna
Kandaśarmmaṇa dvê
[21] aṁśaḥ [|| *] Puna Kandaśarmmaṇa arddhâṁśaḥ || Kôyilabôyasya Bharadvâja-gôtra Bâ-
[22] diśarmmaṇa muyyarddhaṁśaḥ || Utpitoṛubôyasya Kâṇva-gôtra Pâlaśarmma-
[23] ṇa êkâṁśaḥ || Kavilabôyasya Gautama-gôtra Kuṇḍiśarmmaṇa ekkaṁśaḥ || Ala-
[24] buṁnabôyasya Kâśyâ(śya)pa-gôtra Pâ(bâ?)diśarmmaṇa êkaṁśaḥ || Chiṁthûrbôyasya

Third plate; second side.

[25] Bhâradvâja-gôtra Sarvvaśarmmaṇa ekkaṁśaḥ || Mudubaṁbôyasya Kauṇḍilya-gôtra Sarvvaśa-
[26] rmmaṇa putra Jeṭṭiśarmmaṇa ekkaṁśaḥ [||*] Puna Kuṇḍiśarmmaṇa ekkaṁśaḥ [||*]
Puna Śaṁkaraśarmmaṇa ekkaṁ-
[27] śaḥ [||*] Puna Sarvvaśarmmaṇa ekkaṁśaḥ [||*] Puna Ḷuddaśarmmaṇa ekkaṁśaḥ [||*]
Kattiśarmmaṇa putra
[28] Aṁjaśarmmaṇa putra Kattiśarmmaṇa ekkaṁśaḥ [||*] Puna Sarvvaśarmmaṇa
tiṇṇi aṁśaḥ [||*] Dêva-
[29] śarmmaṇa putra Samudraśarmmaṇa ekkaṁśaḥ [||*] Puna Jeṭṭiśarmmaṇa
ekkaṁśaḥ [||*] Anantaśarmmaṇa putra A-
[30] ṁjaśarmmaṇa ekkaṁśaḥ [||*] Pâlaśarmmaṇa putra Rêvaśarmmaṇa tiṁṇi
aṁśaḥ [||*] Puḷolûrbôyasya

Fourth plate; first side.

[31] putra Vasuśarmmaṇa êkaṁśaḥ [||*] Benbidibôyasya putra Âruvaśarmmaṇa
ekkaṁśaḥ [||*] Puna Vêda-
[32] śarmmaṇa ekkaṁśaḥ [||*] Pen[b]bidibôyasya Kauṇḍilya-gôtra Jakkiśarmmaṇa
êkaṁśaḥ [||*] Kêśavabôyasya Vê-
[33] baśarmmaṇa ekkaṁśaḥ [||] Bhâradvâja-gôtra Agniśarmmaṇa putra
Vinâyaśarmmaṇa putrâya Sarvvaśarmma-

* *Sâ* was first written and then corrected into *da*.
[b] The final form of *n* is used here, though it is in the middle of a word.

[34] ṇê dvayaṁśaḥ || Kauṇḍilya-gôtra Veṇṇiśarmmaṇa putra Nandiśarmmaṇa putra Vâsudêvaśarmmaṇê
[35] dvayaṁśaḥ || Kauṇḍilya-gôtra Vinâyaśarmmaṇa putra Nandiśarmmaṇa [putra*] Nâgaśarmmaṇê dvayaṁśaḥ [||*]
[36] Paummuddibôyasya Kauṇḍilya-gôtra Dêvaśarmmaṇa dvayaṁśaḥ [||*] Puna Bâdiśarmmaṇa ekkaṁśaḥ ||

Fourth plate; second side.

[37] Dûdibôyasya Kauṇḍilya-gôtra Gabôtaśarmmaṇa ôkaṁśaḥ | (||) Toṇḍadûrbôyasya Kauśika-gôtra Rê-
[38] vaśarmmaṇa ôkaṁśaḥ || Chĕyûrbôyasya Kauṇḍilya-gôtra Rêvaśarmmaṇa muyyard-dhaṁśaḥ || Miṛibô-
[39] yasya Kâśyâ(śya)pa-gôtra Anantaśarmmaṇa dvayaṁśaḥ || Mudugonthabôyasya Bhâradvâ-
[40] ja-gôtra Duggaśarmmaṇa ekkaṁśaḥ [||*] Chanthrûrbôyasya Kâśyâ(śya)pa-gôtra Pâlaśarmmana chatâ-
[41] ri aṁśaḥ || Mâratabôyasya Kauṇḍilya-gôtra Veṇṇiśarmmaṇa ekkaṁśaḥ || Muddamûrbôyasya
[42] Kâśyâ(śya)pa-gôtra Rôvaśarmmaṇa ekkaṁśaḥ [||*] Puna Rêvaśarmmaṇa ekkaṁśaḥ || Boppibôyasya Kâśyâ(śya)-

Fifth plate; first side.

[43] pa-gôtra Kumâraśarmmaṇa ekkaṁśaḥ | (||) Ponnaḷûrbôyasya Kâśyâ(śya)pa-gôtra Sarvvaśarmmaṇa dvayaṁśaḥ |(||)
[44] Vĕgiṁbôyasyâ Kâśyâ(śya)pa-gôtra Kuṇḍiśarmmaṇa ekkaṁśaḥ |(||) Kutṃurbôyasya Bhâradvâja-gôtra
[45] Ḷuddaśarmmaṇa ekkaṁśaḥ |(||) Kondâḷibôyasya Kâśyâ(śya)pa-gôtra Kuṇḍiśarmmaṇa ekkaṁśaḥ |(||) Mu-
[46] ttinthibôyasya Kauṇḍilya-gôtra Veṇṇiśarmmaṇa ekkaṁśaḥ |(||) Alabuṁnabôyasya Kau-
[47] ṇḍilya-gôtra Bhaṭṭiśarmmaṇa arddhaṁśaḥ |(||) Kêśavabôyasya Bhâradvâja-gôtra Vinâyaśarmmaṇa
[48] ekkaṁśaḥ [||*] Puna Vinâyaśarmmaṇa ekkaṁśaḥ |(||) Râ(râṁ)puṁ(pu)rbôyasya Kauṇḍilya-gôtra Jeṭṭiśarmmaṇa ôkaṁśaḥ [||*]

Fifth plate; second side.

[49] Pulkonthabôyasya Kâśyâ(śya)pa-gôtra Rêvaśarmmaṇa ekkaṁśaḥ |(||) Pandiribôya[sya*] Bhâradvâja-gôtra Pavvaśarmmaṇa e-
[50] kkaṁśaḥ | Kêśavabôyasya Vinâyaśarmmaṇa ekkaṁśaḥ [||*] Puna Vinâyaśarmmaṇa ekkaṁśaḥ |(||) Mâratabôyasya
[51] Kauṇḍilya-gôtra Châmuṇḍiśarmmaṇa ekkaṁśaḥ [||*] Puna Śivva(va)śarmmaṇa ekkaṁśaḥ ||
[52] Rêkâdibôyasya Kâśyâ(śya)pa-gôtra Dôṇaśarmmaṇa ekkaṁśaḥ || Puna
[53] Rêkâdibôyasya Rêvaśarmmaṇa ekkaṁśaḥ || Munikolbôyasya Bhâradvâja-
[54] gôtra Kandaśarmmaṇa ekkaṁśaḥ || Chĕbuṁdŏthibôyasya Kâśyâ(śya)pa-gô-

Sixth plate; first side.

[55] tra Vîraśarmmaṇa ekkaṁśaḥ || Eddoṇḍibôyasya Kâśyâ(śya)pa-gôtra Nâga-
[56] śarmmaṇa ekkaṁśaḥ || Ḷuttaḷûrbôyasya Kâśyâ(śya)pa-gôtra Nâga-
[57] śarmmaṇa ekkaṁśaḥ || Chichchakudıbôyasya Kâśyâ(śya)pa-
[58] gôtra Nandiśarmmaṇa ekkaṁśaḥ || Sama[a]tibôyasya Veṇṇiśarmma-
[59] ṇa ekkaṁśaḥ || Maṁdubôyasya Bhâradvâja-gôtra Kattiśarmmaṇa dvayaṁśaḥ

Sixth plate; second side.

[60] Bala-vijay-ârôgya-nimittam=asmâbhiḥ saṁprâpta(ptaḥ) [||*] Gamyâ râja-va-
[61] llabhaḥ(bhâḷi) sarvva-parihârai(raih) pariharantu parihârayantu [||*]
[62] Api cha têshâḥ(shâṁ) ślôkâḥ [|*] Bhûmi-dânât=paran=dânam na bhûtan=na
[63] bhavishyati tasy=aiva haraṇât=pâpan=na bhûtan=na bhavishyati ||

[a] *Mma* was first engraved, and the lower *m* was then partially erased.

Seventh plate.

[64] Bahubhir=vvasudhâ dattâ bahubhiś=ch=ânupalitâ yasya yasya
[65] yadâ bhûmi(miḷ) tasya tasya tathâ(dâ) phalam || Varddhamâna-râjya-dva(dvi)[ti]-
[66] ya-saṁvatsarê Chaitra-mâsê śukla-pakshê || daśyamyâṁ Maghâ-[7]..... ..-
[67] nakshatrê Budha-vârêshu sva-mukh-âjñâ(jña)ptâ[d*] Dîrgôchâyi[8].....-
[68] veḷayilkanmaṟakuṇḍi Eṟasya putra Vinayâkasya likhitam śâsanam=idam ||

Translation.

Hail! The grandson of the Great King Vishṇuvardhana who illumined all the territories of the regions with his banners of victory acquired in the contest of many battles, and who adorned the family of the Chalukyas, who are glorious; who are of the lineage of Mânavya, which is praised over the whole world; who are the descendants of Hâritî; who have been nourished by mothers who are the seven mothers of mankind; who have acquired the dignity of sovereignty through the protection of Kârttikêya; who have had all kings made subject to them on the instant at the sight of the sign of the Boar, which they acquired through the favour of the holy Nârâyaṇa; who are of immovable stability like the mountains; and who have had the guilt of the Kali age removed by ablutions performed after celebrating horse-sacrifices,—the dear son of Indra, the venerable one, who was equal in prowess to (*the god*) Indra and was the dear younger brother of the Great King Jayasiṁha Vallabha, whose feet, which were as lotuses, were covered with clusters of flowers which were the rays of the jewels set in the tiaras of all kings (*who bowed down before him*), and who attained success in all things by practising profound meditation,—(*viz.*) the Great King Vishṇuvardhana,—whose two feet have honour done to them by the court of the lotuses which are the faces of the numerous kings who are bowed down by his (*possession of the*) three constituents of regal power; whose fame extends up to the circuit of the shores of the four oceans; who practises being the refuge of all people in accordance with the sacred writings composed by Manu and others; who, like the Wielder of the discus, has his body decorated with the marks of the *status* of a universal emperor; who is a zealous worshipper of Mahêśvara; and who meditates on the feet of his mother and his father,—thus issues his commands to all people:—

Be it known to all! The village of Rĕyûru, in the midst of the villages of Pasiṇḍi and Paṁṟunidu and Mrânumi and Delkontha and Râvinûyu, in the district of Karmarâshṭra, has been apportioned[9] by Us, for the sake of strength and victory and freedom from sickness, (*in the following manner*). Twelve shares to Kuṇḍiśarmâ of the Bhâradvâja *gôtra*, the son's son of Nâgaśarmâ and the son of Agniśarmâ. Ten shares to Maṇḍaśarmâ of the Bhâradvâja *gôtra*, the son's son of Nâgaśarmâ, and the son of Śaṁkaraśarmâ. Again, eight shares to Kumâraśarmâ of the Bhâradvâja *gôtra*, the son of Nâgaśarmâ. Two shares to Śaṁkaraśarmâ of the Kauṇḍilya *gôtra*. Two shares to Kumâraśarmâ of the Kauṇḍilya *gôtra*. Two shares to his younger brother, Agniśarmâ. Four shares to Kappaśarmâ of (*the house of*) Âlabôya[10] and of the Kauṇḍilya *gôtra*, the son of Kandaśarmâ who was the son of Kattiśarmâ. Again, one share to Kappaśarmâ. Again, two shares to Rêvaśarmâ. Again, two shares to Kandaśarmâ. Again, half a share to Kandaśarmâ. Three and a half[11] shares to Bâdiśarmâ of (*the house of*) Kôyilabôya and of the Bhâradvâja *gôtra*. One share to Pâlaśarmâ of (*the house of*) Uṟpiṭoṟubôya and the Kâṇva *gôtra*. One share to Kuṇḍiśarmâ

[7] There may be two letters broken away here; see note 2.

[8] Two or three letters are broken away here.

[9] *Samprâpta(ptaḥ)*, l. 60, *lit.* 'effected, accomplished.'

[10] *Bôya* appears to be some surname or class-name. Since it occurs in ll. 32, 47, and 50 affixed to the proper name Kêśava, probably all the names to which it is affixed are proper names,—some of them being taken from names of villages.

[11] *Muyy-arddha*; a hybrid word, *muyyu* being Canarese, and *ardha* Sanskrit. *Muyyu*, 'three', is not given by Dr. Caldwell in his *Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*; but it is one of the forms given by Mr. Kittel in his *Notes concerning the Numerals of the ancient Dravidians* (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II., p. 24). Sanderson's *Dictionary* gives two words containing it,—*muyy-erad-adi*, 'the carpenter-bee, which has six feet', (or *lit.*, 'three twos of feet'); and *muyy-ir-moga*, 'Shanmukha, the god of war, who has six faces' (or *lit.*, 'three twos of faces'). On the analogy of these two words, *muyy-ardha* may possibly mean 'three halves', *i.e.* 'one and a half'; but it seems to me to be used in the sense of *mûru-vari*, 'three and a half.'

of (*the house of*) Kavilabôya and the Gautama *gôtra*. One share to Pâdisarmâ of (*the house of*) Alabunnabôya and the Kâśyapa *gôtra*. One share to Sarvaśarmâ of (*the house of*) Chinthûrbôya and the Bhâradvâja *gôtra*. One share to Jeṭṭiśarmâ of (*the house of*) Mudubambôya and the Kauṇḍilya *gôtra*, the son of Sarvaśarmâ. Again, one share to Kuṇḍiśarmâ. Again, one share to Śaṁkaraśarmâ. Again, one share to Sarvaśarmâ. Again, one share to Luddaśarmâ. One share to Kattiśarmâ, the son of Añjaśarmâ who was the son of Kattiśarmâ. Again, three shares to Sarvaśarmâ. One share to Samudraśarmâ, the son of Dêvaśarmâ. Again, one share to Jeṭṭiśarmâ. One share to Añjaśarmâ, the son of Anantaśarmâ. Three shares to Rêvaśarmâ, the son of Pâlaśarmâ. One share to Vasuśarmâ, the son of Puḷolûrbôya. One share to Âruvaśarmâ, the son of Benbidibôya. Again, one share to Vêdaśarmâ. One share to Jakkiśarmâ of (*the house of*) Penbidibôya and the Kauṇḍilya *gôtra*. One share to Vêbaśarmâ of (*the house of*) Kêśavabôya. Two shares to Sarvaśarmâ of the Bhâradvâja *gôtra*, the son of Vinâyaśarmâ who was the son of Agniśarmâ. Two shares to Vâsudêvaśarmâ of the Kauṇḍilya *gôtra*, the son of Nandiśarmâ who was the son of Veṇṇiśarmâ. Two shares to Nâgaśarmâ of the Kauṇḍilya *gôtra*, the son of Nandiśarmâ who was the son of Vinâyaśarmâ. Two shares to Dêvaśarmâ of (*the house of*) Paummuddibôya and the Kauṇḍilya *gôtra*. Again, one share to Bâdiśarmâ. One share to Gabôtaśarmâ of (*the house of*) Dûdibôya and the Kauṇḍilya *gôtra*. One share to Rêvaśarmâ of (*the house of*) Toṇḍadûrbôya and the Kauśika *gôtra*. Three and a half shares to Rêvaśarmâ of (*the house of*) Chĕyûrbôya and the Kauṇḍilya *gôtra*. Two shares to Anantaśarmâ of (*the house of*) Miṟibôya and the Kâśyapa *gôtra*. One share to Duggaśarmâ of (*the house of*) Mudugonthabôya and the Bhâradvâja *gôtra*. Four shares to Pâlaśarmâ of (*the house of*) Chanthrûrbôya and the Kâśyapa *gôtra*. One share to Veṇṇiśarmâ of (*the house of*) Mâraṭabôya and the Kauṇḍilya *gôtra*. One share to Rêvaśarmâ of (*the house of*) Muddamûrbôya and the Kâśyapa *gôtra*. Again, one share to Rêvaśarmâ. One share to Kumâraśarmâ of (*the house of*) Boppibôya and the Kâśyapa *gôtra*. Two shares to Sarvaśarmâ of (*the house of*) Ponnadûrbôya and the Kâśyapa *gôtra*. One share to Kuṇḍiśarmâ of (*the house of*) Vĕgimbôya and the Kâśyapa *gôtra*. One share to Luddaśarmâ of (*the house of*) Kutmurbôya and the Bhâradvâja *gôtra*. One share to Kuṇḍiśarmâ of (*the house of*) Kondâlibôya and the Kâśyapa *gôtra*. One share to Veṇṇiśarmâ of (*the house of*) Muttinthibôya and the Kauṇḍilya *gôtra*. Half a share to Bhaṭṭiśarmâ of (*the house of*) Alabunnabôya and the Kauṇḍilya *gôtra*. One share to Vinâyaśarmâ of (*the house of*) Kêśavabôya and the Bhâradvâja *gôtra*. Again, one share to Vinâyaśarmâ. One share to Jeṭṭiśarmâ of (*the house of*) Râmpurbôya and the Kauṇḍilya *gôtra*. One share to Rêvaśarmâ of (*the house of*) Pulkonthabôya and the Kâśyapa *gôtra*. One share to Pavvaśarmâ of (*the house of*) Pandiribôya and the Bhâradvâja *gôtra*. One share to Vinâyaśarmâ of (*the house of*) Kêśavabôya. Again, one share to Vinâyaśarmâ. One share to Châmuṇḍiśarmâ of (*the house of*) Mâraṭabôya and the Kauṇḍilya *gôtra*. Again, one share to Śivaśarmâ. One share to Dôṇaśarmâ of (*the house of*) Rêkâdibôya and the Kâśyapa *gôtra*. Again, one share to Rêvaśarmâ of (*the house of*) Rêkâdibôya. One share to Kandaśarmâ of (*the house of*) Munikolbôya and the Bhâradvâja *gôtra*. One share to Vîraśarmâ of (*the house of*) Chĕbumdŏthibôya and the Kâśyapa *gôtra*. One share to Nâgaśarmâ of (*the house of*) Eddoṇḍibôya and the Kâśyapa *gôtra*. One share to Nâgaśarmâ of (*the house of*) Luttaḷûrbôya and the Kâśyapa *gôtra*. One share to Nandiśarmâ of (*the house of*) Chichchakudibôya and the Kâśyapa *gôtra*. One share to Veṇṇiśarmâ of (*the house of*) Samatibôya. Two shares to Kattiśarmâ of (*the house of*) Mandubôya and the Bhâradvâja *gôtra*.

Let future favourites of kings treat (*this grant*), and cause it to be treated, with all

exemption (*from taxation*). Moreover, there are these verses for them:—There has not been, and there shall not be, any gift better than a gift of land; there has not been, and there shall not be, any sin worse than confiscating such a gift! Land has been given by many, and has been continued in grant by many; he, who for the time being possesses land, enjoys the benefits of it!

This charter is the writing of Vinâyaka, the son of Dîrghôchâyi .....veḷayilkanmaṟakuṇḍi-Eṟa, from Our own word of mouth (*given*) in the second year of Our augmenting reign, in the month Chaitra, in the bright fortnight, under the Maghâ *nakshatra*,[12] on Wednesday.

No. XLIII.

This is another Eastern Chalukya copper-plate grant, from the original plates, which belong to Sir Walter Elliot, and are marked as having been obtained from Mr. Porter. I have no information as to where they were found.

The plates are about $6\frac{3}{8}''$ long by $2\frac{1}{4}''$ broad. They are numbered; and, contrary to the usual rule, the writing commences on the first side of the first plate. Two plates only are now forthcoming; the rest of the grant has been lost, and seems to have been already missing when it was forwarded by Mr. Porter. The ring connecting the plates had been cut before they came into my hands; it is about $\frac{5}{16}''$ thick, and $3\frac{1}{4}''$ in diameter. The seal is circular, about $1\frac{1}{8}''$ in diameter, and, as in the preceding case, has,—at the top, the moon; in the centre, the motto *Śrî-Vishamasiddhi*; and at the bottom, a lotus. The language is Sanskṛit. The characters are of the usual early Eastern Chalukya type. The *Anusvâra* is written above the line,—except in *vêdâṁga*, l. 17, and *saṁvatsara*, l. 20, where it is on the line from want of space in which to insert it above the line.

The genealogy commences with Kîrttivarmâ I. It is another grant of Vishṇuvardhana II., and is dated in the fifth year of his reign. Here, again, the date is not referred to the Śaka era. But, the statement, that the grant was made on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun, which occurred on the day of the new-moon of the month Phâlguṇa, enables us to determine that the date of it is probably Śaka 581 (A.D. 659-60). The details of this calculation will be explained fully hereafter.

This inscription gives the earliest instance that I have yet met with of the use of the epithet *samadhigata-pañcha-mahâśabda*, and the only instance in which I have as yet found it applied to a paramount sovereign.

Transcription.

First plate; first side.

[1] Svasti Śrîmatâṁ sakala-bhuvana-saṁstûyamâna-Mânavya-sagôtrâṇaṁ
[2] Hâritî-putrâṇâṁ sapta-lôka-mâtṛibhir=mmâtṛibhir=abhivarddhitânâm[13] Kârtti-
[3] kêy-ânugrah-âvâpta-kalyâṇa-parampara(râ)ṇâṁ bhagavan-Nârâya[14]ṇa-pra-
[4] sâd-âsâdita-varâha-lâñchhan-âtmîkṛit-âśêsha-bhûbhṛitâṁ bhû-bhṛitâm=iv=âchala-sthi-
[5] tînâṁ aśvamêdh-âvabhṛitha--snân-âpanîta-Kali-malânâṁ Chaḷukyânâṁ kulam=a-

First plate; second side.

[6] laṁkarshṇôḥ(rishṇôḥ) Śrî-Kîrttivarmmaṇaḥ pranaptâ sakal-âvanîpati-makuṭa-taṭa-ghaṭita-
[7] maṇi-mayûkha-puṁja-pi(piṁ)jaṁ(ja)rita-charaṇa-yugaḷasya Śrî-Vishṇuvarddhana-
mahârâjasya
[8] naptâ śakti-traya-sa[15]mâsâdit-âśêsha-bhû-maṇḍal-âdhipatêḥ sva-guṇ-â-
[9] nurakta-prakṛiti-saṁpâdita-sarvva-saṁpadaḥ Śrî-Jayasi(siṁ)ha-Vallabha-va(ma)hârâjasy-
[10] priya-bhrâtur=anê[16]ka-yuddha-labdha-vijay-âlaṁkṛita-śarîrasy=Êndra-bhattârakasya

Second plate; first side.

[11] priya-tanayaḥ samadhigata-pañcha-mahâśabdaḥ sakal-êndur=iva sakala-kal-âdhi-
[12] śhṭhânô Vi[17]shṇur=iva Śrî-nivâsaḥ śrîmân=Vishṇuvarddhana-mahârâjaḥ Gudrahâra-

[13] See notes 2 and 7.
[13] Here, and in *amâvâsyâyâm*, l. 20, the mark on the upper line is probably, not the *Anusvâra*, but the final form of *m*.
[14] *Ṇa* was first engraved, and then the stroke denoting the *â* was partially erased.
[15] In the same way, *sâ* was engraved and corrected into *sa*.
[16] This letter, *na*, was first omitted, and then inserted above the line, with a cross-mark to indicate the omission.
[17] Between the *vi* and the *shṇu* is a faint *sha*, where *shnu* was commenced and then partially erased through want of room because of the hole for the ring.

[13] vishayê . Aṛutaṅkû[18]r-âśrayê Palḷi(? ddi, or ḍḍi)vâḍa-grâmam=âdhivasataḥ
[14] sarvvân=êvam=a(â)jñâpayati yathâ [1*] Asana-pura-va(vâ)stha(sta)vyasya
Ka(kâ)śyâ(śya)pa-gôtrasya
[15] Nûvuchûṭṭi-trivêdasya Taittirîya-sa-brahmachâriṇaḥ vêda-vêdâṁg-êtihâ-

Second plate; second side.

[16] sa-purâṇa-nyây-ânêka-dharmma-śâstra[19]-vidaḥ agnishṭôm-âdi-pauṇḍarîka-pa-
[17] ryyant-ânêka-kratu-yashṭuḥ Dhruvaśarmmaṇaḥ pautrâya vêda-vêdâṁga-vidaḥ
[18] Dŏchiśarmmaṇaḥ putrâya adhîta-vêda-dvayâya Dhruvaśarmmaṇê
[19] asmin=grâmê asmat-puṇy-âbhivṛiddha(ddha)yê a(â)tmanô vijaya-pañcha-
[20] mê saṁvatsarê Phâlguṇa-mâsê . amâvâsyâyâṁ sûryya-gra[ha*]ṇa-nimi-

Translation.

Hail! The great-grandson of Śrî-Kîrttivarmâ who adorned the family of the Chaḷukyas, who are glorious; who are of the lineage of Mânavya, which is praised over the whole world; who are the descendants of Hâritî; who have been nourished by mothers who are the seven mothers of mankind; who have attained an uninterrupted continuity of prosperity through the favour of Kârttikêya; who have had all kings made their own (*feudatories*) by the sign of the Boar, which they acquired through the favour of the holy Nârâyaṇa; who are of immovable stability like the mountains; and who have had the guilt of the Kali age removed by ablutions performed after celebrating horse-sacrifices,—the grandson of the Great King Śrî-Vishṇuvardhana whose feet were made to appear of a reddish-yellow colour by the rays of the jewels which were set in the diadems of all the kings (*who bowed down before him*), —the beloved son of Indra, the venerable one, whose body was adorned with victory acquired in many battles, and who was the dear brother of the Great King Śrî-Jayasiṁha-Vallabha who acquired all the regions of the earth by means of the three constituents of power, and who achieved all prosperity through his subjects being devoted to his virtuous qualities,—(viz.) the glorious Vishṇuvardhana, the Great King,—who has attained the five great sounds (*of musical instruments*), and who possesses all accomplishments, and who, like (*the god*) Vishṇu, dwells with the goddess of fortune,—issues his commands to all who reside at the village of Paḷḷivâḍa in the district of Gudrahâra and in the vicinity[20] of (*the village of*) Aṛutaṅkûr:—

At this village, in the fifth year of Our victorious reign, in the month Phâlguṇa, on the day of the new-moon, on account of an eclipse of the sun, [*there has been given*] to Dhruvaśarmâ, who has studied two *Vêdas*, —the son's son of Dhruvâśarmâ, who inhabited (*the city of*) Asanapura, and who was of the Kâśyapa *gôtra*, and who was a fellow-student of Nûvuchûṭṭi, the knower of three *Vêdas*, in the school of the Taittirîyas, and who knew the *Vêdas* and the *Vêdâṅgas* and the epics and the *Purâṇas* and the *Nyâya* and the numerous sacred writings, and who performed many sacrifices commencing with the *Agnishṭôma* and ending with the *Pauṇḍarîka*,—the son of Dŏchiśarmâ, who knew the *Vêdas* and the *Vêdâṅgas*. . . . . .

ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTES.

BY M. J. WALHOUSE, LATE M.C.S

(*Continued from p.* 179.)

No. XXI.—*The Old Tanjor Armoury.*

Mahârâja Śivâji, the last king of Tanjor, died in October 1855.

An eye-witness has recorded the stately and solemn spectacle of his funeral, when, magnificently arrayed and loaded with the costliest jewels, his body, placed in an ivory palanquin, was borne by night through the torchlit streets of his royal city amid the wail of vast multitudes lamenting the last of their ruling race. The change of death, it was said, cast an

[18] The curve in the vowel-stroke attached to the *k* is intended to make it equivalent to a repetition of the stroke itself, and thus to give the long form of the vowel.

[19] *Strâ* was first engraved and then altered into *stra* by partial erasure of the stroke denoting the *â*. In all such cases, where the correction is made by paring down the copper on each side of the wrong stroke or strokes, the facsimile will, and can only, show the mistake of the engraver, and not his method of correcting it.

[20] *Âśraya.*

air of power and majesty over the old king's features, so that he almost seemed to acknowledge the salutations of the crowds as he passed in state for the last time through the embattled gateway of those wide-circling ramparts round which so many famous commanders and the armies of so many races have met in fight. There, on the bank of the sacred river, without the walls, a huge pile of sandalwood was laid, and with great weeping the royal robes were taken off one by one, and the body, wrapped in a simple muslin garment, placed upon the pile, and heaped over with the fragrant fuel. The nearest descendant, a boy of twelve, was carried thrice round the pile, and at the last circuit a pot of water was dashed to pieces on the ground, emblematic of the life of man. The boy then lit the pile, and the loud long-sustained lament of a nation filled the air as the flames rose.

With this king the *râj* became extinct, but eventually all the personal and landed property, the palace, treasury, jewels, &c., were made over by Government to the chief Râṇî,—everything in the palace, except the contents of the old armoury, which, as useless to the family, the Government decided to remove and disperse. The need of preparation for war and all its pomp and circumstance had long since disappeared from Tanjor, and the 'armoury' consisted of great heaps of old weapons of all conceivable descriptions, lying piled upon the floor of the *Sangita Mahâl* = 'music-hall,' a large detached building within the precincts of the palace, entered by a low massive antique portico. The floor of the interior was sunken, much resembling a huge swimming-bath, and a covered gallery ran round the wall above, whence, it was said, the ladies of the court in old days used to look down upon games, wrestling-matches and the like. But the bottom had long been occupied by many tons of rusty arms and weapons, in confused heaps, coated and caked together with thick rust. Hundreds of swords, straight, curved, and ripple-edged, many beautifully damascened and inlaid with hunting or battle scenes in gold; many broad blades with long inscriptions in Marâṭhi or Kanarese characters, and some so finely tempered as to bend and quiver like whalebone. There were long gauntlet-hilts, brass or steel, in endless devices, hilts inlaid with gold, and hilts and guards of the most tasteful and elaborate steel-work. There were long-bladed swords and executioners' swords, two-handed, thick-backed, and immensely heavy. Daggers, knives, and poniards by scores, of all imaginable and almost unimaginable shapes, double- and triple-bladed; some with pistols or spring-blades concealed in their handles, and the hilts of many of the *kuttars* of the most beautiful and elaborate pierced steel-work, in endless devices, rivalling the best medieval European metal-work. There was a profusion of long narrow thin-bladed knives, mostly with bone or ivory handles very prettily carved, ending in parrot-heads and the like, or the whole handle forming a bird or monster, with legs and wings pressed close to the body, all exquisitely carved. The use of these seemed problematical: some said they were used to cut fruit, others that they had been poisoned and stuck about the roofs and walls of the women's quarters, to serve the purpose of spikes or broken glass!

Eventually the whole array was removed to Trichinapalli and deposited in the arsenal there, and after a committee of officers had sat upon the multifarious collection, and solemnly reported the ancient arms unfit for use in modern warfare, the Government, after selecting the best for the Museum, ordered the residue to be broken up and sold as old iron. This was in 1863. Being on the spot at the time, I was able to inspect and purchase a quantity of the weapons. A curious point about them was the extraordinary number of old European blades, often graven with letters and symbols of Christian meaning, attached to hilts and handles most distinctively Hindu, adorned with figures of gods and idolatrous emblems. There was an extraordinary number of long straight cut-and-thrust blades termed *Phirangîs*, which Mr. Sinclair, in his interesting list of Dakhani weapons (*Ind. Ant.* vol. II. p. 216) says means 'the Portuguese,' and were "either imported from Europe by the Portuguese, or else made in imitation of such imported swords." Mr. Sinclair adds that both Grant Duff and Meadows Taylor have mentioned that the importation was considerable, and that Râja Śivâji's favourite sword *Bhavânî* was a Genoa blade. This sword is figured in the *History of the Mahrattas*, and is said to be still preserved as a sacred relic in the Sâtârâ family. It is curious to note how ancient and wide-spread the custom of giving names

to favourite swords has been; there was the Prophet's sword Zualfakir, the Cid's Durindana, King Arthur's "brand Excalibur," the Dwarf-sword Tirfing of Scandinavian Sagas, and many another celebrated in the annals of chivalry. The Tanjor armoury strongly confirmed the statements of the great importation of European blades; it contained hundreds, whole or in pieces. Two *phirangîs* in my possession have double-channelled blades, one set in a beautiful hilt of copper inlaid all over with ornamentation in gold, including four figures of griffins and ten of gods, the blade bearing on one side this inscription, repeated in each groove,

⚔ CRNEO SOE NVS ⚔

and on the other side the letters

OEN RCT

also twice repeated. The blade of the other *phirangî*, set in a hilt covered with tasteful gold foliage-work, spread also over hold-fasts prolonged four inches up the blade, bears these symbols and letters in one line on each side

* * ⚔ NOVA E ⚔ * *

These, as well as scores of others, were evidently European blades, and the signification of the letters may probably be obvious to antiquaries conversant with old weapons. And besides these there were multitudes of *kuttars* with handles of very exquisite pierced steel-work, in which were set blades evidently formed of pieces of European swords bearing various inscriptions. I have seen no medieval or modern steel-work surpassing these Hindu hilts in excellence of workmanship, artistic ingenuity, and tastefulness of design and ornament. The fancy shown is endless, and the execution minute and admirable. The sides of the handles, the cross-bars between for grasping, the tops of the handles, and the hold-fasts running from them up the blades, are all wrought in steel, generally pierced, and hardly any two designs the same. All the mass of weapons when taken from the armoury were thickly caked over with rust, and too many lamentably corroded and destroyed. It was only after great and persevering labour that the incrustations, perhaps of centuries, were more or less successfully removed, and the designs and inscriptions disclosed. One *kuttar* of fantastic design now by me has the grasp covered by a shield-shaped guard of pierced steel, bearing a griffin on each outer rim, from whose backs small blades project on each side at right angles to the central blade, which bears this inscription on both sides :—

× × INTI × × DOMINI × ×

(See *Fig.* 6 in the first of the accompanying plates.) Another fantastic dagger has three long narrow blades parallel to one another, the middle one longest, and on it are the letters ẸDRO. A *kuttar* (*Figs.* 3, 3) with a handle throughout of beautiful workmanship, the open-work sides an arrangement of griffins, phœnixes, and clustered fishes, and the hold-fasts of the blade each four fancifully grouped parrots, bears on one side the blade, which is broad and three-channelled, the letters S. M. V. N., and on the other C. V. M., with a human face in a crescent further up. A second *kuttar* (*Fig.* 5)[1] has the handle of fine pierced steel-work covered with a guard representing a cobra with expanded hood between two rampant griffins; the long narrow blade exhibits a single deep groove, in which on one side are the letters IOHANIS * VLL, and on the other four or five indistinct letters and then ALIV N. A third, with a handsome well-wrought steel hilt, after the thick layer of rust that coated it had been removed, disclosed, to my surprise, in two deep channels on each side the blade, the well-known name

ANDREA
FERARA (*sic*).

It seemed strange to meet the famous Italian swordsmith of three centuries ago in such an association, but Sir Walter Elliot has informed me that when a notorious freebooter was captured in the Southern Marâthâ Country many years since, his sword was found to be an "Andrea Ferrara." So widely have these old European blades been spread over India; whether frequently found in Bengal and the North-West I do not know; but in the extensive collections of Eastern weapons in the India, South Kensington, and Bethnal Green Museums there are very few—less than a dozen—blades that appear unmistakably European, whereas in the Tanjor armoury they were numbered by scores; perhaps they had been collected there for a long period. One noticeable feature was the immense number and variety of arrows and arrow-heads: the former, as usual, of reeds, with bone or ivory nocks and spike-heads of all possible

[1] 1, 1, are the side and front of one handle, and 2, 2, and 4, 4, on the plate represent two others.

W. Griggs, Lith.

OLD HINDU ARROWHEADS.

ACTUAL SIZE.

shapes, short and lengthened, rounded, three- or four-sided, channelled, or bulging in the centre; many were barbed, and many flat-tipped or ending in small globes,—perhaps for killing birds without breaking the skin; and there were some headed with hollow brass balls perforated with three or four holes, which were said to be filled with some inflammable composition and shot burning on to roofs and into houses. (See *No.* 13. on the accompanying plate of Old Hindu Arrow-Heads.) Under the head each arrow was elaborately gilt and painted for six inches down the stem, and also for the same length above the nock, and each bore above the feathers an inscription of two lines in Marâṭhi characters, in gold.

But besides the arrows there were extraordinary quantities of detached heads embedded in the mud of the floor, apparently of more antique types and still more fantastic forms, some not a little elegant: for example,—*No.* 4 on the same plate,—two paroquets joined beak to beak and breast to breast, their tails meeting in the point; *No.* 12, a flat blade with both edges rippled; *No.* 10, a double prong with barbed points; *Nos.* 3, 5, 6, 9, *and* 16,—several heads broad and tapering to a point, with curious open-work centres, sometimes all the centre open, the head indeed being merely a steel rim drawn to a point; these open-work heads were declared to be peculiarly dangerous, the flesh closing into them, and rendering extrication very painful. Some long spike-heads (*Nos.* 8, 14, *and* 15) were grooved on the sides or roughened under the point, for the purpose, it was said, of carrying glutinous poison. There were also crescent-heads (*Nos.* 1 *and* 7), a very antique form, used in the Roman circus-games; with such an arrow Anantaguna-Pandion, the king of Madurâ, is said to have destroyed an Asura sent in the form of a striped serpent by the Samunals or Jains to devour the inhabitants of Madurâ. Some small elegant heads inlaid in gold (*No.* 11), with an elephant and monograms, appeared intended for royal use. A considerable number of the large heavy arrow-heads used by native huntsmen was also found, some four or six inches long and more than an inch wide. Several were identical in form with arrow-heads brought by Commander Cameron from the interior of Africa; a barb with only one tang is common to both continents, and so is the crescent shape.

The demand for blades of European make formerly existing in India seems rather strange when it is remembered how skilful Indian smiths were, and how famous Indian steel has been from remote antiquity. The workmanship of the native hilts can scarcely be surpassed, and it might be supposed that the smiths who made them could also have forged blades as good as those of European origin which they actually bear; moreover, the districts of Salem, Koimbatur, and North Arkat, in which the best Indian steel has been manufactured from time immemorial, are almost contiguous to Tanjor, where so great a collection of European weapons had been assembled, and the name of Arunâchellam of Salem has been known all over India for the last fifty years: the *shikâr*-knives and spear-heads made by him could not be excelled, hardly equalled, in temper and finish by any English smith, and the same might be said of him in all iron and steel work wrought by hand. It is in this region that the famous *ferrum Indicum* was probably produced, a hundred talents of which was held a fitting present to Alexander the Great: for, though the now well-known fusing and smelting process is said to be practised all over India, it is in these southern districts that the ore is richest and most magnetic, and hence the much-prized grey-steel ingots, whose production was so long a puzzle to the scientific, were exported far and wide to Damascus and Europe. There are many casual allusions which show how highly Indian steel was estimated in antiquity; for example, Clemens Alexandrinus, discoursing of luxury, observes, "One can cut meat without Indian iron." And when, in venturing some remarks (*Ind. Ant.* vol. V. p. 239) upon the occurrence of Roman coins in the neighbourhood of aqua-marina mines in Koimbatur, and observing that I knew of nothing they were likely to have been used in purchasing except the gems, I might have added the steel so abundant and excellent both there and in the bordering district, Salem. When at the end of the past century some pieces of Indian steel were sent to the Royal Society, none could conjecture the method of their preparation, and it remained long unknown; even now somewhat of the more delicate manipulation is a secret amongst the native smiths, but the general method is understood, and may be read, well described, in Ure's *Dictionary of Arts and Manufactures*, art. 'Steel,'

and elsewhere. Nothing can be more simple and primitive than the native process, which, albeit involving a recondite chemical application, is probably the same now as in the days of Alexander the Great. The ore used is the magnetic oxide of iron, which, though sometimes forming small hills, is generally dug out from various depths. Occasionally it forms regular octahedrons yielding 72 per cent. of iron. The furnace is formed of clay, four or five feet high, cone-shaped, with a hearth at the bottom, round, and about twenty inches in diameter, the mouth at the top half that breadth. A pipe is inserted at the bottom of the cone, the outer end of which is connected with a pair of bottle-shaped skin-bellows. A layer of charcoal is placed at the bottom of the furnace and lit, on that a layer of ore, and this is repeated till there are seven layers of charcoal and as many of ore. Two men then work the bellows for two hours, when all the ore fuses, and the metal runs together in a mass. It costs less than a rupee to construct a furnace, and about thirty rupees' worth of iron can be made in it in a year. But a further process is necessary to convert the iron into the famous steel, and that process hardly yet seems thoroughly understood; its success probably depends upon a manual instinctive dexterity handed down from generations. The iron cake is again fused, and some uncharred wood and green leaves of the *Asclepias gigantea* are enclosed with it in the crucible. The fusing takes twenty-four hours, and on breaking the crucible the steel is found in a sort of button, the surface radiated as though crystallized. It has increased in weight, is extremely hard, of compact texture, and brilliant white colour at the fracture, and requires to be annealed three or four times, and exposed to a red heat for twelve or sixteen hours.

This is the far-famed 'wootz,' or Indian steel, whence were forged those Damascus blades that would shear asunder fine muslin webs floating in the air, and sever sheets of paper drifted against them on running water. The success of the forging is said to depend on the due application and proportion of the Asclepias leaves. This plant grows, dock-like, in profusion over the plains and waste ground of the dry central districts of Madras. In Malabar and on the rainy western coast it is hardly ever seen, and there, though the laterite soil is richly charged with iron and extensively smelted, the Malabar smiths cannot produce the steel,—they lack the secret of the mysterious leaf. The Asclepias plant throughout its stem and broad blue-green leaves is filled with a milky juice, and its effect on metal depends on a recondite chemical cause, very far from obvious; and it is difficult to imagine how it could have been discovered in an unscientific age and country: its use and application were probably hit upon by accident, like the making of glass and the Tyrian dye.

But the Indian steel has one defect which goes far to explain the rarity of its appearance, and the profusion of European steel, in great armouries of old date, like that in the Tanjor palace, and that defect is its exceeding brittleness. Worked up in the European style it would break like glass. Hence, doubtless, the preference shown for the tougher and more enduring European blades. Moreover, the ancient Indian smiths seem to have had a difficulty in hitting on a medium between this highly refined brittle steel and a too-soft metal. In ancient sculptures, as at Śrirangam, near Trichinapalli, life-sized figures of armed men are often represented bearing *kuttars* or long daggers of a peculiar shape; the handles, not so broad as in later *kuttys*, are covered with a long narrow guard, and the blades, 2¼ inches broad at bottom, taper very gradually to a point through a length of 18 inches, more than three-fourths of which is deeply channelled on both sides with six converging grooves. There were many of these in the Tanjor armoury, perfectly corresponding with those sculptured in the old temples, and all were so soft as to be easily bent,—recalling the fault noted by Tacitus and Cæsar in the weapons of the ancient Gauls and Germans.

MISCELLANEA.

HIWAN THSANG'S ACCOUNT OF HARSHAVARDHANA.

The reigning king is of the *Fei-she* (Vâiśya) caste; is surnamed *Ho-li-sha-fa-t'an-na* (Harshavardhana);[1] he rules over and holds the whole country. They reckon three kings in two generations. His father's surname was *Po-lo-kie-lo-fa-t'an-na* (Prabhâkaravar-

[1] In Chinese *Ha-tseng*, 'increaser of joy.' See note 9 below.

dhana);[2] his elder brother was called *Ho-lo-she-fa-t'an-na* (Râjyavardhana). *Wang-tseng*[3] ascended the throne as eldest son, and ruled in a virtuous way. At that time *She-shang-kia* (Śaśâṅka),[4] king of the realm of *Kie-lo-na-su-fa-la-na* (Karṇasuvarṇa)[5] in Eastern India, said daily to his ministers: "When there is a wise king in the neighbourhood it is dangerous for the state." Upon that he treacherously invited him to a meeting and killed him (Râjyavardhana).[6] The inhabitants (of Kanyâkubja) having lost their prince, the state became a prey to disorder. Then a minister named *Po-ni* (Bhâṇi),[7] who enjoyed much authority, spoke thus to his colleagues: "The fate of the kingdom should be decided to-day. The (eldest) son of our first king is dead; the brother of that prince is benevolent and humane, and Heaven has endowed him with filial piety and reverence. From the impulse of his heart he will revere his parents and have confidence in his subjects. I desire to see him inherit the throne. What think you of it? Let each speak his own opinion."

As all admired his virtues, no one had a different opinion. Then the ministers and magistrates besought him to ascend the throne: "Royal prince," said they, "condescend to listen to us. Our first king had accumulated merits and amassed virtues, and he reigned with glory. When *Wang-tseng* (Râjyavardhana) succeeded him, we thought that he would continue to the end of his career. But by the incapacity of his ministers he has gone and fallen under the sword of his enemy; that has been a great disgrace to the realm. It is we who are to blame. The opinion of the public is manifested in the songs of the people, and all the world sincerely submits to your resplendent talents. Rule, then, gloriously over the country. If you can avenge the injuries of your family, wipe out the disgrace of the state, and render illustrious the heritage of your father: what merit will be comparable to yours? We supplicate you, do not spurn our wishes."

"In all times," replied the royal prince, "the inheritance of a kingdom has been a heavy load. Before mounting a throne one ought to consider maturely. For myself, in truth, I have only moderate ability; but now, that my father and my brother are no more, if I decline the inheritance of the crown, shall I thereby do any good to the people? It is right that I should obey public opinion, and forget my weakness and incapacity. Now, on the banks of the Ganges there is a statue of *Kwan-tseu-ts'ai-pu-sa* (Avalôkitêśvara Bôdhisattva).[8] As it works many miracles, I wish to go and pray to it." He went at once to the statue, fasted, and made fervent prayers. The Bôdhisattva, touched by his heartfelt sincerity, appeared to him in person and asked thus: "What do you ask for with such pressing importunity?"

"I have done nothing but accumulate evils," replied the royal prince; "I have lost my father, who was good and affectionate, and my elder brother, a pattern of gentleness and kindness, has been shamefully massacred. Their death has been to me a double affliction. I perceive that I have but little ability; however, the inhabitants of the state wish to raise me to honours, and require that I should succeed to the throne, to render famous the heritage of my father. But, as my mind is dull and devoid of knowledge, I venture to ask your holy opinion."

The *Pu-sa* (Bôdhisattva) said to him: "In your previous life you dwelt in a forest: you were the Bhikshu of a hermitage, and you discharged your duties with indefatigable zeal. By the effect of that virtuous conduct you have become the son of this king. The king of the state of *Kin-eul* (Karṇasuvarṇa) having destroyed the law of Buddha,

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[2] In Chinese *Tso-kwang-tseng*, *i.e.* 'the increase of that which makes light.' In place of *Po-lo*, *Po-lo-p'o* (Prabha) is required. He is also called Pratâpaśîla by Bâṇa,—see note 6.

[3] The Chinese translation of Râjyavardhana, *i.e.*, 'increase of the king.'

[4] In Chinese *Yue'i*, 'moon.' This is Śaśâṅka Narendragupta of Bâṇa's *Harshacharita*.

[5] *Kin-eul*, 'golden-eared' or 'having gold in the ears.' The town of Raṅgâmatti, 12 miles south of Murshidâbâd, stands on the site of an old city called Kurusona-ka-gadh, supposed to be a Bengâli corruption of the name in the text: *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. XXII. (1853) pp. 281, 282; *Jour. R. As. Soc.* (N. S.) vol. VI p. 248.

[6] From the incomplete *Harshacharita* of Bâna, a poet who seems to have lived at the court of Harshavardhana, we learn that Pushpabhûti, a native of the country of Śrîkaṇṭha, in which was the town of Sthânvîśvara, that is, Thânesar, was the ancestor of Pratâpaśîla or Prabhâkaravardhana, king of Kanauj, who is said to have subdued the Hûṇas, with Sindhu, Gûrjara, Lâṭa, and Mâlava. He married Yaśôvatî, and "his family consisted of three children: two sons, Râjyavardhana and Harsha," and a daughter, Mahâdevî or Râjyaśrî. To Bhandî, a subject of high rank, Râjyavardhana and Harshavardhana were entrusted for their education. Râjyaśrî was married at Kanyâkubja to Grahavarmâ, the son of Avantivarmâ, of the Maukhara family; but on the day of Prabhâkaravardhana's death Grahavarmâ was massacred by the king of Mâlava, and Râjyaśrî carried off. Râjyavardhana, taking Bhandî with him, and an army of ten thousand horse, followed the king of Mâlava and slew him; but he himself was defeated and killed by Śaśâṅka Narendragupta, king of Gauda or Bengal, and succeeded by his younger brother Harsha, whom his officers urged to avenge his brother's death. But the Hindu epic breaks off on the recovery of Râjyaśrî among the Vindhya mountains.—See Hall's *Vâsavadattâ*, pp. 51, 52; *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. X. pp. 38-45.

[7] Bhandin—according to Bâna.

[8] The Padmapâṇi of Nepâlese Mythology, and Kwan-lin of the Chinese. Cont. Burnouf, *Introd. à l'Hist. du Bouddh.* 2me ed. pp. 101, 121, 196-205, 212; Vassilief, *Le Boud.* pp. 125, 175, 178, 186, 197; *Jour. R. As. Soc.* (N. S.) vol. II. pp. 136ff. 418ff., Hodgson's *Illust.* pp. 68, 78, 135, or reprint, pt. i. pp. 47, 54, 95; Laidlay's *Fah-hian*, pp. 115-117; Beal's *Buddhist Pilgrims*. pp. 60, 167; *Journal of Philology*, vol. VI. (1876) pp. 222-231.

it is right that you should succeed to the crown, to restore the splendour of the kingdom. If you fill your heart with affection and compassion, if your mind sympathize with distress, before long you will rule over the five Indies. If you wish to prolong the duration of your dynasty, it will be necessary to follow my instructions. Through my secret protection I will obtain for you distinguished honour, and no neighbouring king will be able to resist you. But do not ascend the *Siñhâsana* (throne), nor take the title of Mahârâja."

Having received these instructions he returned. He then accepted the inheritance of royalty, called himself by the name of prince royal (Kumârarâja), and took the title of *Shi-lo-'o-t'ie-to* (Śîlâditya).[9] Thereupon he gave the following orders to all his subjects:—"The death of my brother is not yet punished, and the neighbouring states are not obedient to my laws; I do not know when I shall be able to eat in peace. Let all you magistrates unite your hearts and arms."

Immediately he collected all the troops of the kingdom, and caused the soldiers to be exercised. He had an army of five thousand elephants; the cavalry numbered twenty thousand horse; and the infantry fifty thousand men. He marched from west to east to punish the insubordinate kings. The elephants did not put off their housings, nor the men their cuirasses. Finally, in the middle of the sixth year, he made himself master of the five Indies. After increasing his dominions, he still further added to his army; the elephant corps was raised to sixty thousand, and the cavalry to a hundred thousand. At the end of thirty years the war ceased, and, by his wise administration, he spread union and peace everywhere. He applied himself to economy, cultivated virtue, and practised doing good at the risk of neglecting food and sleep. He forbade throughout the five Indies the use of meat, adding that if any one slew a living being he should be condemned to death without hope of pardon. Near the banks of the Ganges he caused to be raised many thousands of *Stûpas* that were each a hundred feet high. In the cities, large and small, of the five Indies, in the villages, in public places, and at the crossing of roads, he caused almshouses[10] to be built, where are placed food and drink and medicines to be given in charity to travellers, the poor, and the indigent. These benevolent distributions never cease. Wherever the Saint (Buddha) had left the mark of his feet, he erected *Kia-lan* (Saṅghârâmas). Every five years he convokes an assembly called *Wu-che-ta-hoei* (the great assembly of Deliverance—Môksha mahâ parishad). He empties the treasury and state stores to do good to everybody; he only reserves the arms, which are not suitable to give in alms. Every year he collects the *Shamen* (Śramaṇas) of the various kingdoms. On the third and seventh day he makes the four offerings. He decorates richly the *Chair of the Law*, and causes *seats of exposition*[11] to be arranged in great numbers. He orders the monks to argue together, and judges of their force or weakness. He rewards the good and punishes the evil, degrades the ignorant and promotes men of ability. If any one faithfully observes the rules of discipline, if he is distinguished by the purity of his morals, the king makes him ascend the *Siñhâsana* (lion's seat—on his throne), and himself receives from his lips the precept of the law. If any one, however, who leads a pure and irreproachable life be deficient in knowledge and learning, he is pleased to give him proofs of his esteem and regard.

If a man forget the rules and discipline, and allow his vices to appear in open day, the prince expels him from his kingdom, and wishes to see or hear no more of him. When the petty kings of the neighbouring states, their ministers and their principal officers, unweariedly practise good, and strive after virtue with unabated zeal, he takes them by the hand, makes them sit on his throne, and calls them his 'good friends.' As for those who pursue a different course he scorns to speak to them face to face. If he require to consult any one about a matter, he puts himself in connection with him by means of a continual exchange of couriers. Often he himself visits his dominions, and examines the manners of the inhabitants. He has no fixed residence; wherever he stops, he causes a cottage to be constructed and there stays. Only in the three months of the rainy season (Varshâs) he suspended his excursions. Daily at his travelling abode he caused choice victuals to be prepared to support men of different creeds, namely, a thousand monks and five hundred Brâhmans. He divided the day into three parts: in the first he was engaged with public affairs and the government; the second he devoted to meritorious deeds,

[9] In Chinese *Kiai-ji*, 'sun of moral conduct.' Hall remarks that he has not found this title in Bâna's *Harshacharita*, and questions its accuracy, because the titles of Kshatriyas only end in *âditya*, whilst Hiwan Thsang informs us that Harsha was a Vaiśya—*Vâsav.* pp. 53, 54. But in Reinaud's *Mémoire sur l'Inde* the first sentence of this extract is translated thus:—"The actual king is of the Vaiśya caste; the (*late*) king bore the honorific title of Harsha-Vardhana (*the increaser of joy*); he reigned over that country." As Hiwan Thsang wrote after his return to China in A.D. 648, when Harsha was dead and a usurper had seized on the government, this very slight alteration in the translation removes all difficulty.

[10] In Chinese, *T'sing-liu*—'pure rooms,' Punyaśâlâs.

[11] We may here understand the seat of the president charged to expound *the Law* (or teaching), and the seats of the clergy who should assist or take part in the exposition of the texts. In Chinese these are *i-yen*, 'the mats of sense' (*vulyo* justice).

and cultivated goodness with unremitting fervour: the entire day is not sufficient for him.

At the beginning (Hiwan Thsang) having received an invitation from the king *Kew-mo-lo* (Kumâra), he replied, 'I go from the kingdom of *Mo-kie-t'o* (Magadha) to the kingdom of *Kia-mo-liupo* (Kâmarûpa).'

At that time the king *Kiai-ji* (Śîlâditya) was visiting his states. As he was in the kingdom of *Kie-chu-u-li-lo*[12] (Kajûghira), he gave this order to the king *Kew-mo-lo* (Kumâra): "Come with the foreign monk from the convent of *Nolan-t'o* (Nâlanda) and see me at once."

The above (*monk*) in company with *Kew-mo-lo* (Kumâra), proceeded to the king. After refreshing himself from his fatigue, the king *Kiai-ji* (Śîlâditya) said to him: "From what kingdom do you come; what do you seek for?"—"I come," answered the traveller, "from the kingdom of the great *Thang*, and ask your permission to inquire after the law of Buddha."—"In what country is the kingdom of the great *Thang?*" asked the king; "how far is it from this?"—"It is situated," replied he, "to the north-east from this country, and is distant many tens of thousands of *lis*. It is the country which the Indians call *Mo-ho-china* (Mahâchîna)."—"I have heard it said," rejoined the king, "that in the country of *Mo-ho-chi-na* (Mahâchîna) there is an emperor called *the king of Thsin*. In his youth he distinguished himself by marvellous sagacity; having become great, he displayed a remarkable ability in the art of war. During the preceding reign the empire was the prey of anarchy; it was divided and fell to pieces; every one flew to arms, and people were immersed in misfortune. But the emperor, styled the *King of Thsin*, who at a fortunate moment had devised great plans, manifested all his kindliness and tender mercy. He saved the people from shipwreck, and stilled the interior of the seas (*the empire*). His laws and benefactions were spread abroad. The peoples of other countries and strange lands received his reforms with delight, and avowed themselves his subjects. The multitude which he generously supported sang musical pieces in honour of the victories of the *King of Thsin*. For a long while past I have heard his praises celebrated. Has the commendation of his splendid virtues a real foundation? Is that indeed what is called the kingdom of the great *Thangs?*"

"Yes," was the reply, "*Chi-na* is the name of the dominion of our first kings, and *Ta-thang* (the great Thangs) is that of the ruling dynasty. Now, before the sovereign had inherited the throne, he was called the '*King of Thsin*'; now that he enjoys the supreme power, he is called *Thien-tseu* (the son of heaven—the emperor).

"At the termination of the preceding dynasty[13] the people were without a master; civil war prevailed and men were slain. The King of *Thsin*, who had received from heaven a great soul, manifested his good will and mercy. Thanks to the power of his arms, the wicked were destroyed, the eight regions began to breathe, and the ten thousand kingdoms came to offer him tribute. Bountifully he sustains all creatures; he reverences the *three precious things;* he lightens the taxes and mitigates punishments; the realm has superabundant resources, and the people enjoy undisturbed peace. It would be difficult to enumerate completely his great views and his grand reforms."

"Wonderful!" exclaimed *Kiai-ji* (Śîlâditya): "the peoples of that country (China) owe their happiness to their saintly king."

At this time king *Kiai-ji*, being about to return to the *city of hunchbacked maidens* (Kanyâkûbja), summoned an *Assembly of the Law*. Preceded by a multitude of several hundreds of thousands, he stopped on the south bank of the Ganges. The king *Kew-mo-lo* (Kumâra), preceded by a multitude of some tens of thousands, occupied the northern bank. Then the troops, separated by the river which flowed between them, advanced at the same time by water and by land. The two kings opened the procession. The four corps of the army formed an imposing escort. Some on boats, others on elephants, advanced to the sound of drums, marine conches, flutes and guitars. At the end of ninety days they arrived at Kanyâkûbja, in the middle of a great forest of trees in blossom, on the west bank of the Ganges. At this juncture twenty kings of different districts, who had previously received the orders of Śîlâditya, each brought the most distinguished *Sha-men* (Śramaṇas) and *Po-lo-men* (Brâhmaṇs) of their kingdoms; magistrates and warriors had come to join the great assembly.

The king (Śîlâditya) had already constructed an immense *Kia-lan* (Saṅghârâma). On the east of the Saṅghârâma he had raised a tower richly ornamented and nearly a hundred feet high. In the middle was a golden statue of Buddha, of the same size as the king. To the south of the tower

[12] Another form of the Chinese is *Kie-shing-kie-lo* (Kajiṅgara); the geographical list in the *Mahâbhârata* mentions the Kajingas among the people of Eastern India (Wilson's *Vishnu Purâṇa*, 4to ed. p. 196, note 163, and in the Singhalese chronicles mention is made of Kajanghêlê-Niyangamê (Upham's *Sac. and Hist. Books*, vol. II. p. 144). The place mentioned above must have been somewhere about Râjmahâl, which district went by the name of Kânkjol (Gladwin's *Ayeen Akberu*, vol. II. p. 178; Hamilton's *Gazetteer*, s. v. 'Râjamahal'), from a town 18 miles south of Râjmahâl (Cunningham, *Anc. Geog.* p. 479); conf. also *Jour. R. As. Soc.* (N. S.) vol. VI. p. 237; M. Julien, *Mém. sur les Cont. Occid.* tom. II. p. 387.

[13] The dynasty of the *Sui*.

he had set up an altar made of precious materials, where to bathe the statue of Buddha.

Fourteen or fifteen *li* to the north-east of this place he made also a travelling palace. It was then the second month of the spring season. From the first day he had delicious viands presented to the *Sha-men* (Śramaṇas) and *Po-lo-men* (Brâhmaṇs). On the twenty-first day, from the travelling palace to the great *Kia-lan* (convent), he caused tents to be placed on both sides of the road, which shone bright with the richest ornaments. Musicians who stayed there constantly made concerts of harmony in turns. The king sent out from his travelling palace a golden statue, hollow inside and in *alto-rilievo*, about three feet high. It was carried on a huge elephant covered with a housing of great value.

King *Kiaï-ji* (Śîlâditya), in the character of *Ti-shi* (Indra), carried a precious parasol and went on the left of the image. King *Kew-mo-lo* (Kumâra), in the character of *Fan* (Brahmâ), took a white fly-flap in his hand and went on the right. Each of these had for escort a body of five hundred elephants covered with armour. Before and behind the image of Buddha were a hundred great elephants. They carried musicians who beat the drum and filled the air with sounds of harmony. King *Kiaï-ji* (Śîlâditya) scattered at every step fine pearls, precious stones of every sort, and flowers of gold and silver, in honour of the *three precious things*. Forthwith he stood on the altar, made of precious materials, and bathed the image with perfumed water. The king took it himself upon his shoulders and carried it to the top of the western tower. Then, to do it honour, he offered tens, hundreds, thousands of vestments of silk decked with all sorts of precious stones. At that time there were only twenty Śramaṇas who followed the statue; the kings of different countries acted as an escort.

When they had done eating, the king re-assembled (in a conference) the men of different studies (the monks and the Brâhmaṇs), who discussed the most abstract expressions and handled the most recondite principles. Towards evening the king returned to his travelling house. Daily the statue was thus conducted and accompanied in great pomp as at first. But when the last day of the assembly had come, all at once the great tower took fire, and the double-storeyed pavilion which rose over the gate of the convent became a prey to the flames. The king then said: "I have spent the wealth of my kingdom in alms. After the example of our ancient kings I have built this convent, and have desired to distinguish myself by meritorious acts; but my weak virtue has found no support. At the sight of such calamities, and so sad omens, why should I care to live?"

Then he burnt perfumes, addressed humble prayers to Buddha, and pronounced these words:— "Thanks to the good deeds of my previous life, I have become king of the five Indies. I desire by the power of my virtue to extinguish this terrible fire. If this vow be without effect, may I die at this instant!"

At these words he threw himself before the gate; the fire was extinguished as if it had been at once smothered, and the smoke disappeared. The kings, witnesses of this marvel, felt redoubled fear and respect; but he, without change of countenance, and in the same tone of voice as before, questioned the kings in these terms:—

"This fire suddenly has reduced to ashes the work which I had succeeded in making. What do you think of this event?"

The kings prostrated themselves at his feet, and answered him with tears in their eyes. "We hoped," said they, "that the sacred monument you had finished would last to future ages. Who would have imagined that on the first day it would be reduced to ashes? Add to this that the Brâhmaṇs might rejoice at it in secret, and are congratulating one another."

The king said to them: "By what has happened one may see the truth of Buddha's word. Brâhmaṇs and men of other studies obstinately hold that all is eternal[14] But our great master (the Buddha) has shown us the impermanency (of all). As for me, I have completed my alms and have fulfilled the wish of my heart. In seeing this fire quenched, I recognize anew the truth of the words of *Ju-laï*. Here has been great happiness, and there is no cause to yield to tears."

Having finished these words, he followed the kings and ascended by the east side to the top of the great *Stûpa*. Having reached the summit, he looked around, then he descended the steps. But all at once a strange man ran to meet him with a dagger in his hand. The king, closely pressed, retreated some steps and remounted the stair, then descending he seized the man to give him over to the magistrates.

At this moment the magistrates, filled with fear and dismay, did not delay to run to his aid. All the kings demanded that the man should be killed. But king *Kiaï-ji* (Śîlâditya), without showing in his

[14] The Chinese has here *Chi-ch'ang-kien*, 'upholding the idea of the eternity (of men and things).' The Dictionary *San-thsang-fa-sou* (lib. vii. fol. 7) thus explains this expression: "*Ch'ang-kien* signifies, for example, that our body is born again after death; since it continues to die and to be renewed without interruption." In this passage, the king undoubtedly alludes to works made by man, namely, to the tower and pavilion which the fire had destroyed.

manner the least anger, prevented his being put to death. The king himself questioned him thus:—"What wrong have I done to you, that you should make such a criminal attempt?" "Great king," said he, "your goodness is free from partiality, and men from within and from without owe to you their happiness; but I, fool that I am, and incapable of forming noble aims, I have allowed myself to be duped by a word from the Brâhmans. All at once I have become an assassin, and bound myself to kill your Majesty."

The king said to him: "Why have the Brâhmans formed so wicked a purpose?"

"Sire," answered he, "after bringing together the princes of all kingdoms, you have emptied your treasury and stores to honour the *Sha-men* (Śramaṇas) and to make a statue (*in gold*) of Buddha; but the Brâhmans, whom you have made come from far, have received no mark of attention from your Majesty. They have felt greatly disgraced by it, and charged the madman with whom you speak to make this shameful attempt."

Further, the king severely questioned the heretics and their partizans. There were five hundred *Po-lo-men* (Brâhmans), all endowed with superior talents, who had presented themselves at the call of the king. Jealous of the *Sha-men* (Śramaṇas), whom the king had loaded with honours, they had thrown a fire-arrow which had set the precious tower in flames. They hoped that during the efforts that would be made to extinguish the fire the crowd would be scattered in disorder, and they would take advantage of the occasion to kill the king. Having missed the opportunity they hoped for, they had hired this man to run upon him in a bye-path and stab him.

At this moment the ministers of all the kings demanded the extermination of the Brâhmans. The king punished the chiefs of the plot and pardoned their partizans. He banished five hundred Brâhmans beyond the limits of India, and returned to the capital.[15]

On the north-west of the city is a *Stûpa*, built by king *Wu-yew* (Aśoka). At this place *Ju-laï* (the Tathâgata) had expounded the most excellent laws.

Near by are places where the four past Buddhas had sat, and where they had walked in exercise. There is, besides, a small *Stûpa* which contains the hair and nails of *Ju-laï* (the Tathâgata), and another called the *Stûpa* of the Exposition of the Law.[16]

On the south side and close to the Ganges are three *Kia-lan* (Sañghârâmas), which have walls alike and the gates different. The images of Buddha are of striking beauty; the monks are grave and given to silence; they are served by many thousands of Brâhmans. In a casket ornamented with precious stones, which occupies a pure house (*Vihâra*), there is a tooth of Buddha, an inch and a half long. It is of remarkable brilliance and extraordinary colour which changes from morning to night. It is visited from everywhere; the magistrates and representatives of the people unite in giving their homage to it. The daily crowds are reckoned by hundreds and thousands. The keepers, observing the noise and confusion increasing daily, have imposed a heavy tax, and have made it known everywhere that whoever wishes to see Buddha's tooth must pay a large gold piece. Nevertheless the devotees who come to see and worship the tooth are still as numerous, and willingly pay the tax of the piece of gold. Every fast-day it (*the box?*) is brought out and placed on a raised pedestal. Hundreds and thousands of men burn perfumes and offer handfuls of flowers. But though they do so the tooth casket never disappears under the heap of flowers.

Before the *Kia-lan* (*convent*), right and left, there are two Vihâras, each nearly a hundred feet high. The foundations are of stone, and the building of brick. The statues of Buddha which are set up inside them are decked with many precious stones. They are cast partly of gold or silver, and partly of yellow copper. Before each of these two Vihâras is a small *Kia-lan* (convent) to the south-east, and at a little distance from the *Kia-lan* is a great Vihâra, built of brick on stone foundations. In the middle of it is the image of *Ju-lai* (the Tathâgata), represented standing. It is nearly thirty feet high. It is cast of brass, and decked with precious stones of exquisite beauty.

On the stone walls which surround the Vihâra

[15] Hiwan Thsang tells us that, in accordance with a prediction made ten years previously, "the king *Kiai-ji* (Śîlâditya) died at the end of the period *Tong-hoei*," or A.D. 650 (*Vie et Voyages*, p. 215); Ma-twan-lin places his death, however, in the 22nd of the years *Ching-kwan*, or A.D. 648 (Pauthier's *Examen*, pp. 53, 54, or *Jour. Asiat.*, 3e sér., 1839, pp. 309, 310); and, as he had probably ruled upwards of forty years, we may place the beginning of his reign about the same time as that of Pulikêśî's, or a little before it, in A.D. 607,—the date given by Reinaud, *Mém. sur l'Inde*, pp. 136-143; *Frag Arab. et Pers.*, p. 139, note 1. Cunningham (*Bhilsa Topes*, p. 164) places Toramâna in A.D. 520 to 550, while Bhâû Dâjî (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. VIII. p. 249) places him about 500. There seems little reason to doubt that this was the brother of Hiranya (*Râjataraṅginî* III. 102-104, 122). Mâtṛigupta, the successor of Hiranya, is represented as having been placed on the throne by Harsha-Vikramâditya of Ujjain, who is described as ruling over all India (*ib.* III. 125, 242, 265, 281-2, 285, 307, 323). And Harsha's son and successor is called Pratâpaśîla and Śîlâditya (*ib.* III. 325). This Śîlâditya of Mâlava seems to be the same as is spoken of by Hiwan Thsang (*Vie et Voyages*, pp. 204—206; *Mém.*, tom. II. p. 156) as having lived sixty years before his time, and who had reigned fifty years,—probably about A.D. 530-580,—but who must not be confounded with Harshavarddhana of Kanauj. Conf. *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. VI. p 226; *Ind. Ant.* vol. II. pp. 128, 194, note; vol. IV. p. 365.

[16] A *stûpa* raised in the place where the law had been expounded.

clever sculptors have represented in full detail all the acts of the *Ju-lai* (the Tathâgata) whilst he led the life of a *Pu-sa* (Bôdhisattva).

A short distance south of the stone Vihâra is a temple of the Sun-god.

To the south, and not far from this monument, is a temple of the God *Ta-tseu-ts'ai* (Mahêśvara-Dêva). These two temples are constructed of a blue stone, beautifully bright, and ornamented with wonderful sculptures. They are of exactly the same form and dimensions as the Vihâra of Buddha. Each of these temples has a thousand attendants to water and sweep it. The sound of the drum and of chants accompanied by the guitar are continued day and night without interruption.

Six or seven *li* to the south-east of the capital, and on the south of the Ganges, is a *Stûpa* about two hundred feet high, which was built by king *Wu-yew* (Aśoka). Formerly in this place *Ju-lai* (the Tathâgata) preached for six months on the non-eternity of the body,[17] and on the emptiness (uselessness) of mortifications of it, and its inherent impurity.[18]

Near by are various places where the four past Buddhas had sat, and where they had walked in taking exercise. There is, besides, a small *Stûpa* which contains the hair and nails of *Ju-lai* (the Tathâgata). If a sick person reverently makes the circuit of it with active faith, he never fails to recover health and to secure felicity.—From Stanislas Julien's *Mémoires sur les Contrées Occidentales*, tom. I. pp. 247 265.

CONTI POMIGLIANESI.

"Pomigliano d'Arco is a large village lying at the foot of Mount Vesuvius, on the road from Naples to Nola," which, moreover, has an illustrious citizen, Signor Vittorio Imbriani, not above collecting and publishing the folklore of his neighbourhood, and has further had the good fortune to attract the notice of Signor De Gubernatis and M. Marc Monnier, to the latter of whom (*apud* the *Revue des deux Mondes* of 1st November 1877, pp. 133ff.) I am indebted for the above information, and for the two stories appended. The resemblance of one to the *Rámáyana* is commented on by the authors quoted; that of the other to the story of Turî and Basanta (*Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. p. 260) is almost as striking; but for my part I am shy of drawing conclusions.

The story of the prince who had an ill step dame, and who slew the giant with ten heads.[1]

In the days when all men were healthy, wealthy, and wise lived a great king 9000 years old. His first wife had left him a fine brave son. But having wed a second queen he had in a loving moment promised her a boon, be it what it might; and she required that the eldest son should be banished, and her own son have the crown.

Expelled by his cruel stepmother, the prince fled to the greenwood with the princess his wife. But one day that he had chased a deer till he was a long way from his hut *the*[2] ten-headed monster carried off the princess.

The prince, not finding her on his return, was in a bad way, and set off in pursuit. After a long tramp he met the king of the monkeys, who complained to him of being vexed by a monster. (In those days beasts had speech.) To do him a good turn, the prince faced the monster and slew him. In those days beasts had gratitude too; the king of the monkeys, having learnt that the ten-headed monster had carried off the princess, sent his subjects to see what had become of her. The monkeys lost their way and were famished, but a good fairy gave them victuals and put them in the way.

They seek long and hard; at last they meet the vulture, who tells them that the ten-headed monster has carried off the princess beyond the sea. But how will they cross the ocean? The monkeys, in their distress, seek the king of the bears; he is too old, and advises them to apply to the *son of the wind*. This last flies over the sea, sees the princess and brings back news of her. Then the prince, by means of a marvellous bridge, crosses the sea himself, meets the ten-headed monster, himself slays him, and brings back his unlucky wife.

The story of two boys who ate the heart and liver of a fowl, whereby the first became a pope, and the other won a purse of fifty ducats daily.[3]

Once upon a time there was a man who, having naught to do in the streets, set off for the country. He chanced to look up at a tree and saw the nest of a certain fowl. He climbed up and took the mother-bird and two eggs, whereon was written, "Whoso eateth the heart of this fowl will become a pope, and whoso eateth its liver will win a purse of fifty ducats daily;" but he saw naught of all that. He went home and said to his wife, "What shall we do with this fowl? Our children perish of hunger.

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[17] We know that, according to the Buddhists, man runs ceaselessly through the circle of transmigration (Dict. *San-thsang-fa-su*, bk. IV. fol. 27): see above, note 14.

[18] The Dict. *San-thsang-fa-su*, bk. xlvi. fol. 1, enumerates thirty-six sorts of impure things inherent in the human body, *e.g.* tears, spittle, perspiration, urine, fæces, &c.

[1] *Revue des deux Mondes*, tome XXIV. (1 Nov. 1877) p. 164.

[2] *Sic in* "*francisco*." If the definite article or an equivalent is used in the original Italian or patois, it is a curious testimony to the wide-spread renown of Râvana.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 147ff.

I will carry it to our gossip, and we will make a trifle of porridge for the weans." He went to his gossip, and quoth he, "Gossip, I bring you this fowl and her two eggs to amuse your children." The gossip said he wanted none of it; but, as the other insisted, at last told him to be off with his bird The man took it and went off in a huff, forgetting the two eggs on his gossip's table.

He, looking on his table, finds the two eggs, reads the inscription, and says he, "Bad luck to it! what have I done? I let my little gossip carry off the fowl, and here's all this written on the eggs." He runs to the other and says that his children are crying for want of the fowl. "Then the man answered him, 'You are late, the fowl's eaten.' His gossip went home and took counsel of his wife, and said, 'What shall we do now, old woman?' She said that he should take the things (the poor man's children) and say that he'd rear them; and that was what the gossip did. He went to the man and says he, 'Little gossip, I want your two youngsters because you can't feed them; and I'll rear them.' He brought them home and put them to school; and every morning his wife made their bed, and every morning she found in it a purse of fifty ducats; and she used them right well. After six or seven years the gossip had laid in lots of money, and the weans were well grown. One morning the two lads set to playing one with the other in their bed, and if they did, out fell the purse of fifty ducats. When they saw that, they said, 'This is no place for us now; our father's gossip has put the purse here to see if we'd take the money'; and that same day they said to him that they would be off. Now he wasn't willing to let them go, but after many words he gave them two hundred ducats apiece and let them go. Off they went, and as they went they found themselves that night in a wood, and for want of better shelter they sat themselves down under an oaktree. When they got up in the morning, down fell the purse of fifty ducats. 'Ah, ha! that's why our dad's gossip wanted to have us at home—for this luck that's in us.' And off they went again, and came to cross-roads; and if they did, it chanced that one was behind just then; and they were parted and couldn't find each other. He who should win the purse of fifty ducats every morning got to one town, and he who should be pope to another; and he was on the street, for naught had he to eat; so to win his living he would be sexton of the church. Now one day there was a pope to be made in that town, and they loosed a dove; and when she lit on that sexton's head they made him the pope.

"Voilà," says M. Marc Monnier, "un nouveau genre de conclave qui se retrouve dans plus d'un conte populaire au Italie et d'ailleurs? Pareillement quand les rois sont embarrassés pour trouver un gendre, ils laissent tomber du haut d'un tour un mouchoir sur la foule," &c.

In India we should have let out the late lamented's elephant to find his successor in the first case; and in the second we have the Svayamvara. In both, the Eastern procedure seems the more dignified, and in the latter it has the additional merits of chivalry and common sense—things more easily combined than most people seem to think.

To cut a long story short, after adventures of little import to the purpose of this note, the brothers met at the court of him who had become pope, and lived happily ever after.

METRICAL VERSIONS FROM THE *MAHÂBHÂRATA*.

BY J. MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D., &c.

(*Continued from p.* 139.)

VIDULÂ AND SANJAYA.

A Kshatriya heroine's exhortation to her son.

Mahâbhârata, vv. 4494-4637.

There lived a Kshatriya queen of old,
Well known to fame, far-sighted, bold,
Who sate in councils, heard debate
Proceed on grave affairs of state,
Who, studying much and long, a store
Possessed of rich and varied lore.
She dwelt with joy 'mid war's alarms,
And loved to hear of feats of arms,
How Kshatriyas' power the proud subdued,
And blessed the subject multitude.
It chanced, a foe's superior might
Once overcame her son in fight;
And, all his host dispersing, drove
The prince in foreign lands to rove.
There, stunned by fortune's crushing blow,
He lived, and pined, in want and woe.
Despondng, sad, he deemed it vain
To seek to raise his head again.
His spirit seeing so depressed,
The mother thus her son addressed:—

Vidulâ.

"Of all thy friends the grief and bane,
Of all thy foes the joy and gain,—
No real son art thou of mine,
No scion of the kingly line.
A Kshatriya thou wast never born;
Of every warrior thou the scorn

Whence spring'st thou? from what outcast race?
All nobler sires thou would'st disgrace.
Who can of thee with honour speak?—
In spirit faint, in act so weak.
Desponding thus, hast thou no care
Thy shattered fortunes to repair?
Contemn thyself no longer; rise,
Awake to deeds of high emprize.
Why liest thou prone, as if the dread
Forked bolt of heaven had struck thee dead?
Start up, aspire to high renown;
By knightly deeds regain thy crown.
By force of will respect command;
Blaze fiercely, like a glowing brand.
Like smouldering chaff, that only smokes,
A weakling men's contempt provokes.
Whoever strikes a manly blow,
And strives to lay his foeman low,
Has done his duty: though he fail,
That failure let him ne'er bewail.
For duty wage a constant strife;
Than this, what other use has life?

Thy pious acts have borne no fruit;
And cut is now thy welfare's root.
If all thy hopes of good are gone,
In life why should'st thou litiger on?

Though hardly pressed, a warrior ne'er
Should yield to sad and weak despair.
Though fell'd to earth, a man should seize
With deadly grasp his foeman's knees,
Should drag him down with all his might,
And, smiting, end the deadly fight.

The sons who earn no honoured name
Can bring their mothers only shame.
Whoe'er in splendour, valour, lore,
Stands forth all other men before,
He justly claims—no other can—
The high and noble name of man.
He's falsely called a man whose heart
Is weak, who plays a woman's part.

On this our sad condition think:
We stand on utter ruin's brink,
From home and country driven, laid low,
Of joy bereft, and plunged in woe:
And wilt thou, nerveless, thus lie low,
Nor dare to strike another blow?

I called thee son, but now I see
I bore the Kali agé in thee.[1]
May woman never bear again
A son so base, so dire a bane!

Submission, meekness, ne'er can raise
The sunk, or bring them happier days.
Fierce, energetic, strife alone
Can win thee back thy father's throne.
Ambition only, restless, proud,
Can lift a man above the crowd.
Steel, then, thy heart:—a hero grown,
From haughty foes wrest back thy own.

Sanjaya.

"What worth has earth, its wealth, its joys,
Its power, its state, its glittering toys,—
What worth has even life,—for thee,
My mother, if thou hast not me?
Then urge me not to peril life,
In fruitless, bootless, desperate strife."

Vidulá.

"Their lot is base who once were great,
But now have fallen from high estate.
Who, masters once, dependent now,
To others' wills must humbly bow,
Whom none regards, and who, by need
Constrained, on others' bounty feed.
To such a servile life as now
Thou lead'st, my son; no longer bow.
Win back those days,—alert and brave,—
When thou wast lord, and not a slave,
When all men watched thy kingly nod,
And bent before thee as a god.
Like heavenly bliss is kingly sway,
Like hell their lot who must obey.[2]
The prince whose arm his rule assures,
And well his kinsfolks' weal secures,
He during life enjoys renown,
And earns at length a heavenly crown.

Yet thou continuest faint of heart,
And wilt not act a hero's part.
But know, whene'er from love of life,
A Kshatriya shrinks from battle's strife,
With no fierce warlike ardour burns,—
His tribe that recreant soldier spurns.

Yet why should I my speech prolong?
No pleas of mine, however strong,
Can sway, poor youth, thy wavering mind,
To all bold action disinclined.
Just so, no drugs his death can stay
Whose life is ebbing fast away.

Yet hear another reason why
Thou still in war thy chance should'st try.
The foe who now usurps thy throne
The peoples' love has never known.

[1] The Kali, which is the present Yuga, is the last of the four immense periods into which the Indian system of cosmogony divides the duration of the existing creation. The first, or Satya Yuga, was the age of perfection; and during those which have followed, the world is conceived to have been undergoing a gradual course of deterioration to the extent of one-fourth in each succeeding Yuga. In the Kali age corruption and calamity are thus regarded as attaining their climax. The word Kali as used in the text may thus be considered as denoting an impersonation or incarnation of all evils.

[2] This line, which has nothing corresponding to it in the original, is given as a counterpart to the preceding.

Too weak to rise,—with none to guide,
They watch the turn of fortune's tide.
But if men saw thee bent on war
Allies would flock from near and far.
With these combined, thy plans prepare,
Thy standard raise, and war declare.

Thy foe is mortal, bears no charm
To guard his life from deadly harm.
Go forward, then; to battle stride:
Successes yet thine arms abide.
Thy name is 'Victor;'[5] prove thy right
To bear it: triumph now in fight.

Whilst thou wast but a child, of old
A Brâhman seer thy lot foretold,
That after dire reverses thou
Once more in pride should'st rear thy brow.
The sage's word remembering, I
Expect thy coming victory.

But what a life is this we lead,
Starvation dreading, sunk in need!
What sad vicissitudes I've seen!
A princess born, a wedded queen,
Resplendent once with jewels bright,
My husband's joy, my friends' delight,
In splendour nursed, I knew no care;
And now!—but yet I'll not despair.

Should'st thou continue still to see
Thus plunged in woe thy spouse and me,
What joy could life then have for thee?

Our servants, all attached and good,
Have left us, forced by lack of food.
Our honoured teachers, Brâhman priests,
Enjoy no more their former feasts.
What comfort have I yet in store?
Shall glad bright mornings dawn no more?
It rends my heart, augments my woe,
To say a needy Brâhman "no."
In happier days my spouse and I
A Brâhman's suit could ne'er deny.

We stand before a trackless sea,
We have no raft, no guide but thee:
Be thou our pilot, steer us o'er,
And land us on a happier shore.
A dying life is this we live;
Do thou full life and vigour give.

What joy have I if thou disgrace
By shrinking fear thy fathers' race?
I could not bear to see thee act
A flatterer's part with servile tact.
A manly Kshatriya, highly born,
All base unworthy arts should scorn;
By fawning, cringing aspect, meek
For others' grace should never seek.
Think what our race's law requires,—
A law observed by all our sires,
On all their hearts inscribed, divine,
And why not, too, engraved on thine?—
A Kshatriya bold, with lofty brow,
To lower men should never bow,
But always grandly stand erect
With conscious, noble, self-respect,
And ever when nought can doom forefend
Defiant let him meet his end;
By force be broken,—never bend.

To duty, Brâhmans, gods above,
A Kshatriya bows with reverent love:
To these alone he homage pays;
All humbler men he lord-like sways."

Sanjaya.

"Thou hast a hard, an iron heart,
And play'st no loving mother's part,—
True daughter of a warrior line;
A fierce unbending soul is thine.
To all thy Kshatriya instincts true,
Thou dost not yield to love its due;
Nor seek to guard me as thy one
Supreme delight, thine only son!
But spurr'st me on, devoid of ruth,—
As if I were an alien youth,—
To join again in hopeless strife,
And all in vain to peril life.

What worth would earth, its wealth, its joys,
Its power, its state, its glittering toys,—
What worth would life,—possess for thee,
My mother, if thou hadst not me?"[6]

Vidulâ.

"Life has two aims,—with zeal pursued
By thoughtful men,—the right, the good.[5]
These worthy ends of life to gain
I've urged thee on, as yet in vain.
The time has come, the favoured day
For action,—long it may not stay;—
Improve it e'er it pass away:
Thy fame is perilled by delay.
Should I to warn thee now decline,
I'd show a fondness asinine.[6]

Thou cravest love, then prove thy right
To be indeed my heart's delight.
When thou shalt play the hero's part,
I then will clasp thee to my heart.

The Kshatriya race was formed for fight,
In martial deeds should take delight;
For heaven is earned by warriors all,
By those who conquer, those who fall."

[5] His name, "Sanjaya," means "victorious," or "victory." In the original these ideas are repeated here, *Vijaya* and *Jaya*, or Duty and Prosperity.

[6] This follows the original: "Were I not to address thee when thou art affected by infamy, this would be the weak, causeless fondness of a she-ass."

Sanjaya.

"I lack all means, have no allies,
To aid my hostile enterprise.
From home and empire rudely driven,
My forces into fragments riven,—
How can I face my conquering foe,
Or think, unhelped, to lay him low?
Alone, could even a giant hope
With fierce embattled hosts to cope?
But thou art fertile in resource;
Do thou direct and shape my course.
Thou bidd'st me now the strife renew;
What thou commandest, I will do."

Vidulá.

Let not thine ancient ill success
In war, my son, thy soul depress.
To self-distrust no longer yield;
Once more thy sceptre hope to wield.
Misfortune lasts not always long;
The strong grow weak, the weak grow strong.
But trust not chance; by strife alone,
And toil, canst thou regain thine own.

Heroic men, awake, alert,
Spring up, and all their force exert.
Resolved to win, with stubborn will,
Despising risk and braving ill,
They never rest, but struggle on
Till all the good they seek is won.

A well-starred prince, religious, wise,
To high estate must surely rise.
On such Śrí[7] smiles, benignly bright,
As rising suns the Orient light.

But listen yet, while I reveal,
How thou with other men should'st deal;
How thou with art, and tact, and skill,
May'st always mould them to thy will,
By varying means may'st all persuade,
Thy will to work, thy schemes to aid.
Men's several natures sharply note,
The various loves on which they dote,
Gold, splendour, pleasure, honour, fame,
Revenge, and every other aim;—
These mark, indulge, to these give scope;
And, swaying all by fear and hope,
Their passions use to serve thine ends,
To thwart thy foes, attach thy friends.
By such means, too, the wise man knows
To sow dissension 'mong his foes.
And never, son, evince alarm,
Whate'er may rise to threaten harm.

A ruler fear should never know,
Or, if he feels, should never show;
For if he shows he danger dreads,
O'er all his host a panic spreads.

I've shown thee how, if thou wilt dare,
Thou may'st thy losses yet repair.
I've stirred thee up to flee from shame,
To gain thyself a glorious name.
I've sought thy soul with hope t' inspire,
With martial glow thy breast to fire.
I've told thee now, though now forlorn,
Thou wast for future glory born.
And now, my son, at length arise,
Arise, and snatch the envied prize.

Now, last of all, my secret hear,
That thou no more may'st doubt or fear.
We yet possess, to thee unknown,
Large treasures, known to me alone.
And many hundred friends remain,
Good friends, who've borne misfortune's strain.
Whom no reverse of ours could shake,
Who common cause with us will make,—
They surely will not leave us now,
When fortune comes to crown thy brow.
What need for more, my son, what need?
So on to fight, and victory speed!"

Sanjaya.

"O thou, thy race's joy and pride,
Heroic mother, sagest guide,
Fond prophetess of coming good,
How thou hast roused my timid mood!
Whilst thou didst strive, in long discourse,
My languid soul to nerve with force,
In war of words I strove in vain
O'er thee the mastery to gain.
For thou couldst all my pleas refute,
And leave me stunned, abashed, and mute.
With thee to lead, sustain, and cheer,
How can I longer shrink or fear?
Drunk with the nectar of thy word,
To superhuman valour stirred,
I must, with thee to show the way,
Impossibilities essay.
I will not see the ocean whelm[8]
My own, my dear, paternal realm,
But lift it high above the wave,
Yea, death itself with joy will brave
My cherished heritage to save."

Thus by his mother's tauntings stung,
By those her exhortations fired,
Away the youth his weakness flung,
And snatched the prize her soul desired.

[7] The goddess of good fortune.

[8] The original verse (1624), literally translated, runs thus:—"This earth must be supported in the water. I must die, (plunging) down into an abyss, or precipice." This is thus explained by the Commentator: "This land, my paternal kingdom, sinking as it were in the water, . . . must be supported by me, or the sunken kingdom must be raised; or I must die in the gulf called battle; and not thus remain inactive." Supposing the word "earth" to stand for the world, the phrase might perhaps be understood of a superhuman effort, as I have done in the lines which precede.

The women of Râjputâna, as represented by Colonel Tod in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rájasthán* (see chapter xxiii. vol. I. pp. 607ff.[9]), maintain in more recent times the character of heroism ascribed to Vidulâ in this passage of the *Mahábhárata*. I give a few extracts. Vol. I. pp. 609f. (Madr. ed. pp. 523, 526, 528, 530, 537, and 543):—"'C'est aux hommes à faire des grandes choses; c'est aux femmes à les inspirer,' is a maxim to which every Râjput cavalier would subscribe, with whom the age of chivalry is not fled, though ages of oppression have passed over him. He knows there is no retreat into which the report of a gallant action will not penetrate, and so fair hearts in motion to be the objects of his search." P. 610:—"Like the ancient Germans or Scandinavians, the Râjput consults her in every transaction; from her ordinary actions he draws the omens of success, and he appends to her name the epithet of *devi*, or godlike." P. 613:—"Nor will the annals of any nation afford more numerous or more sublime instances of female devotion than those of the Râjputs; and such would never have been recorded were not the incentive likely to be revered and followed." P. 614:—"The annals of no nation on earth record a more ennobling or more magnanimous instance of female loyalty than that exemplified by Dêwaldê, mother of the Binafur brothers," &c. P. 617:—"Dêwaldê says, 'Would that the gods had made me barren, that I had never borne sons who thus abandon the paths of the Râjputs, and refuse to succour their prince in danger.'" P. 633:—"The Râjput mother claims her full share in the glory of her son, who imbibes at the maternal fount the first rudiments of chivalry; and the importance of this parental instruction cannot be better illustrated than in the ever recurring simile, 'Make thy mother's milk resplendent,'" &c.

(*To be continued.*)

BOOK NOTICES.

La Langue et la Littérature Hindoustanies en 1877: Revue annuelle. Par M. Garcin de Tassy, membre de l'Institut, professeur à l'école spéciale des langues orientales vivantes, président de la société asiatique, &c.

The venerable M. Garcin de Tassy has again inaugurated the advent of another year by issuing his *Revue annuelle* of the past. As the first and great event was the Imperial Assemblage of Dehli, some space is allotted to the description of the literary productions connected with it. The chief publications of the year are a canto of the *Rámáyana* of Tulsi Dás, printed with the greatest care and an accurate translation by Mr. F. S. Growse; the *Adi Granth* of the Sikhs by Dr. Trumpp, consisting of cxxxviii. and 716 pages; the *Grammar of Oriental Hindi* by Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle; and a Hebrew Grammar in Urdu by the late Dr. Warren. These appear to have been the only works published by Europeans, all the others being by natives, except Eastwick's *Kaiçar-náma-i Hind*, which, however, is only announced as being in course of preparation.

The Pandit Pyari Lâl, well known by his numerous publications, has now issued a complete Urdu translation of the *Bhagwat Puráṇa* in twelve *skandas* or parts. The Hakim Amanat A'li, Rais of Sahâranpûr, has produced a History of the Khalifs—*Tazkirat ulkhulafá*—in Urdu verse, according to the *Futúh ushshám* of Wâqidi and other celebrated works. The titles of three works useful to Government servants are:—The *Uçûl-i-akhláç-o-Qowánin*, treating on general principles of law, on civil tribunals, and on police; the *Qánún-i-rusúm-i a'dálatá-i Hindi*, or Code of usages in the Law Courts of India, and the *Sharḥ-i qánún-i shahádat*, or Explanation on the Law of Testimony.

Some polemical works have also made their appearance, and the most important of them appears to be the *Khutbát-i Ahmadiyah*, or "Addresses of Ahmad," written by the eminent Sayyid Ahmad Khân, who some years ago published an English work under the title of *A Series of Essays on the Life of Muhammad, and subjects subsidiary thereto*. This Urdu work, M. Garcin de Tassy thinks, has for its chief object to refute *The Life of Muhammad* of Sir W. Muir, which has been very well received, and of which a new abridged edition has just come out. According to Sayyid Ahmad, the work of Sir William is based on the recital of Wâqidi, who, he says, is a much-esteemed author, but undeserving of any credit—a somewhat dubious criticism.

The number of books, of all sizes and subjects, is as large as ever, and we must refer the reader desiring to learn their titles, &c. to the *Revue* itself, as there is no other work which summarizes the publications of the whole peninsula. Besides the various notices scattered about in the *Revue*, there are seven special lists, namely,—1st, works printed in the N.W. Provinces; 2nd, in Lakhnau and Oudh; 3rd. in the Panjáb; 4th, books lately published in Calcutta and other towns of Bengal; 5th, in Bombay; 6th, the works of Muhammad Nusrat A'li Qaiçar; and 7th, the list of Musulmân polemic works by the same.

Due notice is taken of independent native schools, such as the Aligarh College, Sir Salar Jang's Female College at Haidarâbâd, and the *Pát-*

[9] Madras ed. p. 521.

shâla of Allahâbâd established by Nârâyâṇa Singh, for teaching the *Vedas* in Hindustâni; also various associations, such as the British Indian, the Anjuman-i Panjâb, the Sarvajanik Sabha of Puṇâ, &c., are commented on.

In the necrology for the past year the first notice respects Mr. A. H. Bleeck, a former pupil of the author's, devoted to Oriental literature, and well known to the Pârsîs of Bombay as the author of an English version of the *Zend-Avesta* from the German translation of Dr. Spiegel, made and printed at the expense of Mr. M. H. Cama.—Sir Jang Bahâdur, the prime-minister of the Râja of Nipâl, died on the 25th February 1877; he was personally acquainted with M. Garcin de Tassy.—The Qâdi A'bd-ulbâri, President of the Musulmân Literary Society, expired in Calcutta on the 9th April 1877, at the age of 79 years.—The Rev. Dr. R. C. Mather, formerly editor of the *Khair Khwah-i Hind*, or "Well-wisher of India," died on the 21st April; and on the next day Mr. Allen, the proprietor of *Allen's Indian Mail*, expired.—Miss Mary Carpenter, the philanthropist, well known and remembered all over India, to which she paid no fewer than four visits within a few years before her death, died on the 15th June, aged 71 years.—Almost simultaneously with hers, the death of the Maharâja Râmanâth Tâgor, the brother of Dwârkanâth, took place at Calcutta, at the age of 77 years. He was a member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council, and a C.S.I.—The death of J. C. Marshman, at the age of 83 years, took place in England, whither he had retired. He is chiefly known by his *History of India*, which has become a text-book. He established the first Bengâli journal at Serampûr,—the *Samâchâr Darpaṇ*,—as well as the *Friend of India*. On account of his proficiency in several Oriental languages, he was for many years the official translator to the Government of India.—Lastly, Miss Toru Dutt left this world at Calcutta on the 31st April, aged 20 years. She was a poetess of great promise, and, besides the pieces scattered in various periodicals, is known as the authoress of *A Sheaf gleaned from French Fields*. She had just obtained permission from the authoress of *La femme dans l'Inde antique, or Woman in ancient India*, to translate it, when she was overtaken by death.—E. R.

The SAHYÂDRI-KHAṆḌA of the SKANDA-PURÂṆA: a Mythological, Historical, and Geographical Account of Western India. First edition of the Sanskṛit text, with various readings. By J. Gerson da Cunha, M.R.C.S. &c. Bombay, 1877.

Our actual knowledge of Pauranic literature is still very fragmentary and unsatisfactory. Of the eighteen chief Purâṇas, only two, the *Vishṇu* and *Bhâgawata*, have hitherto been made accessible through editions published in India, and by the translations, either complete or partial, of Wilson (and Hall) and Burnouf. Portions of the others, more or less considerable, have, it is true, been published; but it is to be hoped that complete editions will in course of time appear of all of them, to enable us to extract from these texts what useful matter they contain. Though we cannot, perhaps, expect from the as yet unpublished Pauranic literature much actual gain of trustworthy historical and geographical knowledge, we must not forget that these works constitute a by no means unimportant chapter of Sanskṛit literature, and that a much fuller acquaintance with them is required to fill up many blanks in the history of religious and speculative thought in India. Of the great mass of separate treatises that claim to form part of the *Skanda-Purâṇa*, the most extensive of these medieval depositories of Brâhmanical lore, comparatively little has hitherto been published. Dr. Haas, in his *Catalogue of Printed Sanskṛit Books in the British Museum*, mentions fifteen separate titles under this heading, most of them consisting of single *mâhâtmyas* or *kathâs* contained on a few leaves. A few more treatises have been noticed and analyzed in Prof. Aufrecht's *Catalogue of the Bodleian Sanskṛit MSS.* Under these circumstances Sanskṛit scholars cannot but feel grateful to Mr. Da Cunha for his convenient edition of a complete *khaṇḍa* of the work, together with the supplementary *mâhâtmyas* bearing on the foundation of temples along the Sahyâdri range. To Western archæologists especially the book cannot fail to prove very useful and interesting, and they will look forward with interest to the appearance of the translation which Mr. Da Cunha promises. That the edition cannot be regarded as a critical one, in the strict sense of the word, the editor himself must be quite aware. The various readings of the MSS. announced in the title-page extend only over a small portion of the work: with the exception of one solitary note at p. 369, no *variæ lectiones* have been noted from p. 78 to p. 490. There are also a good many mistakes in the text. Thus some couplets of the seventh *adhyâya* at pp. 23 and 24 are unintelligible as they stand; moreover, there seems to be a half-*śloka* wanting somewhere in the beginning,—at any rate the verses from 2 to the end have been wrongly divided: thus the second half-*śloka* of couplets 9-11 should form the first half of couplets, and in each of them *tasmât* should be changed to *yasmâ*. If we might venture to make a suggestion to Mr. DaCunha, we would advise him to go again carefully over his text, and print a list of errata along with his translation. He would thereby do more justice to himself, and save a good deal of trouble to those who make use of his edition.

E.

SANSKṚIT AND OLD CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S., M.R.A.S.

(*Continued from* p. 192.)

No. XLIV.

THE date that has hitherto been accepted by Sir Walter Elliot and other authorities, for the era of the early Chalukya king Pulikêśî I., is Śaka 411 (A.D. 489-90), based on a copper-plate grant presented by Captain T. B. Jervis, of the Bombay Engineers, to the British Museum. A transcription of this grant is given at Vol. I., p. 9, of the Elliot MS. Collection, and has also been published, with an abstract translation, by Mr. Wathen, at *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. V., p. 343. The authenticity of this grant has been questioned by Mr. Fergusson and Dr. Eggeling. I now reëdit it with the object of dispelling any doubt that may remain as to its being really a fabricated document of comparatively modern date.

The plates are five in number, each about 8¼″ long by 4½″ broad. The edges of the plates are raised into rims to protect the writing. Dr. Burnell tells us, at p. 72, para. 4, of his *South-Indian Palæography*, that the earliest instances of this practice belong to the ninth or tenth century. But I find it, accidental or not as the case may be, in the plates of the grant of Vijayabhaṭṭârikâ, No. XLI. of this Series, at p. 163 above; and two other sets of the Nerûr grants, which, also, I have no reason for assuming to be forgeries, have very decided raised rims, undoubtedly intentional. The ring on which they are strung is about ⅛″ thick and 3¾″ in diameter. It has the appearance of not having been cut; but, as both photographs and casts have been taken of these plates, it must have been cut and very carefully joined again. The seal of the ring is oval, and has the representation of a boar, facing to the proper right. I have no information as to where the plates were found, except that it was somewhere in the Southern Marâṭhâ Country, or in the Karṇâṭaka.

The grant gives the genealogy of Pulikêśî, from his grandfather Jayasiṁha, and his father Raṇarâga. In ll. 7-9 occurs the passage, *Jayasiṁhasya râja-siṁhasya sûnuḥ . . . Raṇarâgô bhavat*,—from which Sir Walter Elliot, at *Madr. Jour. of Lit. and Science*, Vol. VII., p. 200, deduced, but doubtfully, 'Râjasiṁha' as a second name of Raṇarâga. If *râja-siṁhasya* had to be interpreted as a proper name at all, it would be a title of Jayasiṁha, not of Raṇarâga.

The grant then mentions a feudatory of his, Sâmiyâra, of the Rundranîḷa-Saindraka family, who was his governor for the Kuhuṇḍi district. It then purports to record that Sâmiyâra built a Jain temple at the city of Âlaktakanagara, which was the chief town of a circle of seven hundred villages in that district, and, with the permission of the king, made grants of certain lands and villages to the temple on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon on the day of the full-moon of the month Vaiśâkha in the Vibhava *saṁvatsara*, when the Śaka year 411 had expired.

It is just possible that Śaka 411 is the correct date for Pulikêśî I. But I am inclined to doubt even this. For, he was succeeded by his son Kîrttivarmâ I.; and he, again, by his younger brother Maṅgaḷîśvara, at whose death the succession went back to Pulikêśî II., or Satyâśraya, the son of Kîrttivarmâ I. I know of no other inscription purporting to be of the time of Pulikêśî I., and of none of the time of Jayasiṁha, Raṇarâga, or Kîrttivarmâ I. Of the time of Maṅgaḷîśvara, there is only one that bears a date,—the stone-tablet inscription in Cave No. III. at Bâdâmi, my transcription and translation of which are published at Vol. IV., p. 363. It is dated in the twelfth year of his reign, "when Śaka 500 had expired." This makes his reign commence in Śaka 488 or 489. Of his successor, Pulikêśî II., again, there are two inscriptions with dates;—one, a copper-plate grant, No. XXVII. of this Series, at Vol. VI. p. 72, dated in the third year of his reign, "when Śaka 534 had expired"; and the other, the stone-tablet inscription at the Mêguṭi temple at Aihoḷe, No. XIII. of this Series, at Vol. V., p. 67. When I published this latter inscription, I took the date of it to be "when Śaka 506 had expired"; but, for reasons that I shall explain on a future occasion, I now hold, and will show, that it is dated "when Śaka 556 had expired", and that Pulikêśî II. did commence to reign in Śaka 531 or 532. From the mention in l. 8 of the Aihoḷe inscrip-

tion of a *chhatra-bhaṅga*, or 'interruption of the succession',—lit. 'a breaking of the umbrella (of sovereignty)',—it would seem that a period of anarchy ensued between the death of Maṅgaliśvara and the accession of Pulikêśî II. But it follows, from the above dates, that Maṅgaliśvara reigned for at least forty years. He cannot, therefore, have been much over thirty years of age, if indeed so old, when he succeeded. Taking him to have been then thirty years old, he was born in Śaka 458. And then, even if we assume that Pulikêśî I. was not more than twenty years of age when he succeeded, and that Śaka 411—the date of the present grant—was the very year of his accession, it follows that he was at least sixty-seven years old when his second son, Maṅgaliśvara, was born to him. And this, I apprehend, is hardly probable.

But, apart from any such argumentative reason, there are substantial grounds for disputing the date assigned to Pulikêśî I.—1, The plates are more numerous, and the language is more prolix, than is usual in grants of this early date.—2, The name of the dynasty is written Châḷukya', in l. 5, with the vowel of the first syllable long. Whereas, in all genuine grants of early date, it is written either 'Chalkya', or 'Chalikya' and 'Chalukya', with the vowel of the first syllable short. Now, Sir Walter Elliot, in his paper *On Hindu Inscriptions* at *Madr. Jour. of Lit. and Science*, Vol. VII., p. 193, tells us, and on ample authority, that from the middle of the eighth to about the middle of the tenth century A.D., "the power of the Chalukyas was alienated for a time, or suffered a partial obscuration." It was restored in the person of Tailapa II., in Śaka 895 (A.D. 973-4) or thereabouts. And I find from inscriptions that, unless metrical reasons required the use of the form 'Chalukya', he and his successors are always called 'Châḷukyas', and that this form of the name is peculiar to them. There seems, too, to have been a special reason for this; inasmuch as Châḷukya' means 'the descendant of a Chalukya', this second derivative form points, not only to a temporary eclipse of the Chalukya power, but also to an actual break in the direct line of hereditary succession.—3, In l. 15, Pulikêśî I. is called 'Satyâśraya-Pulakêśî', and, in l. 31, he is called simply 'Satyâśraya.' In no other inscription is this title applied by itself to anyone anterior to Pulikêśî II., who, as we learn from the Aihole inscription, was the first to acquire the name. And only in No. XXVII. of this Series, transcr. l. 5, is it elsewhere applied to Pulikêśî I. at all; and it is coupled there with his own proper name, and, I suspect, is introduced by the writer without any authority, save that it was one of the titles of the similarly-named grandson, Pulikêśî II.—4, The mention of the horse Chitrakaṇṭha, in l. 11, is at variance with all the other inscriptions, which tell us that it was Vikramâditya I. who was the owner of "a horse of the breed called Chitrakaṇṭha", or "of an excellent horse named Chitrakaṇṭha."—5, The mention of the Kuhuṇḍi district in l. 22 is another anachronism. For in l. 27 of No. II. of my Raṭṭa Inscriptions at *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. X., p. 194, we are told that it was the Raṭṭa Great Chieftain Kârtavîrya I., about Śaka 970, who, "when king, fixed the boundaries of the country of Kuhuṇḍi"; and I have not found this district spoken of in any other early inscription.—6, This grant is dated in the Vibhava *saṁvatsara*. By the *Tables* in Brown's *Carnatic Chronology*, the Vibhava *saṁvatsara* would be Śaka 410,—quite near enough for the purpose. But, let the time at which the cycle of sixty *saṁvatsaras* was first devised and used by astronomers be what it may, the cycle was not in use in public documents in the Chalukya kingdom at the date to which these plates purport to belong. The earliest instance of its use that I have met with is in an Old Canarese inscription on stone at Nandwâḍige in the Kalâdgi District; part of the name of the king, and the word expressing the centuries in the date, are unfortunately effaced, but I shall show hereafter that it is an inscription of the Râshtrakûta king Dhârâvarsha-Kalivallabha, or of his son Gôvinda-Prabhûtavarsha or Gôvinda III., and that the date of it is Śaka 722, the Dundubhi *saṁvatsara*. The earliest indisputable instance to which I can refer is an Old Canarese copper-plate grant of the Râshṭrakûṭa king Gôvinda III., dated Śaka 727, the Subhânu *saṁvatsara*; the original plates belong to Sir Walter Elliot and are now with me and a transcription of

the first plate is given by Dr. Burnell at p. 88 of his *South-Indian Palæography*. I am inclined to think, *en passant*, that it was the Râshṭrakûṭa kings who first introduced the use of this cycle into the Chalukya dominions. —7, Śaka 411 is A.D. 489-90. Mr. Burgess informs me, as the result of calculation, that no lunar eclipse such as that spoken of occurred in A.D. 489, 490, or 491.—8, The almost invariable use of *l*, whenever it can be used in the place of *l*, is quite opposed to ancient orthography, and is in itself a strong indication of the modern composition of the inscription.—And finally, 9, The characters, instead of belonging to the fifth century A.D., are fully developed Old Canarese characters of at least the tenth or eleventh century A.D. I have no published facsimile to which I can refer for purposes of comparison. But, out of the unpublished materials that I have on hand, the characters of this grant resemble most nearly the characters of two grants of the Chôḷa successors of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty; one is a grant of Râjarâja II., dated Śaka 944, and the other is a grant of Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva II., dated Śaka 1056. Among all the inscriptions of the Western dynasty, I can find none with the characters of which those of the present grant may suitably be compared.—In fine, I place the composition of this document at certainly not earlier than the tenth century A.D.

I have not succeeded in tracing on the map the localities referred to in the grant.

Transcription.

First plate.

[1] Svasti || Jayanty=ananta-saṁsâra-pârâvâr-aika-sêtavaḥ Mahâvîr-âha(rha)taḥ=pûtâś=charaṇ-âṁbu-

[2] ja-rêṇavaḥ || Śrîmatâṁ viśva-viśvambhar-âbhisaṁstûyamâna-Mânavya-sagôtrâṇâṁ Hârîti-

[3] putrâṇâṁ sapta-ḷô(lô)ka-mâtṛibhis=sapta-mâtṛibhir=abhivarddhitânâṁ Kârttikêya-parirakshaṇa-prâ-

[4] pta-kalyâṇa-paraṁparâṇâṁ bhagavan-Nârâyaṇa-prasâda-samâsâdita-varâha-lâṁchh-

[5] n-êkshaṇa-kshaṇa-vaśîkṛit-âśêsha-mahîbhṛitânâṁ(*sc.* °bhṛitâṁ) Châḷukyânâṁ kulam= aḷaṁkarishṇôḥ || sva-bhuj-ô-

[6] pârjjita-vasundharasya nija-yaśaś-śravaṇa-mâtrêṇ=aiv=âvanata-râjakasya kîrtti-patâ-

[7] k-âvabhâsita-dig-antarâḷasya Jayasiṁhasya râja-siṁhasya sûnus=sûnṛita-vâ-

[8] g=anavarata-dân-ârdrîkṛita-karas=sura-gaja iva praśama-nidhis=tapô-nidhir=iva dṛi-

[9] pta-vairishu prâpta-raṇa-râgô Raṇarâgô bhavat [||*] Tasya ch=âtmajê śvamêdhat-âva(*sc.* °mêdh-âva)bhṛita(tha)-snâna-pavi-

[10] trîkṛita-gâtrê praṇata-para-nṛipati-makuta-tata-ghatita-hatan-maṇi-gaṇa-kiraṇa-vâr-ddhâ-

[11] râ-dhauta-châru-charaṇa-kamaḷa-yugaḷê Chitrakaṇṭh-âbhidhâna-turaṁgama-kaṇṭhîravêṇ= ôtsâri-

[12] t-ârâti-stambhêrama-maṇḍaḷê varṇṇ-âśrama-sarvva-dharmma-paripâḷana-parê Gaṁgâ-Sêtu-madhya-

[13] vartti-dêś-âdhîśvarê śakti-traya-pravarddhita-prâjya-sâmrâjyê Gaṁgâ-Yamunâ-pâḷi-

Second plate; first side.

[14] dhvaja-daḍakk-âdi-paṁcha-mahâśabda-chihnê karadîkṛita-Chôḷa-Chêra-Kêraḷa-Siṁhaḷa-Kaliṁ-

[15] ga-bhûpâḷê daṇḍita-Pâṇḍy-âdi-maṇḍi(ṇḍa)likê a-pratiśâsanê Satyâśraya-Śrî-Pulakêśy-a-

[16] bhidhâna-pṛithivîvallabha-mahârâj-âdhirâjê pṛithivîm=êk-âtapatraṁ śâsati sati [|| *] Râjâ Rundra-

[17] nîḷa-Saindraka-vaṁśa-śaśâṁkâyamânaḥ=prachaṇḍa-dôr-ddaṇḍa-maṇḍita-maṇḍaḷ-âgrô Goṇḍa-nâmâ=

[18] śît [|| *] Aya-naya-vinaya-sampannas=tanayô sya ssa(sa)mara-rasa-rasikas= Sivâr-âkhyayâ

[19] khyâtaḥ [||*] Putrô sya bhûtâ(tô) dhâtrî-tiḷakâyamânaḥ=parâkram-âkrânta-vairi-nikurumbaḥ

[20] avâryya-vîryya-samanvitaḥ kâryy-âkâryya-nipuṇaḥ Hanûmân=iva Râma-
[21] sy=âbhirâmasya tasya bhṛityas=satya-sandhô dhârmmikas=Sâmiyâras=samabhût [||*] Sa tat-prasâ-
[22] da-samâsâdita-Kuhuṇḍi-vishayas=taṁ paripâ[la*]yaṁ tad-antarbhût-Âlaktak-âbhidhâna-nagaryya(ryyâṁ)
[23] grâma-saptaśata-râjadhânyâm=aśêsha-vishaya-viśêshakâyamânâyâṁ śâḷi-vrîh-îkshuvaṇa-cha-
[24] ṇaka-priyaṁgu-varak-ôdâraka-śyâmâka-gôdhûm-âdy-anêka-dhânya-samṛiddhâyâṁ tad-dêśa-
[25] viḷâsinî-mukha-kamaḷam=iva virâjamânâyâṁ dhana-dhânya-paripûrṇṇa-kṛishîvaḷa-
[26] prâyâyâṁ || Aindryâṁ diśi Mahêndr-âbhaḥ=prâsâdaṁ pravaram=mahat Jinêndr-â-

Second plate; second side.

[27] yatanaṁ bhakty=âkârayat=su-manôharaṁ || Prôttuṁga-prâsâdaṁ Tribhuvana-tilakaṁ Ji-
[28] nâlayaṁ pravaraṁ nânâ-stambha-samuddhṛita-virâjamânaṁ chiraṁ jagati || Saka-nṛip-âbdêshv=ê-
[29] kâdaś-ôttarêshu chatuś-śatêshu vyatîtêshu Vibhava-saṁvatsarê pravarttamânê || Kṛitê cha Jinâla-
[30] yê | Vaiśâkh-ôdita-pûrṇṇa-puṇya-divasê Râhô(hau) vidhau(dhôr) maṇḍaḷaṁ ślêshtêndêrtthika[1]-majjanâd=u-
[31] pagata(taṁ) snêhâd=gṛihaṁ bhûbhujaṁ Śrî-Satyâśrayam=âśrayaṁ guṇavatâṁ vijñâpayâ-
[32] m=âsa sa taj-Jainâlaya-pûjan-ôchita-nuta-kshêtrâya dharmma-priyâ(yaḥ) || Âyu-
[33] r=ijjanmavatâm=idaṁ nanu tadi(ḍi)t-sandhy-êndrâchâp-ôpamaṁ jñâtvâ dharmma-ma(dha)n-ârjjanaṁ budha-ja-
[34] nair=mmârtya(rtyai)ḥ=phaḷaṁ manyatê ity=êvaṁ pravibôdhya sabhya-janaṭâṁ Satyâśrayô vallabhô bha-
[35] ktyâ taj-Jina-mandir-ôpama-kṛiyê kshêtraṁ dadau śâsanaṁ || Vaiśâkha-pauṛṇṇamâsyâṁ Râhau vi-
[36] dhu-maṇḍaḷa(ḷaṁ) pravishṭavati Śrî-Satyâśraya-nṛipatis=tribhuvana-tiḷakâya dattavâ[n*] kshêtram ||
[37] Kanakôpaḷa-sambhûta-vṛiksha-Mûlagaṇ-a(â)nvayê bhûtas=samagra-râddhântas=Siddha-nandi-mu-
[38] n-îśvaraḥ || Tasy=âsît=prathamaś=śishyô dêvatâ-vinuta-kramaḥ śishyaiḥ=paṁcha-satair=yukta-

Third plate; first side.

[39] ś=Chitak-âchâryya-sa(saṁ)jñitaḥ || Śrîmat-Kâkôpaḷ-âmnâyê khyâta-kîrttir=bahu-śrutaḥ lakshmîvâ-
[40] n=Nâgadêv-âkhyaś=Chitak-âchâryya-dîkshitaḥ || Nâgadêva-gurôś=śishyaḥ=prabhûta-guṇa-vâridhiḥ
[41] samasta-śâstra-saṁbôdhi(dhî) Jinanandiḥ=prakîrttitaḥ || Śrîmad-vividha-râjêndra-prasphuran-makut-â-
[42] ḷibhiḥ nighṛishṭa-charaṇ-âbjâya prabhavê Jinanandinê || Jinanandy-âchâryya-sûryyâ-
[43] ya duśchara-tapô-viśêsha-nikashôpaḷa-bhûtâya samadhigata-sarvva-śâstrâya naga-
[44] râṁs=taḷa-bhôgâṁś=cha pradadau [||*] Tatra taḷa-bhôga-sîmâny=âha [|*] Chaityâḷayâd=vâyavyâṁ
[45] diśi tatâkaṁ tatô ṛiju-sûtra-kramêṇa paśchim-âbhimukhaṁ gatvâ pathaṁ tasya madhyê
[46] nikhâta-pâshâṇaṁ tasmâd=dakshiṇ-âbhimukham=anu-pathaṁ gatvâ pravâhaṁ tasyaṁ(sya) madhyê nikhâta-pâ-
[47] shâṇaṁ pûrvv-âbhimukhaṁ gatvâ tiṁtriṇîka-vṛikshaṁ yâvat=tasmâd=uttar-âbhimukhaṁ gatvâ pûrvv-ô-

[1] Probably the correct reading should be *ślishṭê nvartthika-majjanâd.*

[48] kta-taṭâkaṁ | yâvat=sthitaṁ êtan=nagara-nivêśana-kshêtraṁ [|| *] Tatra taḷa-bhôga-
kshêtra-sîmâny=âha [| *]
[49] Nagarasya dakshiṇasyâṁ diśi sêtu-bandhât=prabhṛity=anu-jaḷa-vâhaḷaṁ pûrvv-
âbhimukhaṁ ga-
[50] tvâ yâvad=auṁchhika-kshêtraṁ tat-paśchima-sîmni nikhâta-pâshâṇaṁ yâvat=tasmâd=
anu-sîm=ô-

Third plate; second side.

[51] ttar-âbhimukhaṁ gatvâ yâvach=chhamî-valmîkaṁ tasmât=punaḥ=pûrvv-âbhimukhaṁ
gatvâ yâvat
[52] sthaḷa-giri tasmât=punar=anu-giryy=uttar-âbhimukhaṁ gatvâ yâvad=girêr=uchcha-
pradêśaṁ tasmât
[53] paśchim-âbhimukhaṁ gatvâ yâvad=giri tasmât=paśchim-âbhimukhaṁ gatvâ yâvat=
ta(stha)ḷa-giri
[54] tasmâd=dakshiṇ-âbhimukhaṁ gatvâ yâvat=sêtu-bandhana(naṁ) sthitaṁ râja-manêna
paṁchâśat u(*sc.*°śad-u)ttara-
[55] nivarttana-śataṁ taḷa-bhôga-kshêtraṁ chatus-sîmâ-viruddhaṁ || Narindaka-nâma-
grâma(mê) nairṛityâṁ
[56] diśi Narindaka-Sâmarivâda(ḍa)-grâma-pathi madhya-vartti-Siṁgaṭĕga-taṭâkâ-
[57] d=ṛiju-sûtra-kramêṇa Narindaka-grâma-pathaṁ yâvat=tâvat=sthitaṁ chatvâriṁśat
[58] ni(*sc.*°śan-ni)varttanaṁ kshêtraṁ dakshiṇa-diśi râja-mânêna || Kiṇayige-nâma-grâmê pû-
[59] rvvasyâṁ diśi aśîti-nivarttanaṁ kshêtraṁ râja-mânêna Piśâch-ârâmâṁ=nairṛityâṁ
[60] diśi yâvach=chham î-jhâṭa-valmîkaṁ tasmât=pûrvv-âbhimukhaṁ gatvâ yâvat=pathaṁ
tasmâ-
[61] dakshiṇ-âbhimukhaṁ gatvâ yâvat=sthaḷa-giri tasmât=paśchim-âbhimukham=anu-stha-
[62] ḷa-giri gatvâ yâvach=chhamî-sthaḷaṁ tasmâd=uttar-âbhimukhaṁ gatvâ yâvach=chha-
[63] mî-jhâṭa-valmîkaṁ sthitaṁ chatus-sîmâ-viruddhaṁ · || Pantigaṇage-nâma-grâmê

Fourth plate; first side.

[64] nairṛityâṁ diśi mânyasya kshêtra uttarasyâṁ diśi chatvâriṁśat(n)-nivarttanaṁ kshêtraṁ
râja-mâ-
[65] nêna paśchimâṁ(masyâṁ) diśi sthaḷa-giri tasmâd=anu-sîmaṁ pûrvv-âbhimukhaṁ gatvâ
yâvach=chhamî-
[66] valmîkaṁ tasmâd=dakshiṇ-âbhimukhaṁ gatvâ Kŏmaraṁche-grâma-sîma tasmât=pû-
[67] rvv-âbhimukham=anu-sîmaṁ gatvâ yâvaj=jaḷa-vâhaḷaṁ tasmâd=uttar-âbhimukham=a-
[68] nu-vâhaḷaṁ gatvâ yâvach=chhamî-jhâṭa-valmîkaṁ tasmât=paśchim-âbhimukhaṁ gatvâ
[69] yâvat=taṭâk-ôttara-kôḍi(ṭi) tasmâd=dakshiṇ-âbhimukham=anu-sthaḷa-giri
[70] gatvâ yâvat=tâvat=sthitaṁ chatus-sîmâ-viruddhaṁ || Maṁgali-nâma-grâma-
[71] paśchima-diśi râja-mânêna chatvâriṁśat(n)-nivarttanaṁ kshêtraṁ tasya sîmâ
[72] ny=âha sthaḷa-girêḥ=paśchim-âbhimukham=anu-pathaṁ gatvâ yâvad=Rûvika-grâma-sî-
[73] ma tasmâd=uttar-âbhimukham=anu-sîma gatvâ yâvat=sthaḷa-giri tasmât=pûrvv-âbhi-
[74] mukham=anu-sthaḷa-giri gatvâ yâvat=sthaḷa-giri tasmâd=dakshiṇ-âbhimukham=
anu-
[75] sthaḷa-giri gatvâ sthitaṁ chatus-sîmâ-va(vi)ruddhaṁ || Karandige-nâma-
grâma(mê) pa-

Fourth plate; second side.

[76] śchimasyâṁ diśi Chandavura-Paṁdaṁgavaḷḷi-nâma-grâma-mârgga-madhyê aśvattha-
[77] taṭâka(kâd) vâyavyâṁ diśi râja-mânêna paṁcha-viṁśati-nivarttanaṁ kshêtraṁ ||
[78] Dâvanavaḷḷi-nâma-grâma(mê) paśchimasyâṁ diśi Alaktaka-nagara Kumba-
[79] yija-nâma-grâma-mârgga-madhyê Bimbâḷaya-Piśâch-ârâmât=paśchimê râ-
[80] ja-mânêna chatvâriṁśat(n)-nivarttanaṁ kshêtraṁ || Punar=api tasminn=êva grâma(mê)
dakshi-

[31] ṇasyâṁ diśi Himgutî-taṭâkâd=uttara-samîpa-sthaṁ râja-mânêna śa-
[32] taṁ ni(*sc.* śata-ni)varttanam kshêtraṁ || Nandiṇige-nâma-grâma(mê) pûrvvasyâṁ diśi Bara-
[33] vulika-sîma-Śrîpura-mârgga-madhyê râjamânêna chatvâriṁśat(n)-nivarttanaṁ kshêtraṁ ||
[34] Siripaṭṭi-nâma-grâma(mê) paśchimasyâṁ diśi Śrîpura-mârggatô dakshiṇatô râja-
[35] mânêna chatvâriṁśat(n)-ṇivarttanaṁ kshêtraṁ || Arjunavâḍa(ḍa)-nâma-grâma(mê) pa-
[36] śchimasyâṁ diśi Śrîpura-mârggatô uttaratô râja-mânêna paṁchâśat(n)-niva-
[37] rttanaṁ kshêtraṁ || Grâma-nâmâny=âha || Kumbayija-dvâdaśasy=ô(â)ntaḥ Rûvikô nâma

Fifth plate.

[38] grâmaḥ prathamaḥ || Sâmarivâdo(ḍô) nâma grâmaḥ dvitîyaḥ || Badhamâḷe-dvâdaśasy=âṇtaḥ
[39] Laṭṭivâdô(ḍô) nâma grâmaḥ tri(tṛi)tîyaḥ || Śrîpura-dvâdaśasya madhyê Pellidakô nâma
[40] grâmaḥ chaturtthaḥ || Ity=êtê chatvârô grâmâḥ chatus-sîmâ-va(vi)ruddha-kshêtrâḥ
[41] sôdraṁgâḥ sa(so)parikarâḥ a-châṭa-bhaṭa-pravêśyâḥ [||*] Tad=âgâmibhir=asmad-vaṁ-
[42] śyair=anyaiś=cha râjabhir=âyur-aiśvaryyâ[dî*]na(nâ)m=bi(vi)ḷasitam=achhirâṁśu-chaṁ-
[43] chalaṁ(ḷa)m=avagachchhadbhir=â-chandr-ârkka-dhar-ârṇṇava-sthiti-samâ(ma)kâla(laṁ) yaśaṁ(śa)ś=chi-
[44] chi(chí)shubhiḥ sva-datti-nirvviśêshaṁ paripâḷanîyam=uktaṁ cha Manv-âdibhiḥ ||
[45] Bahubhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhiś(s)=Śa(sa)ka(ga)r-âdibhir=yyasya yasya yadâ bhûmiṁ(miḥ) tasya
[46] tasya tadâ phaḷaṁ | Svaṁ dâtuṁ sumahad(ch)-śa(chha)kyaṁ duḥkham=anyatra(sya) pâḷanaṁ dânaṁ vâ pâḷa-
[47] naṁ śrêyô śrêyô dânasya pâḷanaṁ || Sva-dattaṁ(ttâṁ) para-dattaṁ(ttâṁ) vâ yô harêti(ta) va-
[48] sundharâṁ shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrâṇi vishṭhâyâṁ jâyatê krimiḥ ||

Translation.

Hail! Victorious are the pure particles of pollen of the lotuses which are the feet of the *Arhat* Mahâvîra[2],—which are the sole bridge for crossing from bank to bank of (*the ocean of*) endless existence!

The son of Jayasiṁha,—that lion of a king, who adorned the family of the Châḷukyas, who are glorious, and who are of the lineage of Mânavya which is praised over the whole earth, and who are the descendants of Hârîti, and who have been nourished by seven mothers who are the seven mothers of mankind, and who have attained an uninterrupted continuity of prosperity by the protection of Kârttikêya, and who have had all kings made subject to them on the instant at the sight of the sign of the Boar which they acquired through the favour of the holy Nârâyaṇa; and who acquired the earth by his own arm; and who had kings bowed down before him by simply hearing of his fame; and who irradiated the intermediate spaces of the regions with the banner that was his fame,—was Raṇarâga, of true yet pleasing speech, whose hands were moistened by his ceaseless charities, thus resembling the elephant of the gods, whose trunk is moistened by the ceaseless flow of his rut; who, like an austere devotee, was the receptacle of tranquillity; and who acquired a fondness for war against his proud enemies.

And while his son, the favourite of the world, the Great King, the supreme king, who was named Satyâśraya-Śrî-Pulakêśî,—whose body was purified by ablutions performed after celebrating horse-sacrifices; and whose beautiful feet, which were like lotuses, were cleansed by the trickling drops of water which were the rays of the many sparkling jewels that were set in the diadems of the hostile kings who bowed down before him; and who drove away the troops of elephants of his enemies by a very lion of a horse that was named Chitrakaṇṭha; and who was intent on preserving all the regulations of the (*four*) classes and the (*four*) stages of life; and who was the supreme lord of the country lying between the (*river*) Gaṅgâ and the Bridge (*of Râma*); and whose mighty universal sovereignty was increased by (*his possession of*) the three regal attributes; and who possessed

[2] The last of the twenty-four Jain teachers of the present age.

the signs of the banners of the Gaṅgâ and the Yamunâ and the sword-edge, and the five great sounds of the *Daḍakka*[3] and other (*musical instruments*); and who made the kings of Chôḷa and Chêra and Kêraḷa and Siṁhaḷa and Kaḷiṅga to pay tribute; and who punished the Pâṇḍya and other chieftains; and whose commands were unresisted,—was governing the earth under one umbrella;—

There was a king named Goṇḍa, who was the moon of the family of Rundranîḷa-Saindraka, and whose scimetar was adorned by his mighty arm. His son,—who was endowed with good fortune and skill in polity and modesty, and who delighted in the flavour of war,—was renowned by the appellation of Sivâra. His son was the truthful and pious Sâmiyâra, who was the forehead-ornament of the earth,—who attacked the assemblage of his enemies with his prowess,—who was possessed of bravery that could not be withstood,—who was well versed in what things should be done and what should not be done,—and who was the servant of him, (*Pulakêśi*), as Hanûmân (*was the servant*) of Râma.

Having acquired the district of Kuhuṇḍi through his favour,—while governing it, he, who was as glorious as Mahêndra, in his piety caused to be made an excellent and large and very charming temple, a shrine of Jinêndra, in the east quarter, in the city which was named Alaktaka and was included in that (*district*); and which was the chief town of (*a circle of*) seven hundred villages; and which was the glory of the whole district; and which abounded in *śâli*-rice and *vrîhi*-rice and groves of sugar-canes and chick-peas and *priyaṅgu*-plants and *varaka*-beans and *udâraka*-grain and *śyâmâka*-grain and wheat and many other kinds of grain; and which shone like the lotus which is the fan of the lovely woman which is that district; and which was full of husbandmen who abounded in wealth and grain.

The excellent shrine of Jina (which was thus constructed),—that very lofty temple, (*named*) 'the ornament of the three worlds', decorated with many columns,—(*endures*) for a long time in the world.

[3] I do not find this word in the dictionaries. But Monier Williams gives *dhakka*, 'a large or double drum'; and Sanderson gives the same, and also *dakka*, *dakki*, or *ḍakke*, 'a small drum, shaped like an hour-glass.'

And this shrine of Jina having been built,—when four centuries and eleven (*years*) had elapsed in the years of the Śaka king; while the Vibhava *saṁvatsara* was current; on the holy day of the full (*moon*) of (*the month*) Vaiśâḳha; when Râhu had closed upon the orb of the moon, ... [4];—he, who was fond of religion, asked the king, Śrî-Satyâśraya, the asylum of virtuous people, who through friendship had come to his house, for a field fit for the worship of that shrine of Jina.

Having known that the life of those that are born is (*transient*) like the lightning and the evening rainbow, and having impressed on his courtiers that the acquisition of religion and wealth is esteemed the (*only true*) reward by wise people, who are but mortal,—the lord Satyâśraya in his piety bestowed a field (*and*) a charter, worthy of that shrine of Jina. On the day of the full-moon of (*the month*) Vaiśâkha, when Râhu had entered the orb of the moon,—the king, Śrî-Satyâśraya, gave a field to 'the ornament of the three worlds.'

In the lineage of the (*sect called*) Mûlagaṇa, a tree which sprang from Kanakôpaḷâ[5], there was born that lord of saints, Siddha-nandi, who possessed (*a knowledge of*) all demonstrated truths. His first disciple was Chitakâchârya, whose observances were praised by the gods, and who was attended by five hundred disciples. He, whose name was Nâgadêva,—who was renowned in the traditions of the glorious Kâḳôpaḷa; and who possessed much (*knowledge of*) sacred lore; and who enjoyed good fortune,—was initiated by Chitakâchârya. The disciple of the preceptor Nâgadêva was the famous Jinanandi, who was a very ocean of meritorious qualities, and who was acquainted with all the sacred writings.

To the excellent master Jinanandi, whose feet, which were as lotuses, were chafed by the glittering diadems of many glorious kings, (*who bowed down before him*),—to Jinanandi, a very sun among *Âchâryas*, who was the touchstone by which to test the value of penances that were hard to be performed, and

[4] *Ndartthika-majjanât*, or perhaps *nvartthika-majjanât*, l. 30; meaning not apparent.

[5] This must be the founder of the sect.

who had mastered all the sacred writings,—he gave towns and the enjoyment of sites of land.

There he declares the boundaries of the (*right of*) enjoyment of sites of land.—On the north-west of the *Chaitya*-hall, there is a tank. Going in a straight line to the west from there, there is the road, in the middle of which there is a stone set up. Going to the south from that, along the road, there is a stream, in the middle of which there is a stone set up. Going to the east (*from that*), as far as a tamarind-tree, and then going to the north, there is the tank mentioned above. That which is thus situated is the field of the entrance of the village.

There he declares the boundaries of the fields (*which are the objects of the right*) of enjoyment of sites of land.—Starting from the bridge on the south of the city and going along the stream to the east as far as the gleaning-field, on the west boundary of it there is a stone set up. From that, going along the boundary to the north, there is an ant-hill near a *śamî*-tree. From that, again, going to the east, there is the *sthaḷa-giri*.[6] From that, again, going to the north along the hill, there is the high part of the hill. From that, going to the west as far as the hill (*extends*), and then to the west as far as the *sthaḷa-giri*, and then to the south, (*we come to the place where*) the bridge stands. (*Thus is constituted*) the field (*which is the object of the right*) of enjoyment of a site of land, (*measuring*) one hundred and fifty *nivartanas* by the royal measure, and encompassed by its four boundaries.

At the village of Narindaka, in the south-west quarter, (*there was given*) a field, (*of the measure of*) forty *nivartanas* by the royal measure, in the south quarter, encompassed by its four boundaries, and constituted (*by a boundary-line drawn*) up to the road to the village of Narindaka in a straight line from the Simgaṭĕga tank, which is in the centre of the roads to the villages of Narindaka and Sâmarivâḍa.

At the village of Kiṇayige, in the east quarter, (*there was given*) a field (*of the measure of*) eighty *nivartanas* by the royal measure, encompassed by its four boundaries, and lying thus:—At the south-west of the grove of the Piśâcha[7], there is an ant-hill at a clump of *śamî*-trees. From that, going to the east as far as the road, and then to the south as far as the *sthaḷa-giri*, and then to the west, along the *sthaḷa-giri* as far as the place of the *śamî*-trees, and then to the north, (*we come*) to the ant-hill at the clump of *śamî*-trees.

At the village of Pantiganage, in the south-west quarter, and in the northern quarter of the *mânya*-field, (*there was given*) a field, (*of the measure of*) forty *nivartanas* by the royal measure, encompassed by its four boundaries and constituted thus:—On the west there is the *sthaḷa-giri*. Going along the boundary to the east from that, as far as the ant-hill near a *śamî*-tree, and from that to the south as far as the boundaries of the village of Kŏmarañche, and from there along the boundary to the east as far as the stream, and from that along the stream to the north as far as an ant-hill near a clump of *śamî*-trees, and from that to the west as far as the northern weir[8] of the tank, and from that to the south along the *sthaḷa-giri*.

In the west quarter of the village of Maṅgali (*there was given*) a field, (*of the measure of*) forty *nivartanas* by the royal measure. He declares the boundaries of it. Going to the west from the *sthaḷa-giri* along the road as far as the boundary of the village of Rûvika, and from there to the north along the boundary as far as the *sthaḷa-giri*, and from there to the east along the *sthaḷa-giri* as far as the *sthaḷa-giri* (*extends*), and from there to the south along the *sthaḷa-giri*,—(*thus is it*) situated, and encompassed by its four boundaries.

In the village of Karandige, in the west quarter, (*there was given*) a field, (*of the measure of*) twenty-five *nivartanas* by the royal measure, on the north-west of the tank of the *aśvattha*-tree between the roads to the villages of Chandavura and Pandarũgavaḷḷi.

In the village of Dâvanavaḷḷi, in the west quarter, (*there was given*) a field (*of the measure of*) forty *nivartanas* by the royal measure, on the west of the grove of the Piśâcha, Bimbâḷaya, between the roads to the city of Alaktaka and the village of Kumbayija. And again, in that same village, in the south quarter, (*there was given*) a

[6] *Sthala-giri*, 'a hill on the plain', perhaps denotes one of those isolated masses of heaped-up boulders that are to be found all over the black-soil fields in the eastern part of the Dhârwâd District, and probably still further inland.

[7] The name of a class of demons.

[8] If the reading is *kôḍi*, it is the Canarese word meaning a 'weir, outlet of a tank.' If the reading is *kôṭṭa*, the translation will be "the northern edge, *i.e.* bank."

field (*of the measure of*) one hundred *nivartanas* by the royal measure, situated close to the north of the Hiṅgutî tank.

In the village of Nandiṇige, in the east quarter, (*there was given*) a field (*of the measure of*) forty *nivartanas* by the royal measure, between the boundary of (*the village of*) Baravulika and the road to (*the village of*) Srîpura.

In the village of Siripatti, in the west quarter, (*there was given*) a field (*of the measure of*) forty *nivartanas* by the royal measure, to the south of the road to (*the village of*) Srîpura.

In the village of Arjunavâḍa, in the west quarter, (*there was given*) a field (*of the measure of*) fifty *nivartanas* by the royal measure, to the north of the road to the village of Srîpura.

He declares the names of the villages.—The first village is Rûvika, in the Kumbayija Twelve. The second village is Sâmarivâḍa. The third village is Laṭṭivâḍa, in the Badhamâḷe Twelve. The fourth village is Pellidaka, in the Śrîpura Twelve. These four villages (*were given*), together with their fields encompassed by the four boundaries, and with the *uḍraṅga* and the *uparikara*, and not to be entered by irregular or regular troops.[9]

This grant should be preserved as long as the moon and the sun and the earth and the ocean endure, just as if it were a grant made by themselves, by future kings, desirous of acquiring fame, whether they are of my lineage, or whether they are others,—bearing in mind that the charms of life and riches, &c are as transient as the lightning! And it has been said by Manu and others:—Land has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; (&c)! It is very easy to give one's own property, but the preservation of (*the grant of*) another is difficult, (&c.)! He is born as a worm in ordure for the duration of sixty thousand years, (&c)!

No. XLV.

Sir Walter Elliot's date of Śaka 514 (A.D. 592-3) or 515 for the accession of the Western Chalukya king Vikramâditya I. is based on a copper-plate grant, said to have been discovered in digging the foundations of the house of a Kuḷkarnî at Kurtakôti in the Gadag Tâlukâ of the Dhârwâd District, and presented by him to the Royal Asiatic Society. In the genealogy at *Jour. Madr. Br. R. As. Soc*, Vol. VII; p. 199, he gives Śaka 514 as the commencement of his reign. In describing the grant, at *id.*, p. 201, he writes, "It bears date the thirty-second [year] of his reign, Śaka 530; and his accession is thus fixed as having occurred in [Śaka] 515." The first part of this statement is owing to some confusion on the part of his Pandit in interpreting the date. In a footnote to the latter passage, he speaks of it again, and as being dated "in Saka 530, on the eighth day of the sixteenth royal victorious year." Dr. Burnell, again, has given the first side of this grant as Plate xxii. in his *South-Indian Palæography*, and, in transcribing it, at p. 87, has entered the date as A.D. 608, which would be Śaka 530. The real date, as will be seen from the facsimile and transcription, ll. 20-21, is "when Śaka 532 had expired, in the sixteenth year of his victorious reign."

I have obtained the original plates to edit from. Only two plates are forthcoming; the third, probably the last, is missing. They are rather thick plates, not very regularly shaped, and with several flaws in the copper; they measure about 12″ long by 5⅞″ broad. They have a peculiarly high and broad raised rim to protect the writing. The ring connecting them had been cut before it came into my hands; it is about ½″ thick, and 3½″ in diameter. The seal, which is very massive, is square,—about 1¾″ each way; it has the representation of a boar facing to the proper left, with the sun and moon above it. Through some mistake the seal properly belonging to the grant of Râjarâja II has been printed off with the facsimile of these plates. A facsimile of the right seal will be supplied hereafter.

It is unnecessary to offer a full translation of so inaccurate and mixed-up a document as this is; and there are, in fact, several passages in it of which no sense can be made at all. I shall confine myself to giving an abstract of its contents. Down to the commencement of the details of the alleged grant, in l. 20, it follows, or rather tries to follow, the corresponding portion of the other copper-plate inscription of Vikramâditya I. already published, No. XXVIII. of this Series, at Vol. VI., p. 75. It

[9] *A-châṭa-bhaṭa pravêśâḥ*. The meaning of this term is disputed. I follow the translation given by Dr. Bühler at *Ind. Ant*, Vol. VI., p. 71.

first mentions Pulikêśî I. or Polekêśi-Vallabha, as he is here called; then his son, Kîrttivarmâ I.; then Satyâśraya, *i.e.* Pulikêśî II., the son of Kîrttivarmâ I.; and finally Vikramâditya-Satyâśraya, or Vikramâditya I., the son of Pulikêśî II. It then purports to record that, when five centuries and thirty-two years of the Śaka era had expired, on Sunday, the day of the new-moon between the months Vaiśâkha (April-May) and Jyaishṭha (May-June), under the constellations Rôhiṇî and the Great Bear, when the sun was in the sign of the Bull, and at the time of a total[10] eclipse of the sun, Vikramâditya I., in the sixteenth year of his reign, while residing at the city of Kisuvoḷal,[11] bestowed upon Raviśarmâ of the sect called Basari-saṁgha and the Agastya *gôtra*, the son of Jayaśarmâ who was the son of Mâdhavaśarmâ, the village of Kûrutakûṇṭe,[12] which was in the Beḷvola country and in the centre of the seven villages of Beneyitavura, Aṇṇîgêṛe, Iṭṭage, Pasuṇḍi, Muguḷi, Paranti, and Muḷgundu.

According to this inscription, therefore, the reign of Vikramâditya I. commenced in Saka 516 or 517.

But I reject it entirely, as a forgery and of no authority, on the following grounds.—1, The date is completely at variance with the dates of all the other early Western Chalukya inscriptions. For, Pulikêśî II., the father of Vikramâditya I., commenced to reign in Śaka 531 or 532, as in No. XXVII. of this Series, at Vol. VI., p. 72, and was still reigning in Śaka 556. And Vinayâditya, the son of Vikramâditya I., commenced to reign in Śaka 600 or 601, by Nos. XXIX., XXX., and XXXI., at Vol. VI., pp. 85, 88, and 91, and by the Fourth Part of No. XXXIX., at p. 111 above, which is probably dated in the *seventh* year of his reign. And Vijayâditya, the son of Vinayâditya, commenced to reign in Śaka 617, 618, or 619, by the Second Part of No. XXXIX., and by three unpublished inscriptions that I have in hand. And Vikramâditya II., the son of Vijayâditya, commenced to reign in Śaka 654 or 655, by the Third Part of No. XXXVIII., at p. 101 above.—2, As in the case of the forged grant of Pulikêśî I., published immediately above, the name of the dynasty is spelt, in l. 4, 'Châḷukhya', *sc.* 'Châḷukya', with the vowel of the first syllable long.—3, The word *ba-triṁśa*, 'thirty-second', used in expressing the date, is a hybrid word, part Prâkṛit and part Sanskṛit, and I have not found an analogous instance of such a word in any other early grant.—4, Whereas Śaka 532 is A.D. 610-11, Mr. Burgess informs me, as the result of calculation, that no solar eclipse did occur, on the date given, in A.D. 610, 611, or 612.—5, The language and orthography are far more inaccurate than I have ever yet found to be the case in any other grant of early date. But this, of course, might by chance be due to the ignorance or carelessness of a copyist or the engraver.—And finally, 6. In the letters *ja*, except in l. 1, and *ga* and *śa*, an attempt is made to imitate the ancient forms. But, with this exception, the characters are fully developed Old Canarese characters of at least the ninth or tenth century A.D. And I have to draw especial attention to the fact that, except in the words *paramêśvara*, once in l. 7 and twice in l. 8, and *turaṅgamêṇa*, in l. 9, there is used for the letter *ma* a character which, with the corresponding forms of *ya* and *va*, is purely mediæval. The earliest genuine instance in which I have found this form of the *ma* used is the copper-plate grant of the Râshṭrakûta king Gôvinda III. spoken of above,—*e.g.*, in *para-dattam=bâ*, *sc.* *para-dattâṁ vâ*, l. 14, Pl. II. *b*. The corresponding forms of *ya* and *va*,—the former, however, not very clear,—may be seen in the Munôḷi stone-tablet inscription, Pl. LXXIV. of Mr. Burgess' *Second Report*, in *Baḷḷigeṛeyal*, l. 55, and *Bannivûral*, l. 56.

After rejecting the present plates, we have no dated inscription of the time of Vikramâditya I. Consequently, and because we do not know how long his father, Pulikêśî II., continued to reign, and whether his elder brother, Chandrâditya, did actually reign or not, his date cannot be determined with much certainty. I would place him, however, somewhere about Śaka 580 (A.D. 658-9). We have not to search far, I think, for the reason

[10] The literal reading in the text is *sarvvamôsi(śî)-bhûtê*, lasting for a whole month.'! Thus, of course, is only a mistake for *sarvvagrâsi-bhûtê*, 'swallowing or engulfing all', which is the usual expression for a total eclipse

[11] The Pattada-Kisuvoḷal of other inscriptions, and the modern Pattadakal on the banks of the Malaprabhâ in the Bâdâmi Tâlukâ of the Kalâdgi District

[12] The modern Kurtakôṭi.

why there is no dated inscription of his time, and why probably none such will be found. For, as I have previously had occasion to point out, Nos. XXVIII. to XXXI. of this Series indicate very plainly that, after Pulikêśî II., the succession was interrupted by the hostility of the Pallavas of Kâñchî, and by a confederacy of the three kings of Chôḷa and Pâṇḍya and Kêraḷa, and that, at least, Vikramâditya I. did not immediately succeed his father, but was ousted for a time. The authority of him and of his elder brother, Chandrâdityа, must have been confined, at the best, to the country of the Koṅkaṇas. Both Vikramâditya I., and his son, carried on the war against these enemies. But, though Vikramâditya I. seems to have been to a certain extent successful, it was probably not till the time of Vinayâditya that the Western Chalûkya power was thoroughly restored, and the kingdom consolidated again, in such a way that the head of it could refer to any specific date as the commencement of his reign.

Transcription.

First plate.

[1] Jayaty=âvishkṛitaṁ Vishṇôr=vvârâha(haṁ) kshôpi(bhi)t-âṛṇṇavan=dakshiṇ-ônnata-
draṁ(daṁ)shṭr-âgraṁ(gra)-viśrântaṁ(nta)-bhuvanaṁ vapuḥ [‖ *] Śrîmatâṁ sa-
[2] kaḷa-bhuvana-[saṁ*]stûyamâna-Mânavya-sagôtrâṇâṁ Hâriti-putrâṇâṁ sapta-lô[ka*]-
mâtṛibhis-sapta-mâtṛibhir=abhiva-
[3] rddhitânâṁ Kârttî(rtti)kêya-parirakshaṇa-prâpta-kalyâṇa-paraṁparâṇân=Nârâyaṇa-prasâda-
sama(mâ)sâditânâṁ(*sc.*°sâdita)-varâha-lâṁcha(chha)-
[4] n-êkshaṇa-kshaṇa-vaśa-vaśîkṛit-âśêsha-mahîbṛitanâṁ(*sc.*°bhṛitâṁ) Châḷukhyâ(kyâ)nâṁ
kulam=alaṁkarishṇôr=aśvamêdh-âvana-padêpadê Gaṁgâ-ja-
[5] la-snâna-pavitrîkṛita-ghâ(gâ)trasya Śrî-Polekêśî(śi)-Vallabha-mahârâj-âdi(dhi)râja-
paramêśvara-paramabhaṭṭâraka[sya*] [pautrasya*] para(râ)-
[6] kram-a(â)krânta-Ba(va)nava(vâ)sy-âdî(dî)-para-nṛipati-maṇḍala-praṇî(ṇi)baddha-viśuddha-
[kîrttêḥ*] Kîrttî(rtti)varmma-śrî-pṛithu(thi)vivallabha-mahârâj-a(â)-
[7] di(dhi)râja-paramêśvara-paramabhattâraka[sya*] putraḥ(trasya) samara-saṁśa(sa)kta-
sakaḷ-ôttara(râ)path-êśvara-Śrî-Harîsha(harsha)varddhana-parâj-
[8] y-ôpalabdha-paramêśvara-parama-nâmadhêyasya Satyâśraya-śrî-pṛithu(thi)vivallabha-
mahârâj-âdi(dhi)râja-paramô-
[9] svarasya pṛi(pri)ya-tanayaḥ Chitrakaṇṭa(ṇṭha)-pravara-turaṁgamêṇ=aikên=aiva
pratîtâ(prêritô?) nêka-samara-mukhê ripu-nṛipati-ru-
[10] dhira-jala-svâdana-rasa-nâya-mâna-jvalana-niśita-nistriṁśa-dhârâ(ra)ya(yâ) ḍa(a)vabhṛita-
dharaṇîdhara-bhu-

Second plate; first side.

[11] jaṁga-bhôga-sadṛiśa-nija-bhuja-vijita-viṣu(ji)gîshu(shuḥ) âtma-kavacha-
mavady(*sc.* magn)-ânêka-praha(hâ)raḥ śva-guru-śrî(śri)yâ(ya)m=avani-
[12] pati-tritay-ântarita(tâ)m=âta(tma)sâta(tkṛi)tya kṛit-ê(ai)ka(kâ)dhishṭhit-a(â)śêsha-râjya-
cha(bha)raḥ tasmin râjya-trayô(yê) raṇa-si(śi)rasi ripu-narêndra(ndrân) di-
[13]śi [diśi*] jitvâ sa(sva)-vaṁśa-lakshmîṁ(kshmîṁ) prâpta[vân*] paramêśvaranâ(tâ)m=
a[ni*]dhâ(vâ)rita-Vikramâdityam=(tyaḥ) [‖*] =a(A)pi ta(cha)
'nmridita-Narasiṁgha(ha)-yaśêna(yaśasâ) vihita-Ma-
[14] hêndra-pratâpa-vilayêna nayana-vijit-Êśvarâ-raṇa-praguṇa-Śrî-Vallabhêna jita(taḥ) kṛita-
Paḷḷav-âvamarddana(nô) dakshiṇâ(ṇa)-dit(g)-yu-
[15] vatim=âpta[vân*] Kaṁch-îśa-kayônvaśêmasiravayânn-api sutarâṁ Śrî-vallabhatvam=
itah vahati 'śramalavanta
[16] rê(ra)ṇa-rasika-śrîyâguruṇpara-skandha(ndhô) yô râjamalla-śê(śa)bda-vibita-mahâ-Pallava-
kula-nâśaḥ [‖*] Durllaṁgha(ghya)-
[17] dusva(sta)ra-vinê(bhê)da-visâla-śâla(lâ) durnnâma(durggâḍha)-dustha(sta)ra-bṛihat-
pariṇita(parikhâ)-pari(rî)tâ [a*]bhrâ(grâ)hi yêna Jayatêśvarê-pôta-râja-

[19] Kaṁch=ivara(ṣc. îva) dakshiṇa-diśaḥ kshitipêna [kâṁchi*] [‖*] Vikram-a(â)kr̥âṇṇa-sakaḷa-mahîmaṇḍal-âdi(dhi)râjya(jyô) Vikramâditya-Satyâ

[20] śrê(śra)ya-śrî-pr̥thu(thi)vivallabha-mahârâj-âdi(dhi)râja-paramêśvara(râḥ) sarvvam=êva âjñâ-

Second plate; second side

[20] payati [| *] Viditam=astu sô(vô) smâbhi(bhiḥ) ba-triṁś-ôttara-paṁcha-śatêshu Sa(śa)ka-varshêshv=â(a)tîtêshu vijaya-râjya-

[21] samba(mva)chcha(tsa)ra-shôsha(ḍa)śa-varshê pravarttamâna(nê) Kisuvoḷal-mahâ-nagara(rê) vikhyâta(tê) sthitvâ tasya Vaiśâkha-Jê(jyai)shthâ(shṭha)-mâsa-ma-

[22] dhyam-a(â)ma(mâ)vâsya(syâ)-Bhâskara-dinê Rôhiṇya Ṛi(Rôhiṇy-Ṛi)kshê madhy-âhna-kâlê Vikra[mâ]dityasya âtmâ cha âtma-vinîte nâma

[23] mahâ-dêvi(va)tayôḥ(yô)r=ubhayôr=Vr̥ishabha-râśau tasmin V r̥ishabha-râśau sûryya-grâ(gra)haṇa(ṇê) sarvvamâ(grâ)si(sî)-bhûtê gavâs(gâvas)=cha nara(râ)-

[24] ś=cha na charanti tavandhâ(?nvâ)madbhûtu sarvva-jîva-diśâ-mu(?)davabhuvuh mahâvismaṁ cha asth amânavabhuvaḥ iti ga-

[25] vâṁ grâma(maṁ) praviśanti taśmât tadâ kâlê śrêshṭi-sênâpati-sachiva-nêtâḷ kumâra-pârtti(rtthî)v-ânîkam=a-

[26] dhyaksha-sahitaṁ tadâ Basuri-saṁgham=A(saṁgh-Â)gasthi(stya)-gôtra(trasya) Sâmavêda-pârâgasya tasya Mâdhavasa(śa)rmmâ(rmma(ṇaḥ

[27] tasya putrasyâ(sya) Jayaśarmmaṇaḥ tasya pṛi(pri)ya-tanaya(yâya) shâshâṁga (shaḍaṁga)-vidê Raviśarmmaṇaḥ(ṇê) tasya(tasmai) Vikramâditya(tyaḥ) pûrvva-

[28] m=udakaṁ pâda-prakshâlanaṁ kṛitvâ Śrî-Beḷvola-vishay-âbhyantara(rê) Beneyitavuraṁ Aṇṇigere Ittage

[29] Pasuṇḍi Muguḷi Paranti Muḷgundu êtêshâṁ saptama(sapta)-grâma(mâṇâṁ) madhya-sthitê Śrî-Kûrutakûṇṭe-grâma(mê) nâmasya

[30] tasya adôyaṁ dattaṁ [‖*] Dhâ(dha)rmma-yaśô-vr̥ishdhi(ddhi)r=astu [‖*] Dânam=atty(ty)-uttaraṁ śrî(śri)y-âyur(yû)-râjya-varddhanaṁ śrî-yuktaṁ [‖*] Tasya tadâ

NOTES ON THE *KURRAḶ* OF THE TAMIḶ POET TIRUVAḶḶUVAR.

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No. I.

The name 'Kurraḷ' is given *par excellence* to a very celebrated poetical composition in the Tamiḷ language consisting of 133 chapters, each containing 10 couplets or *kurraḷs*. It thus numbers 2660 lines.

Kurraḷ means 'anything short'; (√ *kurr*, *S. kṛit*, Lat. *curt-us*, Gr. *kers*. A. S. *sceor-t*), and is properly the name of the couplet, as being the shortest species of stanza in the Tamiḷ language.

Tiruvaḷḷuvar's poem is thus by no means a long one; though in value it far outweighs the whole of the Tamiḷ literature, and is one of the select number of great works which have entered into the very soul of a whole people, and which can never die. According to a custom not unknown in Europe, a series of verses bearing the names of all the great Tamil poets is prefixed to the *Kurraḷ* under the name of 'The garland of Tiruvalluvar,' and exhausts the subject of his excellence with every variety of hyperbole.

Several of these are neat. One says that as Vishṇu, when he appeared as Vâmana or the dwarf, strode in two steps over heaven and earth, so with the two lines of his diminutive verse has Tiruvaḷḷuvar transcended the universe.

Complete in itself, the sole work of its author, it has come down the stream of ages absolutely uninjured, — hardly a single various reading being found,—and every rival sect in the Tamiḷ country claims the *Kurraḷ* as its own.

Meanwhile Tiruvaḷḷuvar furnishes another illustration of the saying that the world knows nothing of its greatest men. The name even of the great bard is unknown, for *tiruvaḷḷuvar* means sacred priest, and is simply his title as priest of the Pariah class. Tradition makes him the son of a Brâhman father and a low-caste woman, and represents the poetess

Avvaî as his sister, while several other poets, a few of whose verses are preserved, were his brothers. There is no foundation for these stories. He certainly was a Pariah, lived at St. Thomé, or Mayilâpûr, and appears to have had an intimate friend, probably a patron, called Elêla-Singan, a sailor.

He is said to have composed his *Kurraḷ* at the request of his neighbours, that the Tamil people might have a *Vêdam* of their own. It was doubtless intended to become the authority on all ethical subjects for the Tamiḷ country. The author must have already possessed a great reputation, or this request would not have been made; yet there are no traces of any other writings of his.

The *Kurraḷ* when finished is said to have been taken by its author to Madurâ, where there was a college of learned Tamiḷ scholars. Lists are given of the forty-eight members of this academy, but there are no genuine remains of their writings. The result of the appearance of Tiruvaḷḷuvar is variously stated. The general idea is that the high caste assembly would not permit him to take his seat on the bench with the learned paṇdits, on account of his want of caste, but that, meekly acquiescing in his own exclusion, he simply requested permission to lay his book on the end of the seat. On this being granted, the book was placed where the poet should have been seated, and the whole bench at once disappeared, leaving the learned professors afloat in the Lotus-tank. This story is inconsistent with the idea, which is equally prevalent, that the president was Kapilar, himself a Pariah, and a brother of Tiruvaḷḷuvar.

The truth seems to be that the southern school of Tamil literature was supreme till the advent of the St. Thomé poet, whose fame eclipsed that of the southern sages.

There are no data whatever which may enable us to fix the period at which our poet flourished. I think between A.D. 1000 and 1200 is its probable date. The style is not archaic—far less so than that of the *Śivaga Chintâmaṇi*. Remembering that its author was not fettered by caste prejudices, that his greatest friend was a sea-captain, that he lived at St. Thomé, that he was evidently an 'eclectic,' that Christian influences were at work in the neighbourhood, and that many passages are strikingly Christian in their spirit, I cannot feel any hesitation in saying that the Christian Scriptures were among the sources from which the poet derived his inspiration. I think that even Muhammadan influences are not to be excluded.

The edition published by the late Dr. Graul, in Leipzig and in London, in 1856, is likely to be in the hands of all who care to read this paper. Dr. Graul has incorporated Beschi's Latin translation.

Mr. F. W. Ellis, an Oriental scholar of extraordinary ability, a member of the Madras Civil Service, printed a large portion of the *Kurraḷ* with copious notes and illustrations. The sheets of this unfinished work can still be had. The Rev. W. H. Drew, a missionary of the London Society in Madras, published an edition with the Tamil commentary of Parimêlaṛagar. This is the best edition.

The purely native editions issued under the editorship of the late learned paṇdit Sarvaṇaparumâlaiyar of Madras are very correct and valuable.

Twelve native commentators have illustrated by verbal commentaries the whole text; but the student will do well to disregard the meanings read into the verses by persons, native or European, who are anxious to prove that the Tamil sage taught their own favourite dogmas.

Tiruvaḷḷuvar is generally very simple, and his commentators very profound.

In regard to the philosophico-theological system taught in the *Kurraḷ* various opinions have naturally been held. Of course every Hindû sect claims the great poet, and strives to interpret his verses so as to favour its own dogmas. The Jainas especially claim him, and he has used several of their terms. He seems to me to have been cognizant of the latest developments of that system.

Dr. Graul's account of the spirit of the work is fair and accurate. He says: "The *Kuraḷ* breathes throughout the atmosphere of Buddhism, or rather Jainaism, although the Brâhmans have thought fit to appropriate it to themselves, by making Tiruvaḷḷuvar an incarnation of Śiva.

"The monotheism taught in it is that of the later Buddhists or Jainas, who acknowledged an Âdibuddha or Âdiśvara, called sometimes even Âdidêvan, 'primordial god.' Nothing is said about the dignity of Brâhmans, who are

not even mentioned by their exclusive official name; the real greatness of man is independent of birth, and rests on purely moral grounds. Among the four Brâhmaṇical stages of life we see only those of the householder and of the ascetic treated of; the Brâhmaṇical pantheon retreats to the background, and, when made to advance on the stage, sometimes appears in the garb of allegorical figure, and sometimes even is lightly spoken of. Besides, the poet lavishes praise beyond measure on the ascetic life; absolute abstinence from destroying any animal life in a direct or indirect way (*ahinsâ*) is enforced; only general rules for moral conduct are given, while no mention is made of any special caste-rules. Such is the character of the *Kuraḷ*, and every single feature of it testifies to its essentially Buddhistic or Jainaistic spirit."

There is one couplet, however, that is quite destructive of the idea that Tiruvaḷḷuvar was a Jaina. In ch. III., fourth couplet, a story regarding Indra is referred to as proving that ascetics have power over the gods. The sage was Gautama, who cursed Indra for deceiving the sage's wife, Ahalyâ. Now according to Jaina ideas a sage could have no wife, nor could he feel the emotion of anger, nor had he the power to inflict punishment. A Jaina would not believe the story, nor use it as the author of the *Kuraḷ* has done.

Dr. Caldwell says: "The *Kuraḷ* contains no trace of the distinctive doctrines of Śankara Âchârya. It teaches the old Sânkhya philosophy, but ignores Śankara's additions and developments, and would therefore appear to have been written before the school of Sankara had risen to notice, if not before Sankara himself, who lived not later than the ninth century.

"There is no trace in the *Kuraḷ* of the mysticism of the modern Paurâṇic system; of *Bhakti*, or exclusive, enthusiastic faith in any one deity of the Hindû pantheon; of exclusive attachment to any of the sects into which Hindûism has been divided since the era of Sankara; or even of acquaintance with the existence of any such sects. The work appears to have been written before Śaivism and Vaishṇavism had been transformed from rival schools into rival sects; before the *Purâṇas*, as they now stand, had become the text-books of Hindû theology; and whilst the theosophy of the early Vedânta and the mythology of the *Mahâbhârata* comprised the entire creed of the majority of Hindûs. The author of the *Kuraḷ* is claimed with nearly equal reason by Śaivas, Vaishṇavas, and Jainas. On the whole the arguments of the Jainas appear to me to preponderate, especially that which appeals to the Jaina tone that pervades the ethical part of the work:—*e.g.*, scrupulous abstinence from the destruction of life is frequently declared to be the chiefest excellence of the true ascetic. Nevertheless from the indistinctness and undeveloped character of the Jaina element which is contained in it, it seems probable that in Tiruvaḷḷuvar's age Jainaism was rather an esoteric ethical school than an independent objective system of religion, and was only in the process of development out of the older Hindûism."

These reasons led the learned writer to assign to the *Kuraḷ* a date not later than "the ninth century A.D." He adds, however, that "the reasons for this conclusion are rather negative than positive."

To my own mind the internal evidence is all in favour of a much later origin. I understand that Śankara's chief work (as appears from the only real authority on the subject, the *Śankara digvijaya*) was, in the words of Dr. H. H. Wilson, to secure "the recognition of Brahme Para Brahme as the sole cause and ruler of the universe." He left other things untouched. I know of no other doctrines taught by him which Tiruvaḷḷuvar could have recognized than this, which is implied throughout the *Kuraḷ*. Tiruvaḷḷuvar's teaching is just such as the study of Hindûism, in the light of Śankara's reforms, combined with that of the Jaina system in its later developments, and of the *Bhagavadgîtâ*, might have produced.

There is no trace in the *Kuraḷ* of many things current in South India at different periods, because, I suppose, they had been eliminated from the sage's own eclectic system of faith and practice, and because his work is didactic, and not controversial.

I cannot subscribe to the statement that "it teaches the old Sânkhya philosophy;" for I find in it no hint of *purusha* or of *prakriti*, or anything that looks like a reproduction of any of the Aphorisms of Kapila. What philosophy he teaches seems to me to be rather of the eclectic school as represented by the *Bhagavadgîtâ*.

Of *Bhakti*—thatcompound of πίστις and ἀγάπη, the introduction of which into India I think (with Weber) is due to the influence of Christianity—the first chapter of the *Kurraḷ* is a beautiful exposition.

These topics will be further illustrated when we proceed to the consideration of the text itself.

The *Kurraḷ* owes much of its popularity to its exquisite poetic form. A *kurraḷ* is a couplet containing a complete and striking idea expressed in a refined and intricate metre. No translation can convey an idea of its charming effect. It is truly an 'apple of gold in a network of silver.' Something of the same kind is found in the Latin elegiac verse. There is a beauty in the periodic character of the Tamiḷ construction in many of these verses that reminds the reader of the happiest efforts of Propertius. Probably the Tamiḷ sage adopted it as being the best representative in Tamiḷ of the Sanskṛit *ślôka*.

The brevity rendered necessary by the form gives an oracular effect to the utterances of the great Tamiḷ 'Master of the sentences.'

The choice of the most difficult metre in the language for a long work showed that the author intended to expend upon it his utmost of power, and to make it a 'possession for ever,' a 'delight of many generations.'

Of the laws of this metre, as a great curiosity, and as being quite unique in prosody, I will try to give the English reader some general ideas. I venture to refer the student of Tamiḷ to my *Third Tamiḷ Grammar* for a more complete exposition. In the *Clavis humaniorum litterarum sublimioris Tamulicæ idiomatis*, by the great Beschi, the whole subject of Tamiḷ poetry is discussed. Dr. A. C. Burnell, M.C.S. (among his very many benefactions to Oriental learning), has issued a reprint of this valuable work, which is most faithful to its native sources, some of which I have printed in my Third Grammar.

A. The feet admissible in the *kurraḷ* metre are called—

I. 1. *têmâ*	—	—	a spondee.
2. *puḷimâ*	ᴗᴗ	—	an anapæst.
II. 3. *kûviḷam* ...	—	ᴗᴗ	a dactyl.
4. *karuviḷam*...	ᴗᴗ	ᴗᴗ	a proceleusmaticus.
III. 5. *têmângâi* ...	—	— —	a molossus.
6. *puḷimângâi*.	ᴗᴗ	— —	an ionicus *a minore*.
IV. 7. *kûviḷangâi*..	—	ᴗᴗ —	a choriambus.
8. *karuvilangâi*	ᴗᴗ	ᴗᴗ —	the same with first long resolved.

V. The last foot in the second line of a *kurraḷ* may be

9. *nâl*: a single long syllable.
10. *kâ su*: the same with a very short *ŭ*.
11. *mălăr*: a pyrrhic.
12. *pĭrăp pŭ*: the same with a very short *ŭ*, hardly sounded at all.

B. Of these feet the former line of the *kurraḷ* contains three, which may (observing the proper sequence—see I. below) be any of those numbered 1—8; the latter line consists also of three feet, of which the last must be one of the short feet numbered 9–12.

C. Classical ideas of *arsis*, *thesis*, and *ictus* must be dismissed; each metrically short or long syllable is simply pronounced, without any accent, a slight pause marking the end of each foot. The voice lingers on the long syllable, and hurries over the short, but with no inflexion or emphasis, except that of the tune or chant.

D. There must be no cæsura: in no part of a line can the end of a word coincide with the middle of a foot. Very closely related words—words in construction with one another—may be taken as one word; but every foot is, with this explanation, a single word.

E. The difficulty arises that a word may consist of three short syllables, or of a long syllable followed by a short (*trochee*). What feet are these? The former is *puḷimâ*, the latter *têmâ*: every *tribrach* is treated as a *dactyl*, and every *trochee* as a *spondee*—the single short syllable is lengthened in the pause.

The first *kurraḷ* of Tiruvaḷḷuvar transliterated runs thus:

ăgără' | mŭdălă | čṛŭtt' ēllām; | ādĭ
păgăvān | mŭdăṭṭĕ | ŭlăgŭ |

This is scanned—

puḷimâ | puḷimâ | puḷimângâi | têmâ
puḷimâ | puḷimâ | pirappu |

The rhythm is anapæstic.

F. Syllables are not generally long or short, in Tamiḷ, by position; the vowel alone counts.

G. Tamiḷ verse has a rhyme at the beginning, never at the end—a peculiarity found in some Celtic poetry.

H. There must also be, in general, an assonance or alliteration in each line, as in Saxon and Scandinavian poetry. To this the Tamiḷ

car is very sensitive. This has many rules, with which I need not weary the reader.

Here the first foot begins with *a* and the third with *á*, which is a sufficient assonance.

I. There still remains to be considered the *taḷai* (= bond, S. *dhar*, L. *firm-us*), or sequence of feet.

The rule for this is: "The two feet ending in *má* (1, 2) must be followed by a foot beginning with a short syllable (2, 4, 6, 11); the other feet (3-8) must be followed by a foot beginning with a long syllable (1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 10)."

This gives an inexhaustible variety to the rhythms.

THE EDIFICE FORMERLY KNOWN AS THE CHINESE OR JAINA PAGODA AT NEGAPATAM.

BY SIR WALTER ELLIOT, K.C.S.I.

Till within the last few years there was to be seen on the Coromandel coast, between one and two miles to the north of Negapatam, a tall weather-beaten tower, affording a useful landmark to vessels passing up and down the coast. It went by various names, as the Puduveli-gôpuram, the old pagoda, Chinese[1] pagoda, black pagoda, and in the map of the Trigonometrical Survey (sheet 79) it stands as the Jeyna (Jaina) pagoda. But save in name it has nothing in common with Hindu or Muhammadan architecture, either in form or ornament. Tradition is silent as to its origin or purpose, and, although it has been the subject of frequent speculations, no satisfactory theory has been formed to account for it.

In the year 1846 I took a sanitary trip on board the Government steamer *Hugh Lindsay*, ordered down the coast to touch at several ports on the public service, which gave me an opportunity of seeing the great temple at Râmêśvaram and other places of interest. On the way back we touched at Negapatam for treasure, and I gladly embraced the occasion to pay a hasty visit to the old pagoda. I found it to be a somewhat four-sided tower of three stories, constructed of bricks closely fitted together without cement, the first and second stories divided by corniced mouldings, with an opening for a door or window in the middle of each side. At the top of the lowest story were marks in the wall, showing where the floor of the second had been fixed. The top was open. The base of the ground-story was worn at the angles, from collision with passers-by and cattle, but the structure was solid and firm. No trace of sculpture or inscription was visible.

Hard by, in a small building, I found several French Jesuits, who had established themselves on some waste ground near the tower when the Order was expelled from the French territory at Pondicherry some time before. On my expressing surprise at their scanty accommodation, the superior—a gentleman-like, intelligent man—informed me that they intended to build a college on the same site, of which the apartments I saw formed a part, and he showed me a plan and elevation of an extensive building which they hoped to complete in time, and meanwhile all their work was constructed in subordination to the general plan.

Before returning on board I met a sergeant of the Department of Public Works, a good draughtsman, who undertook to make a sketch of the tower for me. (*Fig.* 2.) This I showed afterwards to Col. Yule, who has introduced it into the first edition of the *Travels of Marco Polo* (vol. II. p. 273, 1871).

Several years later—in 1859—the Jesuit Fathers presented a petition to the Madras Government representing the tower to be in a dangerous condition, and requesting permission to pull it down and appropriate the materials to their own use. This was referred to the local officers, and soon afterwards (in June 1859) a report was received from Captain Oakes, the District Engineer, who stated that the building was an old ruin, crumbling to decay, which did not deserve the name of an ancient monument, for it had neither sculpture nor inscription, and the tops of the doorways and windows had been supported by timber, which was still remaining in some places.[2] He therefore recommended that an estimate of Rs. 400 which had been

[1] It is mentioned under this (*Pagood China*) name by Valentyn (1725), vol. vii. p. 21.

[2] That this circumstance does not militate against the antiquity of the building is proved by the preservation of the timber remaining in the Kârlê cave, where the climate has not the dryness of the coast of Coromandel. See Mr. Fergusson's remarks, *Hist. Ind. Arch.*, pp. 119 and 126, note.

sanctioned for its repair should be cancelled, and the building demolished.

Against this proposal, being then in Council, I protested; and the Governor, intending shortly to visit the southern districts, agreed to suspend the issue of final orders until he should have an opportunity of seeing it himself.

Meantime I left India, and Sir Charles Trevelyan went to Negapatam. He does not appear to have been impressed with a high opinion of the antiquity of the structure, and considered that any expenditure on its repair would be a waste of public money. At the same time he did not concur in the recommendation for its demolition, but directed that it should be fenced round with an enclosure, to secure it from wilful injury, and that good photographs should be taken of it in its present condition.

These orders were never carried out, owing to obstructions thrown in the way of their execution by the Jesuit missionaries,[3] and the building remained *in statu quo* until 1867, when the Fathers renewed their application for leave to remove it, on the following grounds[4]: "1st, because they considered it to be unsafe in its present condition; 2nd, because it obstructed light and sea-breeze from a chapel which they had built behind it; 3rd, because they would very much like to get the land on which it stood; and 4th, because the bricks of which it was built would be very useful to them for building purposes."

The Chief Engineer, who meanwhile had himself examined the edifice, and had directed the District Engineer to prepare a small estimate for its repair, reported that the first only of the above reasons had any weight, and that it would be met if Colonel O'Connell's estimate, prepared under his own orders, received the sanction of Government. He therefore recommended that this should be given, and the tower allowed to stand, since, he added, "there is no doubt that it is used as a landmark for vessels approaching the Negapatam roadstead."[5] The Master Attendant of the port, however, was of opinion that the inconvenience would be diminished by sighting the five white columns at Nagore, four miles further north, but, he added, "the native population objected to its removal, and if it be ordered would petition against it."

The Chief Engineer's proposal did not meet with approval, and on the 28th August 1867 the following order was made on the Jesuits' petition:—"The Governor in Council is pleased to sanction the removal of the old tower at Negapatam by the officers of St. Joseph's College, at their own expense, and the appropriation of the available material to such school-building purposes as they appear to have in contemplation."

The Fathers were not slow in availing themselves of this permission. The venerable building was speedily levelled, and the site cleared. Some time afterwards, when Lord Napier visited Negapatam, they presented him with the bronze image represented in *Fig.* 3 of the plate, which had been found in making excavations connected with the college. It represents a Buddhist or Jaina priest in the costume and attitude of the figures in wood and metal brought from Burma. A band encircles the neck, and the lobes of the ears are pendent and elongated, as if by wearing heavy earrings. The hands are open, the right upraised, the left turned down, as if in the act of preaching. On cleaning the pedestal some ancient Tamil characters were discovered, occupying the greater part of the front and right sides, which are represented in the plate as *Fig.* 4. These have been deciphered by Dr. Burnell, who writes—"The inscription is Tamil of the 12th century, or perhaps the beginning of the 13th. It runs *Svasti śrî* [This] *Âgamapaṇḍita* [dedicated] *Uyyakkoṇḍa Nâyak*. There are only two words, the first in the 2nd (accusative) case, the second in the 1st (or nominative) case. The meaning is plain; but who was

[3] Chief Engineer's Report, para. 4, in Cons. 28th Aug. 1867.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 7.

[5] From the last edition of Horsburgh's *Sailing Directory*, 1874, p. 453, it appears that Negapatam being now the terminus of the Great South Indian Railway, the trade, which was before considerable, has greatly increased, bringing a large number of ships and steamers to the roadstead. The anchorage is from 1½ to 2 miles off shore, the flagstaff bearing W. or W. ½ S. in 6 or 7 fathoms. To the south of the anchorage is an extensive shoal of hard sand or stones, with a depth of 19 to 24 feet water. It is between 6 and 7 miles in length, running N. and S., and from 3 to 4 miles distant from the shore. Ships bound to the north must not come into less than 7½ fathoms until the Negapatam flagstaff or the *Black* Pagoda bears NW. by W. The town lies to the N. of the Fort near the entrance into a little river; and about 1½ miles NNW. from the fort stands the old *Black* Pagoda, which is one of the most conspicuous objects in approaching this part of the coast, the whole of which has a low, drowned aspect when first seen from the offing, consisting as it does of a sandy, barren soil planted with cocoanut trees; &c. &c.

Âgamapaṇḍitar I took the image some years ago to be Buddhist. There was, however, a Śaiva teacher Umâpatiśivâchârya, also called Sakalâgamapaṇḍita, and it may represent him."

It can hardly be doubted that the statuette is connected with the character of the building, and the purpose for which it was erected. Now the general aspect of the figure, the loose mantle, the crisp *chevelure*, the conical head-ornament, the pierced and elongated ear-lobes, savour strongly of a Buddhist (or Jaina) origin,[6] which would imply a corresponding relation between the structure and that faith. Granting this, it may be set down as a Vihâra, or as a memorial of some holy man.

I did not omit to consult Mr. Fergusson on the subject, but he finds a difficulty in pronouncing a decided opinion from a mere sketch without plan or measurements, and adds, "The only buildings I know in India at all like it are the tombs of the Jaina priests at Mudubidri (*Hist. of Ind. Arch.*, p. 275, woodcut 154). If it be not a tomb I do not know what it is."

The fate of this "interesting building," as Col. Yule calls it, strikingly illustrates the importance of forming an Archæological Survey Department for the Madras Presidency, as has been done for every other part of India and for Ceylon. It cannot be supposed that the Government would have thus ruthlessly consigned to destruction a monument unique of its kind, which had never been carefully examined by a competent observer, if they had been aware of its claim to protection. Nor is this a solitary example. The work of demolition is daily going on, and too late it will be found that other precious relics of the past have been lost for ever through simple ignorance of their value.

I am convinced, from my own observation, that if this one had only been left to itself it would have stood for years. All that was wanted for its protection was to enclose it with a substantial wall, at the cost of a few rupees, to hinder cattle and passing vehicles from destroying the angles at its base. The state in which I saw it, as depicted in the plate, *Fig.* 2, twenty years before it was reported to be in danger of falling, shows that the lower story had only suffered externally from the attrition to which its exposed situation made it liable, without damaging the stability of the structure.

Since the foregoing was written I have received a photograph of the College taken in 1866 by Mr. Middleton Rayne when employed on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway.[7] In this the tower appears in the background (as represented in *Fig.* 1 of the plate) to the left of the College, which has now assumed an imposing appearance.

A *livraison* of the 1st volume of the *Athenée Oriental* (Paris, 1871) has likewise come to hand, in which (at pp. 79-86) there is an article entitled "La Bouddha Sakya Mouni," by M. Ph. Ed. Foucaux, Professor of Sanskrit in the College of France. In this he has introduced woodcuts of three Buddhist images found in the grounds of the College of St. Joseph at Negapatam, copied from sketches communicated by the Academic Society of St. Quentin, through the kindness of M. Textor de Ravisi, late Governor of Karikal, whose acquaintance I had the pleasure of making at the International Oriental Congress of 1874.

The circumstances under which the images were discovered are stated in the following extract from a record made at the time:—

"Not far from the tower is an old Mohwa tree (*Bassia latifolia*, L.[8]), the diameter of which above the root is more than a *mètre*—indicating, according to the usual growth of the tree, an age of 700 to 800 years.

"In March 1856 the missionaries, having cut it down for the requirements of their work of construction, discovered five small Buddhist idols at a depth of somewhat more than a yard below the surface.

"From the position in which they were found, they appear to have been concealed, with a view of being again used in religious worship, for they were carefully placed in a chamber under a covering of bricks arranged for their protection.

"Four of the idols are of bronze, the fifth of a mixture of porcelain and clay, of exquisite workmanship."

M. Foucaux adds that one of the idols had been retained in the College, and that the fifth had been sent to Rev. Fr. Carayon, in Paris, but he does not state what became of the remaining three. One of these, No. 16, is almost identical with that figured for our article (*Fig.* 3), differing only in the absence of the square pedestal bearing the inscription, which, however, forms a separate piece from the lotos stand common to both, and in the disposition of the mantle, which is pendent from the

[6] See Moor's *Hindu Pantheon*, p. 251, plates lxv-lxvi.

[7] Mr. Rayne at present fills the post of Chief Engineer of the Sindh and Panjâb Railway, and is now at Multân.

[8] The Tamil name is *Iluppai-maram*.

left shoulder only, and not from both as in ours. The left hand, also, is held up, instead of pointing downwards. In all other respects they are identical.

It is probable that these three (*figs.* 5, 6, 7) have been deposited in the Academy of St. Quentin, and that the one retained by the Fathers is that which was given to Lord Napier.

No. 5 represents Buddha, seated in the usual attitude under the sacred tree. No. 7 appears to be a female devotee, of very rude workmanship. Copies of the three are introduced into our plate.

The discovery of these relics places the Buddhist origin of the tower beyond dispute.

Note by Dr. Burnell.

As I several times in 1866 visited the ruin referred to, I may be permitted to say that it had become merely a shapeless mass of bricks. I have no doubt that it was originally a *vimâna* or shrine of some temple; there are some of precisely the same construction in parts of the Chingleput district.

Sir Walter Elliot's remarks about the destruction of ancient monuments in the Madras Presidency must be a source of great satisfaction to all interested in South-Indian antiquities: for my own part, I am confident that, if something be not soon done, there will not be anything left in a few more years that has the least historical interest. I may mention a lamentable instance of the destruction of a relic of much interest which occurred some four years ago; I refer to the blowing up of the flagstaff tower at Cochin. This was the tower of the old Church of the Cross (afterwards the Cathedral of Cochin), where St. Francis Xavier preached, and was the last known building that could be connected with the history of a man whose name will always survive in South India. The cathedral was once a very fine church (see the view in Baldæus); the Dutch used it as a storehouse, but it remained for the English to destroy the body of the church early in this century, and then (in 1874) to remove the still remaining tower. (See, as regards the first, Mr. Anstey's indignant remarks in Lord Stanley's *Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama*, Hakl. Soc. 1869, p. 429).

I have searched, and had search made, to ascertain if Âgamapandita can possibly be a Buddhist or Jain title used in South India, but cannot find the least trace of such use. It is tolerably certain that the image is that of a Śaiva devotee, and it certainly was the practice to dedicate such images in temples (see, *e.g.*, the great inscription at Tanjor). I may remark that the Śaiva monks (*Tambirân*) in this district are hardly to be distinguished from Buddhist monks, except by the ashes they smear on their foreheads and by their matted hair.

Tanjor, 27th June 1878.

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

PÂRSÎ FUNERAL AND INITIATORY RITES.

I am glad my paper on the above subject has at length elicited a little criticism.[1] My intention was to give a lecture or lectures on the Pârsî religion before the University of Oxford immediately after my return from my second Indian journey. But on referring to my notes I found that so many different opinions existed on various knotty questions that I felt obliged to postpone the fulfilment of my design till I had gained further information, or, at least, cleared up some of my chief doubts.

Of course, I know that the researches of German scholars are at my command, but I am most desirous to examine the Pârsî religion from the point of view of the Pârsîs themselves, and to ascertain the opinions of their most learned men in regard to all controverted points.

My article in the *Indian Antiquary* was intended to provoke criticism. Of course, therefore, I feel grateful to Mr. Sorâbji Kâvasji Khambâtâ for setting me right in matters about which he is likely to be better informed than I am. If I now criticize some of his criticisms, it is not so much with a view of vindicating my own accuracy as of stimulating further discussion, that the real truth may be ascertained in regard to certain points which evidently admit of some difference of opinion.

For in the course of my inquiries into the religions of India few things surprised me more than the difficulty of obtaining a satisfactory explanation of many ambiguities in the creed and practice of modern Indo-Zoroastrians. Though no class of Indians can boast better educated or more cultivated and enlightened men than the Pârsî community, very few have studied their own religion in the original documents, and even those learned men to whom I appealed confessed their inability to answer some of my queries. While, therefore, I willingly defer to Mr. Khambâtâ's superior knowledge of his own religion, I feel bound to suspend my judgment in regard to questions still at issue among the Pârsîs themselves.

[1] *Vide* vol. VI. pp. 311-315, and vol. VII. p. 179.

Let me take Mr. Khambâtâ's criticisms in order. He says I have been wrongly informed that the priestly race among the Pârsîs is divided into three classes of Dasturs, Mobeds, and Herbads. But, according to his own showing: "Some Herbads are neither Dasturs nor Mobeds, for they do not choose to enter the holy order." Is not this tantamount to a division of the priestly race into three classes?

In the next place Mr. Khambâtâ says that I am wrong in calling the Nasasâlârs "corpse-bearers." Yet again, according to his own showing, they are quite as much corpse-bearers as the Khândhiâs: "The Nasasâlârs," he writes, "take up the body from the slab and place it in on the bier" ..... "The Nasasâlârs again receive the bier and carry it into the inner part of the Tower." It appears that I ought to have distinguished more clearly between the Nasasâlârs and the Khândhiâs or bier-bearers. But I must here observe that my description of a Pârsî funeral in my letter to the *Times* of 28th January 1876 was reprinted with alterations by the Pârsî Panchâyat, yet no corrections in regard to that point were made. The following sentence was also allowed to stand:—"As the bearers are supposed to contract impurity in the discharge of their duty, they are forced to live quite apart from the rest of the community."

Mr. Khambâtâ says: "Professor Williams considers feeding the dog with bread a part of the ceremony called *Sag-dîd*. In this also he is mistaken." No, my only mistake has been in expressing myself too loosely. It should be observed that the hyphen in *Sag-dîd* was mine. I knew I was writing for Oriental scholars, and the hyphen seemed to me quite sufficient to indicate that *Sag-dîd* meant 'dog-gaze.' In my *Times* letter I said: "The corpse is exposed to the gaze of a dog, regarded by the Pârsîs as a sacred animal. This latter ceremony is called *Sag-dîd*."

Again Mr. Khambâtâ takes exception to my words, "The fire sanctuary of the *sagri* has a window or aperture so arranged that when the sacred fire is fed with sandal-wood fuel by the veiled priest, just before the corpse-bearers enter the Tower, a ray from the flame may be projected over the dead body at the moment of its exposure." Mr. Khambâtâ says "this is not correct. With no such design is the *sagri* built." But what I stated was that the aperture (not the building of the *sagri*) was arranged with that design. This, however, was not my statement, but that of the Secretary to the Panchâyat, who attended me on both occasions of my visit to the Towers.

With regard to the bread with which the funeral dog is fed, I owe the rational explanation I have given of this remarkable custom to a well known scholar and distinguished living authority, Mr. K. R. Kâmâ. Let others judge if Mr. Khambâtâ's explanation is preferable.

Again, Mr. Khambâtâ calls in question my assertion that the soul of the deceased man is supposed to hover about in a restless state for the three days immediately succeeding death, in the neighbourhood of the *dakhmas*. Mr. Khambâtâ informs us that the souls of only sinful men are supposed to do so. Will he tell us what becomes of the souls of the righteous during these three days?

As to the initiatory ceremonies, I must remind Mr. Khambâtâ that my description had reference to the highest form of these ceremonies. This is what I meant by their "due celebration"

I quite admit that I ought to have mentioned the white colour of the bull.

In conclusion I must express my surprise that Mr. Khambâtâ should not have divined from the context that 'second' was a mere misprint for 'sacred'; still I do not excuse myself for having overlooked this error in the proofs

MONIER WILLIAMS

Oxford, 28th July 1878.

THE PHRYGIAN INSCRIPTIONS AT DOGANLU.

SIR,—The question of the geographical course, advance, and development of the Âryan languages will have so much interest for your Indian readers that I venture to ask for a small space, in your close columns, to originate a new line of inquiry, which has lately presented itself to me, in the interpretation of the Phrygian inscriptions at Doganlu, near the old Nacoleia. The site of Doganlu lies SE. of the prominent town of Kutaiya: it is more immediately associated with the traditional *Metropolis*, which is identified, in Smith and Grove's *Atlas*, with *Gundjaro Kaleh* (Lat. 39° 18′ N., Long. 30° 36′ E.), Doganlu being placed in the same map, under the designation of Castellum et sepulcra regia, in about Lat. 39° 8′ N., Long. 30° 53′.

H. Kiepert's map, attached to the valuable work of P. de Tchihatcheff,—*Asie Mineure* (Paris, 1860),—gives the emplacement of the three sites of Kumbet, Yapouldak, and Doganly, the position of the latter being defined as Lat. 39° 16′ N. Long 30° 37 E.[1]

[1] The proximity of these historical remains to the ancient Synnada (Afiun-Kara-hissar), Lat. 38° 43′ N., Long. 30° 31′ E., is also noteworthy.

I must frankly tell you that these inscriptions have been copied, recopied, and commented on from the days of Walpole, Leake, &c., and, as I now find, put under critical solution in Rawlinson's translation of Herodotus.[2] I am glad to say that I was altogether unaware of this last *excursus*, or perhaps I should not have undertaken a new and independent examination of these archaic writings. Nor do I wish now to controvert other people's readings, but to suggest the exercise of free thought: to which end I shall be prepared to submit to your readers the full text of some ten or eleven inscriptions with the derivation and associate adaptation of other forms of the old Phœnician alphabets. In the mean time, perhaps, you will allow me to give a general outline of the results I have arrived at. These inscriptions are written in an early form of Greek character very little removed from the archaic type of the Phœnician alphabet on the *stèle* of Mesha of Moab (B.C. 896), and are arranged, in the *boustrophédon* form, reading from right to left and from *left to right*. The alphabet when compared with the full scheme of the Greek series of 25 letters is found to be deficient in the letters θ, χ, and ω; the ϕ seems to have been a subsequent incorporation, and the indeterminate use of the ζ, ξ, and σ indicates a very imperfect appreciation of the true value of the adopted letters. One very significant sign of the adaptation of the Semitic alphabet to its new requirements is seen in the simple elaboration of the ordinary 𐤄 = E into 𐤇 = H by the convenient addition of a fourth side-stroke. The E is the Latin Æ, distinguished from the F, for which it might otherwise be mistaken, by the retention of the down-stroke of the latter in a directly perpendicular line, as opposed to the slope given to the down-strokes of the E and E. This peculiarity is preserved in the formation of the contrasted F and E of the Etruscan alphabets.

The F = 𐤅 (*vau*) of the Semitic series seems to have held an anomalous position in its new place, having to do duty for *f, v, p, ph*, as well as sometimes serving as an accent, and being occasionally employed also as a means of separating vowels, as in the Carian tongue, where vowels were so persistently severed and isolated, as opposed to ordinary Greek rules.[3]

But the main point for consideration for Âryan scholars is the curious predominance of *Latin* forms and inflexions in the texts themselves, which, as affecting the affiliation of languages, is of the highest importance in the present state of our philological knowledge. The alphabet in like manner abounds in many of the early identities which were retained intact in the Etruscan and other Italian alphabets.

The texts themselves, as I read them, result in the preservation of the names of several of the old kings of Phrygia, endorsed on the tombs or rock-cut surfaces wherein their ashes may have been enshrined, or in secret places around. The names appear in the following order:—

a. Manes (in the Latin form of BABA MEMEFAIΞ).[4]

b. A second king called Baba Manes, discriminated by a different title.

c. Atys.

d. Midas, and

e. EPEKYN, or preferentially FPEKYN (Φρεκυν?).

But by far the most important contribution to ancient archæology which these epigraphs permit me to cite are the dates, which have been hitherto consistently ignored or misunderstood. We have in the first place a distinct record of a life ΛΑΨΙΤ, *lapsit* (گزنا), ending at the age of 23 (ΓΛ). Next we meet with a specific date in the form of AT = 301, which is appended to the name of a certain Chersonesian, *outside* the rock-cut face of the earliest temple front, which bears on its *frieze* the name and titles of FPEKYN.

The date itself will not therefore apply to the epoch of any given king, but it may be freely accepted as a record made subsequent to the execution of the possibly votive sculpture, and thus indicates the priority, recent or remote, of the ornamental device within whose pattern the leading designation is engraved. The inquiry may now be raised as to what era these latter figures refer. To my understanding there can be but one system of reckoning at all applicable to the circumstances in the race which made its mark and held its continuity from father to son for 505 years, as Herodotus tells us was the case with the proximate Phrygian Heraclidæ,

[2] W. Hamilton, *Ægyptiaca*, London, 1809.
Chandler's *Asia Minor*, 1817, p. 272.
Travels in the East, edited by R. Walpole (London, 1820), p. 207.
Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor, by W. M. Leake (London, 1824), p. 21.
Keppel's *Journey*, 1831, vol ii. p. 117.
Cramer's *Asia Minor*, 1832, vol. ii. p. 5.
Grotefend, *Transactions R. As. Soc.* (1835), vol. iii. p. 328.
Ancient Monuments with Inscriptions still existing in Lydia and Phrygia, by J. R. Steuart: London, 1842.
C. Texier, *L'Asie Mineure*, Paris, 1849, vol. i. p. 210.
Asia Minor, Pontus, &c., by W. J. Hamilton (London, 1842), vol. I. p. 459.
Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, &c., by W. F. Ainsworth (London, 1842), vol. ii. p. 59.
The History of Herodotus, by G. Rawlinson (London, 1858), vol. i. note p. 666.
Manual of Oriental History, by F. Lenormant (London, 1870), vol. ii. p. 73.

[3] "Καυναίας = Cave-ne-eas," Cicero *De Div.* ii. 40.

[4] The Latin text given by Cory from the Armenian version, with variations from the old Latin version of Hieronymus, uses 'Mames' as the equivalent of the Greek Μήνης. See also Eusebius, p. 95.

whose dynasty was finally extinguished on the accession of Gyges, in 716 B.C.[5]

The dates, therefore, arrange themselves thus:—716 + 505 = 1221 B.C. for the accession to power of the Lydo-Phrygian kings. The recorded date of 505 − 301 = 204 amounts to 204 + 716 = 920 B.C., or so much *before* the anomalous reckoning by the Olympiads of 776 B.C., or the local era of the foundation of Rome, A.U.C., which dates only from 754 B.C.

There is one possible objection to the reception in full faith of the initial date of the Heraclidæ as the determining epoch of the period to which we are to assign the execution of these monuments—that is, the highly advanced stage of the alphabetical characters, as opposed to the retarded progress, in that direction, of the Greeks of the islands.

I am not disturbed at all upon this point. If the Egyptians recognized the Phrygians as older than themselves, there must have been some very civilized focus in the latitude in which these rock-cut frontages are preserved to the present day. Mr. Fergusson, as the latest commentator from the architectural point of view, pronounces them to be the very earliest examples of *quasi*-wooden designs extant![6]

In regard to the more matured forms of the alphabetical characters at Doganlu, it is to be remarked that, although they are obviously very much in advance of the Greek of the Homeric development, there is nothing inconsistent with an earlier local civilization, and a more direct *land* intercourse with the nations who used Phœnician writing as their ordinary method of literary communication. In this respect we may continue the comparison with the Phœnician record on the *stèle* of Mesha. This document is now generally conceded to belong to the close of the 9th century B.C., and to exhibit the alphabet in an advanced stage of maturity.[7] But with the exception of a natural advance upon the special exigencies of a Semitic language, and a mechanical re-adaptation of the outlines of the normal forms, there is nothing in the Phrygian alphabet that is inconsistent with the immediate improvements necessitated by the larger requirements of Âryan speech. Those who care to compare a parallel rate of progress may find identities in the development and adaptation of the Baktrian Semitic alphabet of Aśoka's inscriptions,[8] and see how readily an Âryan tongue improved upon its Semitic teachings, and advanced towards a more perfect, though utterly inconsistent and unsuitable alphabet, in respect to the configuration of the outlines of its letters.

I need not say that this subject is likely to attract much attention among the critical classic authorities of the present day, who may be disposed to agree with Max Müller, who seeks to reduce Greek literature to as comparatively low a level as he assigns to Vedic *writing* and Indian alphabets.

Indeed, signs of opposition have already manifested themselves, but I have been, strange to say, greatly strengthened in my leading argument by one of the primary objections, which took this form—"How do you know that the letter ϖ was the recognized *letter* equivalent of 300 in these early times?" It is confessed freely that the later Greek numeral ϖ stands, *in figures* throughout, for 300, and has never meant anything else in their arithmetic; but how, it is added, can I establish so primitive an application of the use of the letter for the purposes of dates? My reply is, simply, that the Phrygian dates—in their double entries—were clearly well-understood records, where *letter* figures sufficed for all purposes of identification without further definition.

As regards the doubt about the ϖ and its value then and afterwards as 300, a most curious and instructive piece of consecutive evidence crops up.

The learned world who rely upon Greek priority have long ago admitted that the drop or loss of the Ϝ, or digamma, amid the early numbers of the Greek numeral system, afforded conclusive evidence of derivation from the consecutive order of the Phœnician alphabet.

That is clearly so, but a new proof of the antiquity of the Phrygian epigraphs may probably be established from the contested T.

Perhaps your readers are not in possession of all the data which I hope to submit to them, but I may prepare the way by saying that in the Moabite stone and in the Phrygian inscriptions, with which we are more immediately concerned, there is no such letter as the Hebrew ט, *teth*, or the corresponding Greek Θ, and the same remark holds good in regard to most of the Aramæan alphabets.[9]

[5] *Herodotus* i. 7. See also i. 14, 35, 94; iv. 45; viii. 138.

[6] *History of Architecture*, vol. I. p. 224:—They may have been dated as far back as 1000, and most probably 700 years, at least, before the Christian era."

[7] F. Lenormant, *L'Alphabet Phénicien*, Paris, 1872, tom. I. p. 128.

[8] Prinsep's *Essays*, vol. ii. p. 144; *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1863. p. 225.

[9] Gesenius (1837), p. 30, speaking of the Phœnician ט, *teth*, remarks,—Ante tria lustra hujus litteræ figura Palæographis ita ignotus erat.

M de Luynes (Prinsep, pl. ix *a*), has only one *teth*, that under Sidon, from Sargon to the epoch of the Romans 145 B.C.

Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, 1864, finds no such letter in the "Assyrian Lion weights," nor in the "old Hebrew from Coins." M. de Vogüé, *Mélanges*, 1868, has none in his Phénicien Archaïque, but plenty in the Egyptian Alphabets.

In these cases, therefore, the *final* letter of the alphabet counts as 21, and not as 22. No. 21, in the ordinary course of Eastern letter notation, is equivalent to 300, and as such the Greeks received the T, *out of* its regular Phœnician order, and adopted it into their own system, which goes far to suggest that this Phrygian medium was *the* true channel of communication, in opposition to the tentative numerals of the Egyptians, which the Phœnicians perhaps suggested to the Latins. So much avowedly depends upon the sequent order of the letters that we find in the proper Hebrew alphabet the ת *tau* = 400, and where the current Hebrew adds a second פ, *p* (= *f*), the ת grows into 500.

To reiterate somewhat, in order to test and check the dates bearing upon the mechanical adaptation of *letter* figures. I will re-state the case from another point of view. The missing Θ of the Aramæan writing regains its place in the accepted Greek scheme under the Phœnician influences, to which it was so largely indebted, and from whose alphabetical notation the letter perhaps had never been absent. So also the Hebrew *yod* =10 is constant in the Greek series of *letter* numbers. The Greek scheme of amalgamation evidently experienced a second jerk in the number of 90, where it had to supply a figure like a reversed P or a revived ϸ (*koph*), as inconsecutive a form as the revised equivalent of the *six*, in order, perchance, to retain or bring back the ϛ = F to its *proper* numeral position as 100, the fixed succeeding Σ to its ancient function as 200, and the T to its coincident value of 300, from which, as the 21st letter of the *primitive* Moabite and Phrygian order of notation, it ought never to have been displaced.

E. THOMAS.

THE FIREARMS OF THE HINDUS.

SIR,—Under the above heading Bâbu Râm Dâs Sen (*ante*, p. 136) appears to claim for the Hindus of some unknown but very ancient period a knowledge of military projectiles at least equal to that possessed by their descendants in the last century. He speaks of the Agni-Astra as mentioned in the *Agni Purâṇa* and *Mûdra Râkshasa*, and as more particularly described in the *Śukra-Niti*, a work said to have been written by the sage Śukra-Âchârya; from which he quotes descriptions which as translated undoubtedly refer to true firearms.

But, in the first instance, all the external evidence goes to show that no foreign invaders found the Hindus in original possession of anything of the sort. The scanty records which we have of Greek and Roman contact with ancient India may be ransacked in vain for any positive evidence on the subject, while their silence is strong negative testimony *per contra*.

No Muhammadan historian mentions gunpowder before A.D. 1317; and Sir H. Elliot thinks the earliest date at which it can have got to India A.D. 1400, and does not put much faith in a Chinese account of something like a firearm in A.D. 1259 (Elliot and Dowson's *Hist. Ind.* vol. VI. pp. 455, 459, 460). Col. Yule, referring[1] to a 'Fire-Pao' used in China in the 13th century, agrees with MM. Favé and Reinaud that it was probably a sort of rocket. Now, if the Hindus ever had anything of the sort, how did they come to forget all about it before they came in contact with Western races capable of bearing testimony to the fact? or, if they had not forgotten it, how is it that Greek, Arab, and Persian are equally silent on the subject? The Hindu armourer is conservative enough. The sword, the battle-axe, the war-quoit, are the same to-day in steel that they are in the stone of sculptures 1200 years old; and, in respect of the first weapons, the Muslim invaders had no sooner settled in India than they adopted the peculiar and inconvenient Indian hilt. It is hardly likely that so important an art as that of the artillerist would have dropped out of sight, and its only record be found in a Sanskrit manuscript not very well known; and this is the next point to which I wish to draw attention.

"The sage Śukra Âchârya" has already appeared in these columns as the contemporary of the Vâman Avatâr and of Bṛihaspati (*Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. p. 243, vol. V. p. 5). Was he the author of the work quoted by Bâbu Râm Dâs Sen? And if not, who was? The Bâbu says that the *ślokas* quoted do not seem mere modern interpolations. His authority upon this point is superior to mine, and I must bow to it till some scholar of weight has examined the MS. and given his opinion on it. But, from the evidence above given, it seems to me that if they are not such interpolations the whole work must be a forgery of, at best, the 17th century—a period which I am led to select by the mention of the flint.

W. F. SINCLAIR.

M. Lenormant detects no *teths* in the Moab stone, in the Lions of Nimrud, or the Inscriptions in Cyprus and Malta, nor is the letter entered in any of "the four varieties of Hebrew Archaique" in Pl. VII, though he discovers the letter in some *pierres gravées*, the *nidus* of which is not defined.

Finally, under the Italian aspect, though the Umbrians and Etruscans used the Θ, the Romans and Oscans made up the letter of the ordinary combined TH.

[1] *Marco Polo*, vol. I. p. 334.

ASITA AND BUDDHA, OR THE INDIAN SIMEON.

In the *Lalita Vistara*—a legendary history in prose and verse of the life of Buddha, the great Indian saint, and founder of the religion which bears his name—it is related that a Ṛishi, or inspired sage, named Asita, who dwelt on the skirts of the Himâlaya mountains, became informed, by the occurrence of a variety of portents, of the birth of the future lawgiver, as the son of king Suddhôdana, in the city of Kapilavastu, in Northern India, and went to pay his homage to the infant. I have tried to reproduce the legend in the following verses. The similarity of some of the incidents to portions of the narrative in the second chapter of St. Luke's Gospel, verses 25ff., will strike the reader.

I may mention that the Buddhist books speak also of earlier Buddhas, that the word means 'the enlightened,' or 'the intelligent,' and that Buddha also bore the appellations of Gautama, and of Śâkyasiṁha, and Śâkyamuni—*i.e.* the lion, and the devotee, of the tribe of the Śâkyas, to which he belonged.

That I have not at all exaggerated the expressions in the text which speak of Buddha as a deliverer or redeemer, or assimilated his character more than was justifiable to the Christian conception of a saviour, will be clear to any one who can examine the original for himself. Kumârila Bhaṭṭa, a renowned Brâhmaṇical opponent of the Buddhists, while charging Buddha with presumption and transgression of the rules of his caste in assuming the functions of a religious teacher (with which, as belonging to the Kshatriya, and not to the Brâhmaṇical class, he had no right to interfere), ascribes to him these words—"Let all the evils (*or* sins) flowing from the corruption of the Kali age" (the fourth, or most degenerate, age of the world) "fall upon me; but let the world be redeemed!" If we might judge from this passage, it would seem that the character of a vicarious redeemer was claimed by, or at least ascribed to, Buddha. I was informed by the late Mr. R. C. Childers, however, that in his opinion the idea of Buddha's having suffered vicariously for the sins of men is foreign to Buddhism, and indeed opposed to the whole spirit and tendency of the system.

Another esteemed correspondent is unable to think that the sentiment ascribed to Buddha by Kumârila is foreign to his system, as it is thoroughly in accordance with the idea of the six *pâramitas*. He does not understand it as implying any theological notion of vicarious atonement, but rather the enthusiastic utterance of highly-strung moral sympathy and charity, and would compare it with St. Paul's words in *Romans* ix. 3, and explain each in just the same way as, he thinks, Chrysostom does. He further refers to the existence of numerous Buddhist stories in the *Kathâsarit-sâgara*, among which is one from lvi. 153, viz. the story of the disobedient son with a red-hot iron wheel on his head, and he says—"Pâpino 'nye 'pi muchyantâm pṛithvyâm tat-pâtakair api! â pâpa-kshayam etad me chakram bhrâmyatu mûrdhani," "Let other sinners on earth be freed from their sins; and until the removal of [*their*] sin let this wheel turn round upon my head." In either case it is only a wish, and it is not pretended that it really had, or ever could have, any effect on other men. It only expresses a perfection of charity. The same idea (borrowed, as the writer supposes, from Buddha) comes in in the *Bhâgavata Purâṇa*, ix. ch. 21.

On Himâlaya's lonely steep
There lived of old a holy sage,
Of shrivelled form, and bent with age,
Inured to meditation deep.

He—when great Buddha had been born,
The glory of the Śâkya race,
Endowed with every holy grace,
To save the suffering world forlorn—

Beheld strange portents, signs which taught
The wise that that auspicious time
Had witnessed some event sublime,
With universal blessing fraught.

The sky with joyful gods was thronged:
He heard their voice with glad acclaim
Resounding loudly Buddha's name,
While echoes clear the shouts prolonged.

The cause exploring, far and wide
The sage's vision ranged; with awe
Within a cradle laid he saw
Far off the babe, the Śâkyas' pride.

With longing seized this child to view
At hand, and clasp, and homage pay,
Athwart the sky he took his way
By magic art, and swan-like flew

And came to King Suddhôdan's gates,
And entrance craved—"Go, royal page,
And tell thy lord an ancient sage
To see the King permission waits."

The page obeyed, and joined his hands
Before the prince, and said—"A sage,
Of shrivelled form, and bowed with age,
Before the gate, my sovereign, stands,

"And humbly asks to see the King."
To whom Suddhôdan cried—"We greet
All such with joy; with honour meet
The holy man before us bring."

The saint beside the monarch stood,
And spake his blessing—"Thine be health,
With length of life, and might, and wealth;
And ever seek thy people's good."

With all due forms, and meet respect,
The King received the holy man,
And made him sit; and then began—
"Great sage, I do not recollect

"That I thy venerable face
Have ever seen before; allow
Me then to ask what brings thee now
From thy far-distant dwelling-place."

"To see thy babe," the saint replies,
"I come from Himâlaya's steeps."
The King rejoined—"My infant sleeps;
A moment wait until he rise."

"Such great ones ne'er," the Rishi spake,
"In torpor long their senses steep;
Nor softly love luxurious sleep;
The infant Prince will soon awake."

The wondrous child, alert to rise,
At will his slumbers light dispelled.
His father's arms the infant held
Before the sage's longing eyes.

The babe beholding passing bright,
More glorious than the race divine,
And marked with every noble sign,[1]
The saint was whelmed with deep delight;

And crying—"Lo! an infant graced
With every charm of form I greet!"
He fell before the Buddha's feet,
With fingers joined, and round him paced.[2]

Next round the babe his arms he wound,
And "One," he said, "of two careers
Of fame awaits in coming years
The child in whom these signs are found.

"If such an one at home abide,
He shall become a King, whose sway
Supreme a mighty arm'd array
On earth shall stablish far and wide.

"If, spurning worldly pomp as vain,
He choose to lead a joyless life,
And wander forth from home and wife,
He then a Buddha's rank shall gain."

He spoke, and on the infant gazed,
When tears suffused his aged eyes;
His bosom heaved with heavy sighs;
Then King Suddhôdan asked, amazed—

"Say, holy man, what makes thee weep,
And deeply sigh? Does any fate
Malign the royal child await?
May heavenly powers my infant keep!"

"For thy fair infant's weal no fears
Disturb me, King," the Rishi cried;
"No ill can such a child betide;
My own sad lot commands my tears.

"In every grace complete, thy son
Of truth shall perfect insight[3] gain,
And far sublimer fame attain
Than ever lawgiver has won.

"He such a Wheel[4] of sacred lore
Shall speed on earth to roll as yet
Hath never been in motion set
By priest, or sage, or god before.

"The world of men and gods to bless,
The way of rest and peace to teach,
A holy law thy son shall preach—
A law of stainless righteousness.

"By him shall suffering men be freed
From weakness, pain, and grief,
From all the ills shall find relief
Which hatred, love, illusion, breed.

"His hand shall loose the chains of all
Who groan in fleshly bands confined;
With healing touch the wounds shall bind
Of those whom pain's sharp arrows gall.

"His potent words shall put to flight
The dull array of leaden clouds
Which helpless mortals' vision shrouds,
And clear their intellectual sight.

"By him shall men who, now untaught,
In devious paths of error stray,
Be led to find a perfect way—
To final calm[5] at last be brought.

"But once, O King, in many years,
The figtree[6] somewhere flowers perhaps;
So after countless ages' lapse,
A Buddha once on earth appears.

"And now, at length, this blessed time
Has come: for he who cradled lies
An infant there before thine eyes
Shall be a Buddha in his prime.

[1] Certain corporeal marks are supposed by Indian writers to indicate the future greatness of those children in whom they appear. Of these, thirty-two primary and eighty secondary marks are referred to in the original as being visible on Buddha's person.

[2] The word here, imperfectly translated, means, according to Professor H. H. Wilson's *Dictionary*, "reverential salutation, by circumambulating a person or object, keeping the right side towards them."

[3] The term here translated 'insight' is derived from the same root as the word 'Buddha,' and means 'intelligence,' or 'enlightenment.'

[4] The term thus rendered, *Dharmachakra*, expresses a somewhat singular figure. It denotes the 'wheel of the law,' or the 'wheel of righteousness,' or the 'wheel of religion.'

[5] The word in the original is *nirvâṇa*, a term of which the sense is disputed—some scholars esteeming it to mean absolute annihilation; others explaining it as the extinction of passion, the attainment of perfect dispassion. Mr. Childers considers *nirvâna* to signify active bliss on earth for a brief period, followed (upon death) by total annihilation.

[6] The tree referred to in the original is the Udumbara, the *Ficus glomerata*.

"Full, perfect insight gaining, he
Shall rescue endless myriads tost
On life's rough ocean waves, and lost,
And grant them immortality.

"But I am old, and frail, and worn,
I shall not live the day to see
When this thy wondrous child shall free
From woe the suffering world forlorn.

"'Tis this mine own unhappy fate
Which bids me mourn, and weep, and sigh;
The Buddha's triumph now is nigh,
But, ah! for me it comes too late!"

When thus the aged saint, inspired,
Had all the infant's greatness told,
The King his wondrous son extolled,
And sang, with pious ardour fired—

"Thee, child, th' immortals worship all,
The great Physician, born to cure
All ills that hapless men endure;
I, too, before thee prostrate fall."

And now—his errand done—the sage,
Dismissed with gifts, and honour due,
Athwart the æther swan-like flew,
And reached again his hermitage.

J. MUIR.

ANCIENT BURYING-GROUND AT MUNGAPEṬṬÂ, AND CROSSES.

It is well that officers of geological surveys who are working in unfrequented districts should keep their eyes open to any prehistoric remains which may come under their notice. Mr. W. King, of the Indian Survey, has shown himself fully alive to the value of archæological observations, by the notes which he has recently communicated to the Asiatic Society of Bengal. These notes describe a prehistoric burial-place, which he visited in the course of his geological work, near Mungapeṭṭâ, in the Nizâm's dominions. The cemetery consists of an assemblage of about 150 stone cists, enclosed in megalithic rings, with four large monoliths in the shape of crosses. Each tomb is formed of four upright slabs of stone, with another for a covering-lid, the largest cist measuring 9½ feet in length by 9 feet in width, with a height of about 5 feet. The stone slab which forms the floor of each cist is hollowed into one or more cavities for reception of the bodies, which were probably embalmed. The surrounding circle of stones is in some cases 30 or 40 feet in diameter; and one of the crosses measures 16 feet in height. The cists and crosses are all of dressed stone, the material being the sandstone of the country. It is suggested by Mr. King that this burial-place is of pre-Âryan age, or belongs to Hindu-Kolarian times. Ruder remains of similar style are scattered over the surrounding country, but the group of tombs which he describes is of special interest from the presence of the crosses, which is quite an exceptional feature.—*The Academy*, 29*th December*.

Mr. King observes that the crosses are distinguished from those of Christian origin by the different size of the limbs, and by the curved junction between the arms and the lower limb. Another similar cross is reported to exist in the Hazaribâgh district at Basatpur, near Leiyo, in the valley of the Bikaro river. Near it there are a number of *dressed* memorial stones of truncate pyramidal shape.

It is not clear whether the Mungapeṭṭâ group of crosses are the same with those at Katapur and Nirmal, in the Nizâm's country, described and figured at pp. 486-8 of Fergusson's *Rude Stone Monuments*. Mr. Fergusson inclined to ascribe them to a Christian origin; see too *Ind. Ant.* vol. IV. p. 306, where the same view is taken, and the circumstance of their being of *dressed* stone tells against their belonging to a prehistoric period. But Mr. King does not appear to regard the Mungapeṭṭâ crosses as Christian, and the pyramidal memorial stones accompanying another cross are also spoken of as *dressed*, and *they* would not be claimed as Christian; the localities, too, of these crosses in only recently penetrated jungles seems against Christian derivation, and it must be remembered that the cross-shape is a pre-Christian symbol, seen on the breasts of Assyrian statues, and among the ruins of Palenque, in Mexico. Meanwhile it seems strange, considering how long these venerable Indian crosses have been known, that the question of their association has not been decided.

W.

NOTE.—CANARESE INSCRIPTION.

In February 1874, rambling about Chaul, the old Greek Simylla, (or Τίμυλα) I came upon an unfinished Śaiva temple, commenced, it was said, *in memoriam* of one of the Northern or Kulâbâ branch of the pirate house of Angria. Just to the east of this, beautifully embosomed in the cocoanut orchards, was a fine temple of the 18th century, with tank and *ghâṭs*, of which I was told the following legend:—

"In the *quasi*-reign of one of the earlier Peshvâs a Drâvidian Brâhmân dwelling at Chaul was warned in a dream, by I forget what god, that he should proceed to Puṇâ and demand from the Government money wherewith on this spot to dig a tank and build a temple. He obeyed, found that a corresponding dream had simultaneously visited the ruler, and faithfully applied the grant;

"and the bricks are there to this day to testify of it."

Between the temple and the cenotaph toddy-drawers were whetting their knives at the time of my visit, upon a loose slab bearing a Kanarese inscription—a thing of itself (philologically speaking) very remarkable in so thoroughly Marâthâ a country as the North Konkaṇa. A little money and a good deal of diplomacy enabled me to place it in the collection of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, where it has remained unheeded from that day to this, upon a landing-place, where scholars pass it every week.

W. F. SINCLAIR.

ABYSSINIAN KINGS.

The following is a list of the kings of Abyssinia during the greater part of five centuries from B.C. 139:—

B.C.		A.D.	
139	Menilek or Ibn' Hakim reigned 29 yrs.	70	Za-Malis ... 6 yrs.
110	Za-Hendedyu 1 yr.	76	Za-Hakale...13 „
98	Awda .....11 yrs.	89	Za-Demahê, 10 „
87	Za-Awsyu ... 3 „	99	Za-Awtet ... 2 „
84	Za-Tsawo...3y. 10m.	101	Za-Elawda. 30 „
80	Za-Gesyu, half a day.	131	Za-Zigen and Rema .....40 „
80	Za-Maute ...8y. 4m.	171	Za-Gafale... 1 yr.
72	Za-Bahse ... 9 yrs.	172	Za-Bæsi-Serk 4 yrs.
63	Kâwuda..... 2 „	176	Za-Elasguaga 76 „
61	Kanazi .....10 „	252	El-Herka ...21 „
51	Haduna ..... 9 „	273	Za-Bæsi Tsawesa ..... 1 yr.
42	Za-Wasih ... 1 yr.	274	Za-Wakena . 2 days
41	Zah-dir ..... 2 yrs.	274	Za-Hadus ...4 mts.
39	Za-Awzena . 1 yr.	275	El-Segel..... 2 yrs.
38	Za-Berwas...29 yrs.	277	El-Asfeh ...14 „
9	Za-Mahasi... 1 yr.	291	El-Tsegaba 23 „
8	Za-Bæsi-Bazen. 16 yrs.	314	El-Ahiawya 3 „
A.D 8	Za-Senatu,26 „	322	El-Abreha and El-Atzbeha, or Aizana and Saizana, brothers .....26½ „
34	Za-Les . ....10 „		
44	Za-Masenh ...6 „		
50	Za-Sutuwa ...9 „		
59	Za-Adgaba...10½ „		
69	Za-Agba .....6 mts.		

In the 8th year of Abreha, A.D. 330, Christianity was introduced into Abyssinia. There is some confusion in the lists as to the rulers between Tsegaba and Abreha.

Za-Hakale, who ruled A.D. 76-89, is in all probability the Zōskalēs mentioned by the author of the *Periplus Maris Erythræi*, § 5.

The Axomites are correctly distinguished from the Homerites by Philostorgius, by the appellation of Æthiopes; and Procopius (*De Bello Persico*), Cedrenus (*Hist. Comp.* p. 364, Paris, 1647), Cosmas, and John Malala (*Hist. Chronica Joannis Antioch.*, Oxon. 1691, p. 163), though all apply the word Indi to both people, confine the epithet Æthiopes to the Axomites. The term Ethiopians, too, or Itiopjawan, is the favourite appellation by which the Abyssinians designate themselves. (Conf. Salt's *Abyssinia*, pp. 460ff.; Ludolph, *Histor. Æthiop.* II. 4; *Corpus Inscrip.* III. p. 513; Tellez, *Travels of the Jesuits*, Lond. 1710, p. 74.)

STÂN,—DÂGHESTÂN, &c.

It may be interesting to 'Gaikwâdi'[1] to know that a century and three quarters ago, and on the spot, Dâghestân was considered to be derived from *Dâgh*, "which in their language signifieth a mountain." My authority noted below,[2] always calls it "the Dagestan," and the inhabitants "the Dagestans" or "Dagestan Tartars." He states that they spoke in his time (1722) the same language as the neighbouring Tatars of the plains.

W. F. S.

BANYANS AT ASTRAKHAN IN 1722.

The Banyans "are a sort of pagan Indians whose principal pursuit is trade, and have their factory within the city (of Astrakhan). One of their chief merchants dying at this time (1722), his widow desired leave of the emperor to burn herself with his corpse, according to the custom of their country; but his majesty, unwilling to encourage so barbarous a custom, refused her request, and the Indian factory withdrew from the city with their effects. His majesty, finding no argument could prevail on the woman to alter her resolution, at last gave them leave to do as they thought proper. The corpse, being dressed in his clothes, was carried to some little distance from the town, where a funeral pile of dry wood was raised, and the body laid upon it; before the pile were hung Indian carpets, to prevent its being seen. The wife, in her best apparel, and adorned with earrings, several rings on her fingers, and a pearl necklace, attended by a great number of Indians of both sexes, was led by a Brahman, or priest, to the

[1] *Ante*, p. 27.

[2] *Memoirs of Peter Henry Bruce, Esq., a Military Officer in the service of Prussia, Russia, and Great Britain*, 1 vol. 4to, London, printed for the Author's Widow, and sold by T. Payne and Son, Mewsgate, &c., 1782. A second edition, in 1 vol. 8vo, was published by Sheppard, Colles, and Co., Dublin, 1783. Bruce was of Scotch descent, born in Westphalia in 1692. Among other details, he says he surveyed the Caspian for Peter the Great, and expressly mentions the Oxus (4to ed., p. 314), "a river both large and rapid, and a musket-shot broad at its entrance," as flowing into that sea.

funeral pile, which on her approach was kindled; she then distributed her upper apparel and jewels among her friends and acquaintances, of whom she took her last farewell with a great deal of ceremony, and the pile being in full flame, and the carpets taken down, she leaped into the midst of the fire; her friends then poured quantities of oil over her, which soon suffocated her, and reduced both corpses to ashes, which were carefully gathered and put into an urn, to be conveyed to their relations in India."—*P. H. Bruce's Memoirs*, 4to ed., pp. 252, 253.

BOOK NOTICES.

MEMOIR on the HISTORY of the TOOTH RELIC of CEYLON, with a preliminary Essay on the Life and System of Gautama Buddha. By J. Gerson da Cunha, M.R.C.S., &c. Bombay, 1875.

Dr. Da Cunha's Memoir on the Tooth Relic of Ceylon is now two years old—which is as much as to say that in the light of later researches there is no difficulty in finding faults, particularly with the chronology. It is, however, a useful little pamphlet for any one approaching the subject as a beginner; and the conclusion, viz. that the tooth is 'bogus,' is incontrovertible except by a good Buddhist relying upon faith as against reason. The photographs, though not original, are good enough; and the index is more than we usually expect in so modest a work.

THE ENGLISH and their MONUMENTS at GOA. By J. Gerson da Cunha, M.R.C.S, &c. Bombay, 1877.

Dr. Da Cunha has compiled into a pamphlet of 28 pages an account of transactions almost forgotten, although they took place within the memory of men still alive. His knowledge of the Portuguese language gives him an unusual advantage in this ground, of which he will, no doubt, be found in sole possession if the course of political events should ever bring the subject before the public.

MODERN INDIA AND THE INDIANS: being a series of Impressions, Notes, and Essays. By Monier Williams, D.C.L. London: Trübner & Co., 1878.

Professor Williams has collected and remodelled a number of papers communicated to this and other less exclusively Oriental periodicals in a modest octavo volume—perhaps, of all works of recent Indian tourists, that most suitable for the 'Griffin' who is not also a 'Philistine.' His long study of Oriental subjects has enabled him to assimilate and reproduce with unusual success his *impressions de voyage*; and no Old Indian who remembers how little he knew of the country after an equal time spent in it will be hypercritical in respect of the errors into which our author has here and there fallen. We are glad to see a book so different from most of the rubbish with which the press was inundated immediately after the Prince of Wales's tour, and shall be prepared to welcome the further volume which Professor Williams promises us, as the result of his "researches into modern Indian religious life." A good many of us know too well the extreme difficulty that attends such inquiries to hope for any very important results from those of Professor Williams, conducted under the least favourable circumstances; but we can rely upon his recognition of the danger of hasty generalizations, and may fairly expect that his forthcoming volume will be suited for students of a somewhat larger growth than those for whom the present work has been written.

THE HINDOO PILGRIMS. By M. A. Sherring, M.A., &c. London: Trübner & Co., 1878.

The title of this work led us to expect a treatise upon the curious phenomena of the Hindu mania for pilgrimage—the contrast between isolated expeditions undertaken in consequence of a vow, or even to spend a holiday, and the lives of travel spent by regular devotees in wandering from end to end of the peninsula; the strange ceremonies of the holy places; and the legends which account for or create their sanctity. The subject would be most interesting, and Mr. Sherring has already given proof that he could deal with at least a portion of it. It is not, therefore, without considerable disappointment that we find his pilgrims and their travels a mere connecting thread for a series of legends interesting themselves, but conveyed in the most prosaic verse imaginable, and supposed to be recited over the camp fires of their nightly halting-places. Our readers would hardly thank us for samples.

EASTERN LEGENDS and STORIES in English verse. By Lieut. Norton Powlett. London: H. S. King & Co., 1873.

This modest little collection of poems does credit to the author, and is a good sign of the times. There is perhaps hardly a classical scholar in England who has not tried to render in verse the Odes of Horace; and the young Artillery Officer

who has made the same attempt upon tales from the *Anwar i Suhaili* and other Persian and Arabic stories was evidently not merely cramming for an examination when he sat with his Munshi. Such books, too, do some good in familiarizing the English public with the lighter forms of Oriental literature, and may stimulate a few young scholars to make themselves acquainted with the original; while the metrical talent of the translator is certainly much better employed in such exercises than in writing slangy 'Lays.' Some of the translations are very spirited; and the following extract is interesting as exemplifying a curious system of mnemonics not yet entirely superseded by the drier methods of our Government schools. The subject is a young Tatar learning his alphabet.

"He marked the rankèd letters go
In ordered lines as warriors do.
* * * * * * *
There Alif lifted high the spear,
And Ha the moony shield did bear,
And Ba his bended bow.
The crooked sabre Lam did wield;
And Mim, conspicuous in the field,
His helmet crest did show."

The allusion, of course, is to the forms of the characters.

The worst fault of the book is that some of the pieces show the influence of too severe a course of the *Ingoldsby Legends*, the style of which is hardly congenial to the subject.

A DESCRIPTIVE AND HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE GODAVERY DISTRICT, in the Presidency of Madras. By HENRY MORRIS, formerly of the Madras Civil Service, author of "A History of India for the use of Schools in India," and other works. (London: Trübner & Co. 1878.)

It is much to be regretted that the time, trouble, and cost which have been spent on the work under notice have been almost wasted. Mr. Morris's book abridged by two-thirds and bound in paper would have been valuable to subordinate officers in the collectorate of which he has constituted himself the *vates sacer*. It contains a great bulk of tabulated returns,—which no one will ever read who has not equal access to the original materials in the Collector's office,—a great many quotations from works equally accessible to any one ever likely to want them, and no spark of original matter worth reading at all.

All this would be nothing if the book was not published in an expensive form at a first-rate publisher's, and under the supposed patronage of the India Office, instead of getting its deserts at a Secretariat press in Madras. The general public, or even Orientalist students, can find no possible interest in the matters which seem to Mr. Morris of first-rate importance—the exact gate of a town where the police-barrack or school is situated, or the wreck of an ill-managed steamer near Coconada, and the suspension of its skipper's certificate.

On the other hand, writing of the great Eastern Chalukya dynasty, and of their very capital (Râjamahendri), he thinks that there "would be little use in giving here the bare list of these sovereigns," though he does bestow upon the site a notice which seems to have been translated from a Tehsildar's report—a remark which applies more or less to the whole of this bulky volume except a few extracts from the Madras and India Office records. As long as any encouragement is given to the compilation of district manuals in this Philistine style the Government of India need not be surprised to find few scholars among its servants.

HISTOIRE DE L'ASIE CENTRALE depuis les dernières années du règne de Nadir Chah (1153) jusqu'en 1233 de l'Hégire (1740—1818). Par Mir Abdoul Kerim Boukhary, publiée, traduite, et annotée par Charles Schefer, premier secretaire interprète du gouvernement pour les langues orientales, &c. &c. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1876.

Mîr Abd'ul Karîm Bukhârî, it appears from the preface to the translation of the work before us, was a Sayyid of Bukhârâ in the diplomatic service of the Amîr Shâh Maḥmûd of that Khânate. In this character he visited Kâśmîr, European and Asiatic Russia, and a large part of the intervening countries. Finally, in company with Mirza Muḥammad Yusuf, Ambassador of Bukhârâ, he arrived, in September 1807, in Constantinople. In one year more he was the sole survivor of the embassy, and apparently took this as a hint from Providence that he had wandered far enough, took to himself a wife (he does not say whether he had left any at home), and settled in the village of Beshik-Tash, in Roumelia, "whereof the charms are equal to those of Paradise."

While here he became acquainted with Arif Bey, then master of the ceremonies at the Porte. For him the Mîr compiled a sort of joint Gazetteer and Almanach de Gotha of Central Asia, of which a single manuscript exists. This, at the sale of the Bey's library in 1851, fortunately fell into the hands of a worthy possessor, M. Charles Schefer, who has had the text printed at Boulâk, and now publishes it with a French translation, numerous and valuable notes and appendices, and a tolerable map. It is much to be regretted that there is no index—a capital fault in a work purely of reference.

The author, after a short preface, enumerates the districts of Afghânistân,[1] and gives tables of

[1] Of these he treats Laghmân, Jelâlâbâd, and one or two others which we consider extra-Indian, as 'in Hindustân.' The same view may be traced in several of the earlier Musulmân authors quoted in Elliot.

their revenues in rupees, and of the principal routes in *farsakhs*. He then proceeds with the history of the Saduzai dynasty, which he brings down to the date of writing, A. H. 1233 (A. D. 1817), and concludes with the question, "What will happen next?" To which the answer of Time has been strange enough.

Next follows a similar account of Bukhârâ, which is very full, the author being naturally well up in his subject. Thirdly, Khiva is described in the same way. Fourthly, Khokand, a good deal mixed up with Kâshgâr and Yârkand. Fifthly, Khurassân, Tibet, and Kâśmîr divide a chapter among them. Here ends the work of Mîr Abd'ul Karîm, but not that of M. Schefer, who has, to supply the deficiencies of his author, added 52 pages of appendices, consisting of translated extracts from original Asiatic works,[2] except only a short notice of the citadel of Kâbul taken from Masson.

Mîr Abd'ul Karîm seems to have been a diligent observer and collector of materials, and, when not blinded by his religious passions (like most Tajiks of the Khânates, he was a violent Sunni), to be a tolerably candid and trustworthy historian. His great fault is that he hardly ever gives a date. Several of his geographical statements are corroborated by more recent European travellers, and he deals little in the marvellous. The following account of the *Yak* seems worth transcribing:— "There is found in these mountains an ox called K û t h a s; it hath a great brush like a fox's, whereof the hairs are as long as those of women, and which is used in Turkistân to mount upon the *Tughs*.[3] These oxen are found in great numbers all along the route from Tibet to Yârkand. In Tibet they are tamed and used for burden; they work as well as buffaloes; their flesh and milk have a very sweet savour. * * * * On the road to Tibet I caught a young Kuthâs napping, and slew him with a pistol-shot; his flesh was delicious." 'Delicious' as the *yâk* veal is the Mîr's brief and candid account of his sporting feat. A real Persian would have given a chapter to the chase, and finally shorn off the head of the 'mighty mountain bull' with one sweep of his *shamsher*. His historical style is equally brief and matter-of-fact, bar a few pious remarks and indifferent verses; and he gives few anecdotes.[4] One is introduced in illustration of the character of the Yomud Turkomâns, on whom so much sympathy has of late been expended. Abd'ul Karîm would have wasted little on them; he calls them 'perverse brigands,' whose habits 'reminded him of those of the Janissaries' (it will be remembered that he wrote for an officer of the court of Mahmûd the Reformer), and says, "A preacher was describing paradise. There was in the congregation a certain Turk, and quoth he, 'Do they go on *alamân* (foray) there?' 'No,' was the answer. 'Then,' retorted the Turk, 'would I liefer be in hell.' The Yomuds are of his opinion." A much worse infidel, however, was 'Alam Khân of Khokand, whose seal illustrates M. Schefer's title-page. "It is related," says the Mîr, "that a certain Shaikh had many disciples in Khokand, and asserted that his holy life had procured him the privilege of revelation, and the power of thaumaturgy. One day, 'Alam Khân, who was sitting by a cistern,[5] bade stretch a rope across it and call the Shaikh. The latter came, with some disciples, and sat down before the Khân. After a short time, 'Alam Khân said, 'O Shaikh! Shortly, on the day of resurrection, thou wilt pass thy disciples over the bridge Al Sirat, under which is hell. At present do thou walk along this rope, that I may be witness to one of thy miracles.'" The Shaikh protested, the Khân insisted; and the end of it was that the holy man made the attempt, failed ignominiously, and got not only a ducking, but such a thrashing, in the character of a detected impostor, that he died of the effects. "Whenever 'Alam Khân caught a dervish he seized him and set him to drive camels." This irreligious prince, naturally, was dethroned and murdered by his brother and uncle.

We give the following genealogies of the reigning families:—

The House of Saduzai is said by Abdu'l Karîm to have come from Multân. Though they were certainly powerful there during the time of the last Nawâbs and the Sikhs, this is unlikely, and it is more probable that their settlement there dates from 1731 A.D., when Nâdir Shâh banished their chiefs thither.[6]

The following is the genealogy of the family:— Z a m â n K h â n A b d â l i D u r â n i S a d u z a i came from Afghânistân proper to Herât about 1708, and joined his tribesman Asad u'lla Khân,[7] governor of Herât for Shâh Husain

[2] To wit, K h u r a s s â n, from the *Fihris u't Tawârikh* of Rizâ Kuli Khân, tom. IX.; T u r k e s t â n (Khokand), from the end of the *Tarikh i' Ahmad* of Munshi Muhammad Abd'ul Karîm T u r k i s t â n and D e s h t (i kiptchak) from the *Jahân Nâmâ* of Hâjî Khalifa; the K a l m a k s, T i b e t, K â s h g â r, the K a z a k s, and T u r a, from Saifi's *History of the Kings of Hind, Sind, Khita, Khoten, &c.*

[3] *Tugh* = the famous 'horse-tails' of Tatar armies.

[4] On the other hand he records the devices of a great many coins and seals.

[5] Probably one of those which are common in courtyards and gardens all over the East. The *locale* indicates that the Khân was taking his ease, and very likely drunk.

[6] Elphinstone's *Hist.* (1st ed.) p. 542.

[7] Elphinstone calls him Abdu'lla.

Safâvi: killed about or after 1760. His brother was Muḥammad Khân.

Zamân Khân's sons were: (1) Zu'lfikar Khân—end uncertain. (2) Aḥmad Khân, afterwards Aḥmad Shâh, became chief of the tribe; followed Nâdir, founded the Durâni empire on Nâdir's death in 1747; died at Murgha, Toba hills, Achakzai country, June 1773. He had eight sons:—

(1) Timur Shâh, succeeded 1773, died 20th May 1793 at Kâbul.

(2) Suleimân made an abortive attempt to secure the succession, and was imprisoned for life in the Bala Hissar or citadel of Kâbul, where he died about 1796, leaving four sons.

(3) Maḥmud, (4) Gohar, (5) Humâyûn,—all died in confinement in the citadel of Kâbul.

(6) Sikandar—strangled in the citadel of Kâbul, in consequence of a plot in his favour, 1779. (Elphinstone, however, says he was spared.)

(7) Darâb—escaped from the Bala Hissar with other confined princes about 1809, but afterwards returned to Kâbul of his own accord, and died there before 1818.

(8) Shahâb—was alive at Kâbul in 1818.

Timur Shâh had 300 wives, all foreigners; the seraglio was maintained on the revenues of Jelâlâbâd, amounting to four lâkhs of rupees per annum. He had thirty-six sons:—

(1) Humâyûn, endeavoured to succeed his father, defeated by his brother Shujâ 1793, captured near Leia 1795, blinded and confined in the citadel of Kâbul. His son Aḥmad was killed in battle 1793.

(2) Maḥmud, assumed royalty in Herât on his father's death in 1793; expelled by Shâh Zamân 1797; returned and expelled Shâh Zamân 1800; expelled by Shâh Shujâ 1803; escaped from Kâbul in the same year; returned and reconquered the kingdom 1808-9; was still in power 1818 (?) Had one son, Kamrân, who was in power in Herât in 1841.

(3) Zamân, succeeded his father 1793; dethroned and blinded 1800; was in Baghdâd in 1817. He had four sons,—Kaisar, murdered in prison by his cousin Kamrân 1800; Haidar, Mânsur, and Fâghfûr.

(4) Shujâ, expelled and succeeded Maḥmud 1803; expelled by him 1809; returned with the English; defeated and murdered by his nephew Sulṭân Jân 1841 (?).[3]

(5) Firûz u'd-dîn, turned out of Herât 1797; regained it; defeated by the Persians at Chade 1807; made prisoner and confined in the citadel of Kâbul 1816. Had one son, Malik Kâsim, and a daughter who poisoned herself rather than marry a Shiah, 1807.

(6) Abbas: Abdu'l Karîm says he was remarkable for courage, strength, and skill in the use of the sword. Strangled in prison in the citadel of Kâbul, under Zamân Shâh.

(7) Shâpur, poisoned in the citadel of Kâbul. These two princes were children of the daughter of Sharbat 'Alî Khân Jindawûl, Kazalbâsh, the chief Sulṭâna of Timur. Abdu'lla Khân, styled Jân Nisar Khân, governor of the citadel, paid improper addresses to her in the time of Zamân Shâh. Shâpur stabbed Jân Nisar to avenge his mother's honour, and was murdered in consequence at the same time with her and Abbas.[4]

(8) Jahân Wâlâ; (9) Ayub; (10) Hasan; (11) Hamid; (12) Gohar; (13) Kaisar; (14) Akbar; (15) Âlamgîr; (16) Aḥmad; (17) Yakub; (18) Salîm; (19) Fâghfûr; (20) Jahân; (21) Shâh Rukh; (22) Muḥammad; 23) 'Usmân; (24) 'Umar; (25) Kanvar; (26) Rustam; (27) Daryâ Dil; (28) Kohan Dil; (29) Rahmat; (30) Farukh; (31) Aurangzib; (32) Ṣâbir; (33) Tipû; (34) Darâb; (35) Zakariâ; (36) not named. Abdu'l Karîm says that the 35 survived their father.

Names of the Amîrs murdered by Zamân Shâh and his vazir, Rahmat ulla Khân Saduzai, in 1799, which massacre led to Zamân's downfall:—

(1) Payanda Khân Bârakzai,[5] father of Fateh Khân, Dost Muḥammad, and 20 others, and grandfather of Sher 'Alî Khân now reigning.

(2) Hukumat Khân, governor of Balkh.

(3) Rahîm Dâd Khân, (4) Kamar u'd-dîn Khân, (5) Amîr Arslan Khân, (6) Jâfar Khân, (7) Shakar Khân Jindawûl.

(8) The son of Mîr Hazar Khân 'Alîkuzai, (9) Muḥammad A'zam Khân, (10) Zamân Khân, (11) Zabâd Beg 'Alîkuzai, (12) Rahîm Khân Nûrzai, (13) Aḥmad Khân Pannî.

Mangit Dynasty of Bukhârâ.

Khudayar Beg, Mangit Uzbak, claimed descent from Toktamish, who was defeated by Timur Lang. Had two sons;—(1) the father of—

I. Muḥammad Rahîm Beg, an officer in the service of Nâdir Shâh, detached by him to assist Abu'l Faiz Khân walad Subhân Kuli Khân—a chief of the White Bône ruling as Nâdir's tributary in Bukhârâ—against Ibadu'lla Khân, an Uzbak plunderer. On hearing of Nâdir's death

[3] But see Vincent Eyre's account for this last event.

[4] Abdu'l Karîm contradicts himself about this, saying in one place that Abbas was spared; and in another that he was strangled, which is more likely.

[5] Shâh Wali Khân Bârakzai was vazîr to Shâh Aḥmad. His son Sher Muḥammad took a principal part in enthroning Shâh Shujâ, and was vazîr to him; is called by Elphinstone Mukhtar u'd-daula; rebelled against him afterwards, and was killed in action. His son Atta Muḥammad was viceroy of Kâśmîr for Shâh Shujâ after the death of Abdu'lla Khân. He made himself practically independent, but was eventually conquered by a joint invasion of Ranjit Sing and Fateh Khân valad Payanda Khân Bârakzai (his own maternal uncle).

(1747) he dethroned and expelled Abu'l Faiz, and seized the sovereignty. Issue—two daughters. (1) married to Abdu'l Momin walad Abu'l Faiz, who was murdered by Muḥammad Raḥîm: she had a son. (2) The other daughter had also a son.

II. Dânyâl Beg, succeeded his nephew Muḥammad Rahim Beg. He had ten sons:—

III. (1) Shâh Murâd Beg, Amîr Ma'sum, superseded and succeeded his father, June 1784.

(2) Maḥmud Beg, living in exile in Khokand in 1818.

(3) 'Umar Beg and (4) Fâzil Beg, put to death with their families by their nephew Amîr Haidar Turê.

IV. (4) Sulṭân Murâd Beg, died at Maskât on the *Haj*, 1803. He had three sons (*see inf.*).

(5) Rustam Beg, died at Bukhârâ.

(6) Ganj 'Alî Beg, alive in 1818.

(7) Rajab 'Alî Beg: insane.

(8) Toktumish Beg, died at Kâbul in the reign of Timur Shâh; *i.e.* before 1793.

Shâh Murâd Beg had three sons:—

V. Sayyid Haidar Turê, styled Amîr Sayyid,[6] succeeded his father Sulṭân Murâd Beg 1803. He had six sons:—

(1) Muḥammad Husain, by a Sayyid lady.

VI. (2) Bahâdur Khân Nasîru'lla succeeded his father 1826. He murdered Stoddart and Conolly. His son—

VII. Muzaffaru'd-dîn succeeded him 1860.

(3) Abdu'lla, (4) 'Umar,—sons of a slave woman.

(5) Zûbair.

(6) Jahângir, son of a lady of the Khwâjahs of Juibar.

Dîn Nasîr Beg, second son of Sulṭân Murâd Beg (*supra*), was an exile in Russia in 1818. Muhammad Husain Beg, third son, an exile at Shahr-i Sabz.

Kungusât Dynasty of Khiva.

I. Ahmad Beg Inâk (=chief) of the Kungusât[7] Uzbaks in 1717 (period of Bekovitch Cherkaski's expedition), had at least one son,—

II. Muḥammad Amîn Beg, succeeded 1755, had sons,—

(1) Fâzil Beg, blind from disease, was alive in 1818, and

III. (2) 'Iwaz, succeeded his father, died in 1804.

IV. (3) Iltûzar, succeeded Ivâz; superseded the Khâns of the White Bone, under whom his predecessors had been *maires du palais*, and was the first Kungusât Khân killed in battle, with Amîr Haidar Turê of Bukhârâ.

(4) Muḥammad Raḥîm, succeeded Iltûzar; was still reigning in 1818.

(5) Niyâz Muḥammad and (6) Muḥammad Rizâ, put to death by Muḥammad Raḥîm before 1818.

(7) Jân Murâd and (8) Hassan Murâd, killed with Iltûzar in 1806.

(9) Muḥammad Niyâz, died a natural death before 1818. (10) Kutli Murâd, alive in 1818.

Uzbak Dynasty of Khokand.

I. Nar Bûta Beg, Uzbak, governed Khokand in the time of Shâh Murâd of Bukhârâ. Did not strike money or put his name in the *khutba* subsidized by the Emperor of China. Had three sons:—

II. (1.) 'Alam Beg, succeeded him, struck money and read the *khutba* in his own name; had one son,—Shâhrukh, murdered by his uncle 'Umar Beg.

III. (2.) 'Umar Beg, defeated, killed, and succeeded 'Alam Khân. Still reigning in 1818.

3. Rustam Beg, murdered by his brother 'Alam.

Of a different character was the pious Shâh Murâd, our author's own first patron. He was the son of a rough but good-tempered soldier, Dânyâl Beg, Amîr of Bukhârâ, who was so lost to all sense of religion that he allowed Persians openly to smoke 'hubble-bubbles' in the court and city. Horrified at this and similar enormities, Shâh Murâd became the disciple of a Shaikh, who imposed upon him during his novitiate the duties of a bazâr porter. From this point on, his career presents a singular analogy with that of the hypocrite Aurangzib. The penitent waded through blood and intrigue, till he superseded his good-tempered sinner of a father. Only—to the credit of both be it spoken—the father exacted, and the son kept, an oath not to shed the blood of his brethren. This was an isolated instance of mercy in the history of Shâh Murâd, and indeed in the whole book, in which almost every page has its tale of blood or treachery, related as naïvely as the surprise of the Yak calf, and often immediately before or after a general certificate of the virtues of the 'first murderer. It is not the province of a scientific journal to digress upon the politics of the day, but the student of history may be permitted to regard with satisfaction the fate of these cut-throat little dynasties, which are now falling, one after another, under the heavy hand of a civilized power.

W. F. S.

[6] Haidar Turê was the son of a lady of Abu'l Faiz Khân's family, which must have been Sayyid, as he thus styles himself for the first time in the pedigree.

[7] Kungusât, *i.e.* Chestnut Horse, was the name of a great Mongol class under Jinghis Khân, probably inherited from them by the Uzbak tribe.

SANSKRIT AND OLD CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S., M.R.A.S.

(*Continued from p. 220*)

No. XLVI.

THE copper-plate grant, of which a revised transcription and translation are now given, has been published by Professor J. Dowson at *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, New Series, Vol. I., p. 247. It appears that this grant,—with two of the Gûrjara king Daddạ II. or Praśântarâga, and one more, the details of which are not specified,—was found, about A.D. 1827, in the town of Khêḍâ or Kaira. "The river 'Watrua' runs close to the walls on the north-west side, and was the cause of the discovery, by washing down the walls and earth." The original now belongs to the Royal Asiatic Society's Library, whence I obtained it to edit from.

The plates are two in number, about $13\frac{5}{8}$″ long by $8\frac{7}{8}$″ broad. Their edges are slightly raised, so as to form a rim to protect the writing. They are pierced with holes for two rings; but the rings are not now forthcoming, and I cannot trace any mention of them, or of the seal that must have been on one of them. The language is Sanskrit. The characters are radically the same as, and differ but very little from, those of the early Chalukya and Kadamba copper-plate grants which I have published in this Journal. The chief points of difference are:—1, The letters are slightly cursive, which is not the case in the earliest grants from the south;—2, The vowel *ê*, as attached to a consonant, is carried rather lower down than in the southern grants, and the curve is sometimes continued up to the consonant again, *e.g.*, in *anvayê*, l. 3, *nyâyẏna*, l. 10, and *vriddhayê*, l. 11; and the same remark applies to the lower stroke of *ai*, *e.g.*, in *Vaiśâkha*, l. 11;—3, The subscribed *y* is more like a subscribed *y* cut short, as with the subscribed *v* and *ch* in the grant of Dêvavarmâ at p. 33 above;—and 4, The *ta* has a more decided horizontal top-stroke than it has in the southern grants.—It is also to be remarked that the rule of doubling consonants after the letter *r* is not adhered to as regularly as in the southern grants. The *Anusvâra* is written above the line.

The charter is issued from the victorious camp at the city of Vijayapura, a place which I do not know. The grant is made by Vijaya-râja[1], the son of Buddhavarmâ, who was the son of Jayasiṁha of the Chalukya family. It confers the village of Pariyaya upon the priests and religious students of Jambûsara. This is the modern Jambûsar, almost in a direct line between Kaira and Broach, about fifty miles to the south by east of Kaira, and twenty-five miles to the north by west of Broach. I cannot identify Pariyaya. The grant is dated in the year three hundred and ninety-four, on the day of the full-moon, or the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight, of the month Vaiśâkha.

The date is first given in words in l. 32, and is then repeated in figures in l. 34, where we have the numerical symbols for 300 and 90 and 4, whereby to express the year, and for 10 and 5, whereby to express the lunar day. The symbols used here agree, except the 4 and the 5, with the Valabhî and Chalukya numerals given by Paṇḍit Bhagwânlâl Indrajî in the table that accompanies his paper *On the Ancient Nâgarî numerals* at *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI., p. 42. As in the instances given by him, the lower part of the 4 is the letter *ka*. It is difficult to say what the upper part is meant for; but it certainly is not *ṅa*, *śha*, or *h*, and it resembles *ya* more than any other letter, though it is not exactly the *ya* of the rest of the inscription. The symbol for 5 is theoretically the same symbol that is given by him. He gives three forms of the Valabhî 5, and remarks that "the first figure is clearly *trâ*," and,—on the assumption that "the loop" [which introduced a varying form of the *ta*] "was no doubt caused by hasty writing,"—that "the following two signs, which look like *nâ*, are mere corruptions of *trâ*." But, as will be further exemplified by the recurrence of the same symbol in a slightly different form in No. XLVII. below, it is really *nâ*; and the Paṇḍit's erroneous explanation of it is due to his having had before him three instances in which the

[1] He is called Vijayavarmâ in l. 7 of the cancelled inscription on the backs of these plates, No. XLVII. below. With this we may compare 'Kîrtturâja' as a varying form, in one of the Nerûr plates, of the name of the Chalukya king Kîrtivarmâ I.

form of the *na* used in composing it was the form with a loop, whereas in the present instance the form used is, as throughout the body of the inscription, that without the loop. Originally, neither the *ta* nor the *na* was formed with a loop; but in later times the distinguishing feature of the two letters was that, in the south the *ta* was formed with a loop and the *na* without, whereas in the north, as is clearly shown by the modern Dêvanâgarî, though not so clearly by the modern Baṅgâlî, alphabet, the process was the reverse of this, and the *na* was developed by the loop, while the *ta* retained substantially its original form without a loop. In intermediate times there appears to have been considerable hesitation in determining the distinguishing forms of *ta* and *na*, and the same forms were used for each other indifferently; see, for instance, my remarks at *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V., p. 176, note ‡. In his paper referred to above, the Paṇḍit remarks of the symbol for 4, that "the lower part always shows the figure of that form of *ka* which is used in the alphabet of the period." The same rule applies to the symbol for 5; whichever form of the *na* is used in the body of the inscription, the same form is used in the *nâ* employed to represent the 5.

The era to which the date of this grant is to be referred is not stated. Prof. Dowson took the use of the word *saṁvatsara* by itself as indicating that the era referred to was that of the Saṁvat of Vikrama, and he read the date as Vikrama-Saṁvat 394, or A.D. 338. But Mr. K. T. Têlaṅg, in a dissertation on this same grant in his paper *On a new Chalukya copper-plate* at *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. X., p. 348, points out,—that *saṁvatsara* is a common word for 'year,' and refers to no particular era whatever,—that even the word *saṁvat*, an abbreviation of *saṁvatsara*, is not by any means used to designate exclusively the era of Vikrama,—and that such of the other known grants of the Chalukya dynasty as bear any date at all, are expressly dated in the Śaka era. On these grounds, he draws the conclusion that the era intended in the present grant, also, is that of the Saka. In addition to the reasons brought forward by him, I have to adduce the following. In the comparison of the Gûrjara family with the ocean; in the titles of some of the officials addressed; in some of the conditions and privileges attached to the grants; in the names of many of the grantees; in the address to future kings on the subject of continuing the grants; and in their characters, closely allied, though with distinctive features of their own,—the two Kaira grants of Dadda II., given with facsimiles in Prof. Dowson's paper, bear so close a resemblance to the present grant of Vijayarâja that, being grants of a different dynasty, they must be almost synchronous with it, and very possibly all three grants were composed by one and the same person. These two Kaira grants of Dadda II. are dated in the same way in words and in figures, one in the year 380, and the other in the year 385; and here, again, the word *saṁvatsara* is used without any specification of the era to which it refers. In their case, however, this point is made quite clear by a third grant of Dadda II., from Ilâô, published by Professor R. G. Bhâṇḍârkar at *Jour. Bo Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. X., p. 19, which, like Prof. Dowson's two grants, was written by Rêva, the High Minister for peace and war, and which is dated, in words only, in specifically the year 417 of the Śaka era; the expression in the original, in l. 18, is,—*Saka-nṛipa-kâl-âtîta-saṁvachchha(tsa)ra-śata-chatushṭayê saptadaś-âdhikê*. And the same precise specification of the era, in words only,—*Saka-nṛipakâl-âtîta-saṁvatsara-śata-chatushṭayê*, *i.e.*, 'in (*the year*) 400 of the years that had expired in the era of the Saka king',—is given in l. 22 of a fourth grant of Dadda II., from Umêṭâ, published, with facsimile, by Dr. Buhler at p. 61 above. On all these grounds, there can be no doubt that the same era is the one intended in the present grant of Vijayarâja. The date of it, therefore, is Śaka 394 (A.D. 472-3), and it is the earliest Chaluky a grant that we as yet know of.

After expressing their opinions as to the date, Prof. Dowson and Mr. K. T. Têlaṅg have entered into lengthy disquisitions with the object of making the genealogy and date of this Chalukya grant from the north fit in, in direct lineal succession, with the genealogy and dates of the other Chalukya grants from the south. Their views are so radically wrong on this point, that it is undesirable to allow them to remain without refutation. To enable me to refute them, I must point out the errors on which they are fundamentally based. In doing so, I must be held excused for occupying

space and attention with matter which would otherwise be quite foreign to the subject in hand. Their remarks extend over a considerable portion of the Chalukya genealogy; but it will suffice for me to confine myself here to the first three generations.

As originally given by Sir Walter Elliot in his paper *On Hindu Inscriptions*, first published at *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. IV., p. 1, and afterwards reprinted with corrections and emendations at *Madr. Jour. Lit. and Sc.*, Vol. VII., p. 193, the genealogy commences with,—

Jayasiṁha I.
|
Raṇarâga, or (?) Râjasiṁha.
|
Pulakêśî I.
(Śaka 411)

At a later period, in his second paper on *Numismatic Gleanings* at *Madr. Jour. Lit. and Sc.*, New Series, Vol. IV., p. 75, he inserted another step, and commenced the genealogy with,—

Jayasiṁha I., or Vijayâditya I.
|
Raṇarâga, Râjasiṁha, or Vishṇuvardhana I.
|
Vijayâditya II.
|
Pulakêśî I.
(Śaka 411.)

And in the same paper he gives the following narrative:—"Previous to the arrival of the first Chalukya in the Dekkan, the Pallavas were the dominant race. In the reign of Trilôchana-Pallava, an invading army, headed by Jayasiṁha, surnamed Vijayâditya, of the Chalukya-kula, crossed the Nerbudda, but failed to secure a permanent footing. Jayasiṁha seems to have lost his life in the attempt; for, his queen, then pregnant, is described as flying after his death, and taking refuge with a Brâhman called Vishṇu-Sômayâjî, in whose house she gave birth to a son named Râjasiṁha, who subsequently assumed the titles of Raṇarâga and Vishṇuvardhana. On attaining to man's estate, he renewed the contest with the Pallavas, in which he was finally successful, cementing his power by a marriage with a princess of that race, and transmitting the kingdom thus founded to his posterity. His son and successor was named Pulakêśî; and his son was Vijayâditya. A copper *śâsana*, recording a grant made by Pulakêśî which bears date Śaka 411 or A.D. 489, is extant in the British Museum." There is a mistake here in the fifth sentence, which makes Pulakêśi the son of Raṇarâga, and Vijayâditya the son of Pulakêśî. The genealogy represents correctly the order of succession that was intended.

Starting with this second genealogy of Sir Walter Elliot, including A.D. 489 as the date of Pulikêśî I.; assuming that the Jayasiṁha of the Kaira grant, and the Jayasiṁha of Sir Walter Elliot, were one and the same person; interpreting the date of the Kaira grant as Vikrama-Saṁvat 394, the consequence of which was that, "the date of this grant being A.D. 338, a period of about two hundred years intervenes between Jayasiṁha and the grant of Pulakêśî in A.D. 489, and to fill up this period Sir Walter Elliot gives only three names, Pulakêśî standing fourth in the list"; and making the assumption, quite opposed to fact except in the case of a few documents which show their own want of value, that "the loose and varying nature of the genealogies in these grants" is such that "it would seem, indeed, that the word 'son' meant nothing more than 'descendant' in many cases, and that the writers, either from ignorance or from utter indifference to the truth, frequently confined themselves to the recital of some of the more prominent and best-remembered names", and, again, that "the order of the names is sometimes found inverted, and other discrepancies are met with which show that the Châlukyas were but poorly informed about the history of their line";—Prof. Dowson deduces the following genealogy,—

Jayâsiṁha I., or Vijayâditya I.
|
Buddhavarmâ
|
Vijayarâja (A.D. 338)
|
Râjasiṁha, Raṇarâga, or Vishṇuvardhana I.
|
Vijayâditya II.
|
Pulakêśî I. (A.D. 489.)

Starting with the same second genealogy of

Sir Walter Elliot, but rejecting 'Vijayâditya' as a second name of Jayasiṁha, and 'Râjasiṁha' and 'Vishṇuvardhana' as second names of Raṇarâga; making the same assumption with Prof. Dowson as to the identity of the two Jayasiṁhas; interpreting the date of the Kaira grant as Śaka 394; and concluding "from the substantial identity of the names, and from the agreement of the dates, that the Vijayarâja of the Kaira grant is the same person as the Vijayâditya [II.] of Sir Walter Elliot's list",—Mr. K. T. Têlaṅg deduces the following genealogy,—

Jayasiṁha I.
|
Buddhavarmâ, or Raṇarâga.
|
Vijayarâja, or Vijayâditya I. (Śaka 394.)
|
Pulakêśî I. (Śaka 411.)

I have now published the British Museum plates as No. XLIV. of this Series, and have given in detail ample reasons for holding conclusively that the grant is a forgery of not earlier than the tenth century A.D. I have shown at the same time that, though it is just possible, if we assume Śaka 411 to be the very first year of his reign, yet it is hardly probable, that the date given in it is the correct date for Pulikêśî I. I am willing, however, to concede that the forgers of the grant may have hit upon the correct date.

'Râjasiṁha', as a second name of Raṇarâga, which Sir Walter Elliot himself accepted with hesitation, is based only on a mistaken rendering of a passage in the British Museum plates, to which I have drawn attention in my paper on them.

The additional names and titles in Sir Walter Elliot's amended list are founded on the narrative passage which I have quoted. The original of this narrative is in a copper-plate grant of Râjarâja II., one of the Chôḷa successors of the Eastern Chalukya kings, who, according to the grant, ascended the throne in Śaka 944. I have now examined the original plates. The grant commences with the mention of Nârâyaṇa or Vishṇu, from the water-lily which grew in whose navel Svayaṁbhû or Brahmâ was born. It then traces the genealogy, after the Purâṇic fashion, from Brahmâ, through Attri and the moon, down to Udayana. It then continues:—

Text.

(Pl. II., *a*; l. 19).—Tataḥ paraṁ tat-prabhṛitishv=a-vichchhinna-[sa*]ntânêshv=Ayôdhyâ-isṁhâsan-âsînêshv=êkâd=naa shashṭi-chakravarttishu tad-vaṁśyô Vijayâdityô 'nâma râj=âpajigîshayâ dakshinâpatham gatvâ Trilôchana-Pallavam=adhikshipya daiva-durîhayâ lê(lô)k-ântaram=agamat [||*] Tasmin=saṁkulê purôhitêna sârddham=antarvvatnî tasya mahâdêvî Muḍivĕmu-nâm-âgrahâraṁ katipayâbhir=antaḥpura-kântâbhiḥ kaṁchukibhiś=cha sah=ôpagamya tad-vâstavyêna Vishṇubhaṭṭa-sômayâjinâ duhitṛi-nivvi(rvvi)śêsham=abhirakshitâ satî Vishṇuvarddhanan=nandanam=asûta |(||) Sâ tasya cha kumârakasya Mânavyasagôtra-Hârîtiputra-dvi-paksha-gôtra-vra(kra)ṁ-ôchitâni karmmâṇi kârayitvâ tam=avaddha(rddha)yat [||*] Sa cha mâtrâ vidita-vṛittântas=san=nirggatya Chalukya-girau Nandâṁ bhagavatîṁ Gaurîm=ârâdhya Kumâra-Nârâyaṇa-Mâtṛiganâṁś=cha saṁtapya(rpya) śvêtâtapatr-aikaśaṁkha-paṁchamahâśabda-pâlikêtana-pratiḍakkâ-varâhalâṁchhana-piṁchha(pichchha)-kuntha(nta)-siṁhâsana-makaratôraṇa-kanakadaṇḍa-Gaṁgâ-Yamun-âdîni sva-kula-kram-âgatâni nikshipta(ptâ)n=îva sâṁbrâ(râ)jya-chihnâni samâdâya Kaḷa(ḍa)ṁba-Gaṁg-âdi-bhûmipân=nirjjitya Sêtu-Narmmadâ-madhyaṁ s-ârddha-sapta-lakshaṁ dakshiṇâpathaṁ pâlayâṁ-âsa |(||) Ślôkaḥ |(||) Tasy=âsîd=Vijayâdityô Vishṇuvarddhana-bhûpatêḥ Pallav-ânvaya-jâtâyâ mahâdêvyâś=cha nandanaḥ [||*] Tat-sutaḥ Polakêśi-Vallabhaḥ [||*] Tat-putra(trah) Kîrttivarmmâ [||*] Tasya tanayaḥ [| *] Svasti Śrîmatâṁ sakala-bhuvana-saṁstûyamâna-Ma(mâ)navya-sagôtrâṇâṁ Hârîti-putrâṇâṁ Kauśikî-vara-prasâda-labdha-râjyânâm=Mâtṛi-gaṇa-paripâlitânâṁ Sva(svâ)mi-Mahâsêna-pâd-ânuḍhyâtânâṁ bhagavan-Nârâyaṇa-prâ(pra)sâda-sama(mâ)sâdita-vara-varâha-lâṁchhan-êkshaṇa-kshaṇa-vaśîkṛit-ârâti-maṇḍalânâm=aśvamêdh-âvâ(va)bhṛita(tha)-snâna-pavitrîkṛita-vapushâṁ Châlukyânâṁ kulam=alaṁkarishṇôs=Satyâśraya-Vallabhêndrasya bhrâtâ Kubja-Vishnuvarddhanô shṭâdaśa varsha(rshâ)ni Veṁgî-dêśam=apa(pâ)layat [||*]

[a] The usual reading would be *êk-ôna-shashti*; by Prof. Monier Williams *êkâd=ṇa shashṭi* is Vêdic Sanskrit.

Translation.

"After that, sixty emperors less by one, commencing with him, in unbroken lineal succession, having sat on the throne of Ayôdhyâ, a king of his lineage, Vijayâditya by name, went to the region of the south from a desire for conquest, and, having attacked[3] Trilôchana-Pallava, lost his life[4] through the evil influence of fate. While he was in difficulties, his queen, who was pregnant, came with the family-priest and with a few of the women of her bed-chamber and with her chamberlains to the *agrahâra*(*-village*) named Muḍivĕmu, and, being cherished just like a daughter by Vishṇubhaṭṭa-Sômayâjî who dwelt there, brought forth a son, Vishṇuvardhana. And, having caused to be performed the rites of that prince, such as were befitting to his descent from the two-sided *gôtra* of the lineage of Mânavya and of the sons of Hârîti, she reared him. And he, being instructed in history by his mother, went forth, and,—having worshipped Nandâ, the holy Gaurî, on the Chalukya mountain[5]; and having appeased Kumâra and Nârâyaṇa and the Mothers (*of mankind*); and having assumed the emblems of universal empire which had descended to him by the succession of his family, and which had been, as it were, (*voluntarily*) laid aside, (*viz.*) the white umbrella, and the single conch-shell, and the five great sounds (*of musical instruments*), and the banner of the sword-edge, and the *pratiḍakkâ*[6], and the sign of the boar, and the (*banner of the*) feathers of peacocks' tails, and the (*banner of the*) spear, and the throne, and the garland in the form of a sea-monster, and the golden sceptre, and the (*signs of the river*) Gaṅgâ and the (*river*) Yamunâ, and other (*such emblems*); and having conquered the Kadambas and the Gaṅgas and other kings,—he ruled over the region of the south, lying between the Bridge (*of Râma*) and the (*river*) Narmadâ, and containing seven and a half *crores* (*of villages*). The son of king Vishṇuvardhana, and of his queen who was born in the family of the Pallavas, was Vijayâditya. His son was Polakêśi-Vallabha. His son was Kîrttivarmâ. His son,—Hail!, Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana,—the (*younger*) brother of Satyâśraya-Vallabhêndra who adorned the family of the Châlukyas[7], who are glorious, and who are of the lineage of Mânavya which is praised over the whole world, and who are the descendants of Hârîti, and who acquired dominion through the excellent favour of Kauśikî, and who have been nourished by the assemblage of the Mothers (*of mankind*), and who have meditated on the feet of Svâmi-Mahâsêna, and who have had the territories of their enemies made subject to them on the instant at the sight of the sign of the boar which they acquired through the favour of the holy Nârâyaṇa, and whose bodies have been purified by ablutions performed after celebrating horse-sacrifices,—ruled over the country of Veṅgî for eighteen years."

After this passage, the inscription continues the genealogy, in the usual style of the Eastern Chalukya grants, down to Râjarâja II., who seems to have also borne the name of Vishṇuvardhana.

It will be seen at once that the names of Jayasiṁha, Râjasiṁha, and Raṇarâga are not mentioned at all in this grant; and that it is only by pure supposition that the first Vijayâditya of this grant is to be identified with Jayasiṁha, and the first Vishṇuvardhana with Raṇarâga, and that the second Vijayâditya is to be inserted between Raṇarâga and Pulikêśî I. If any such identification of persons had to be made at all, the simpler and more natural course would be, to identify the second Vijayâditya (the father of Pulikêśî by this grant) with Raṇarâga (the father of Puli-

[3] *Adhikshipya*; *lit.*, 'having insulted.'

[4] *Lit.*, 'went to another world.'

[5] This mountain seems to exist only in the imagination of the composer of this inscription.

[6] This must be some variety of drum (*dhakkâ*) The emblems on the seal of this grant,—which has been wrongly attached in printing to the forged grant of Vikramâditya I., No. XLV. above,—are;—In the upper compartment, a boar facing to the proper left, with the sun, moon, two umbrellas, a double drum, a conch-shell, and something close to the moon that may be the head of a spear (*kunta*); in the centre, the motto *Srî-Tribhuvan-âṁkusa*; and in the lower compartment, a floral device which is probably a lotus, an elephant-goad, a sceptre (*kanaka-daṇḍa*), and something like the letter *ga*, which may be the *makara-tôrana*, or may be the *pâli-kêtana* (see p. 111, note 25), if we take *pâli* in the sense of 'bridge.'

[7] We have here the later form of the name, which is properly used only by the Western Châlukyas after the restoration of their dynasty; see the introductory remarks to No. XLIV., para. 6.

kêśî by other grants),—to identify the first Vishṇuvardhana with Jayasiṁha,—and to insert the first Vijayâditya at the head of the genealogy, as the newly discovered father of Jayasiṁha. But the authentic portion of this grant,—authentic as being copied from other similar grants of the same dynasty,—only commences with the words *Svasti Śrîmatâṁ*, &c., in Plate II., *b*; l. 31. All that precedes is a mere *farrago* of vague tradition and Purâṇic myths, of no authority, based on the undoubted facts that the Chalukyas did come originally from the north, and did find the Pallavas in possession of some of the territories afterwards acquired by themselves, and on a tradition of the latter Kâdambas that the founder of their family was named Trilôchana or Trinêtra. Quoting the *Mackenzie Collection*, Mr. Rice, in his *Gazetteer of Mysore and Coorg*, Vol. I., p. 204, tells us that "A Trinêtra-Pallava is said to have introduced Brâhmaṇs into his territory; but, as this event is placed eleven thousand years B.C., it may be dismissed as a fabrication." I know of no other grounds for allotting the name of Trilôchana or Trinêtra to any member of the Pallava family.

Accordingly,—expunging 'Râjasiṁha' as a second name of Raṇarâga, and marking the date of Śaka 411, allotted to Pulikêśî I., as rather doubtful,—Sir Walter Elliot's first list of the first three generations is the one that stands correct. It was based then only on the plates in the British Museum and on the Yêwûr tablet. It has now the authority of the Aihoḷe inscription at Vol. V., p. 67.

As it is thus apparent that there are no grounds for taking 'Vijayâditya' as *the* name, or as *a* name, of the father of Pulikêśî I., Mr. K. T. Têlaṅg's proposal,—evidently based chiefly on the supposed similarity[8] of the name of Vijayarâja with the name of this phantom Vijayâditya,—to make Vijayarâja the father of Pulikêśî I., falls to the ground. He gives no very clear reason for identifying Buddhavarmâ with Raṇarâga, except that *Raṇa-râga* "may be regarded as a mere epithet meaning 'lover of war.'" So, also, may *Jaya-siṁha*, 'the lion of victory'; *Satya-âśraya*, 'the asylum of truth'; *Vikram-âditya*, 'the sun of valour'; *Vinay-âditya*, 'the sun of modesty'; and many other such names, be regarded as mere epithets. But these are, nevertheless, the names by which those kings were known in history and in official documents. Probably enough they had also household names of a more simple nature. Witness, for instance, the titles of Aṇṇana-siṅga, 'the lion of Aṇṇa', and Mâvana-siṅga, Sênana-siṅga, and Boppana-siṅga, which were borne by some of the feudatories of the later Western Châlukya kings, and which, when compared with Jagadêka-dâni, 'the rutting elephant of Jagadêka', in transcr. l. 9 of No. I. of this Series, at *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV., p. 179, point to Aṇṇa, Mâva, Sêna, and Boppa being, as much as Jagadêka, names of the paramount sovereigns. Witness, also, the motto *Śrî-Biṭṭarasa*, 'the king Śrî-Biṭṭa, *or*, Śrî-Biṭṭi', which is on the seal of a copper-plate grant of the Eastern Chalukya king Vishṇuvardhana I., published at *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. II., p. 1. Mr. K. T. Têlaṅg refers to the fact that *raṇa-vikrânta*, 'he who is valorous in war', is one of the epithets applied to Buddhavarmâ; but he does not seem to rely much on this in his identification of the two persons. And rightly so; for, precisely the same epithet, *raṇa-vikrânta*, is applied to Maṅgalîśvara in l. 5 of the Bâdâmi inscription, at *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI., p. 363; and in l. 4 of the Eastern Chalukya grant, of which I have just spoken, the father of Kîrttivarmâ I. is mentioned, not under his proper name of Pulikêśî, but under the name, or epithet, of *Raṇavikrama-nṛipa*, *i.e.*, 'king Raṇavikrama', or 'the king who was possessed of valour in war.'

As regards Vijayâditya II., Prof. Dowson's genealogy falls through in the same way. As regards his insertion of Buddhavarmâ and Vijayarâja between Jayasiṁha and Pulikêśî I.,—which was necessitated by the length of time to be accounted for that resulted from his reading the date of the grant as Vikrama-Saṁvat 394, and was justified, to him, by the assumption as to the vague and unsatisfactory nature of the genealogies of

[8] *Râjan* is not synonymous with *âditya*, 'sun'; but, in the sense of 'moon', it is synonymous with '*chandra*' Therefore, if at all we want a name differing from, and yet similar to, 'Vijayarâja', we ought to have 'Vijayachandra', not 'Vijayâditya.'

copper-plate grants in general,—it falls through, because the necessity ceases if we interpret the date as Śaka 394, and because the assumption is not warranted by facts.

That Buddhavarmâ is to be identified with Raṇarâga, or that he and Vijayarâja are to be foisted into the direct line of descent before Raṇarâga and Pulikêśî I., I do not believe for a moment. If Buddhavarmâ and Raṇarâga were closely connected at all, they were brothers. As to the identity of the two Jayasiṁhas,—I am strongly inclined in favour of it, though I would not speak with absolute conviction at present. On the one hand, the difference in their dates is somewhat against the hypothesis that Vijayarâja, or Vijayavarmâ, and Pulikêśî I., were of one generation, being grandsons of one and the same Jayasiṁha. On the other hand, the present grant is from the north; and there are the facts that the Chalukyas of the south always represent themselves as having come originally from the north, and that they commence their genealogy with a Jayasiṁha, as does the king for whom the present inscription was composed. And the characters of this grant connect it palæographically very closely with the southern grants.

Now,—except in the preamble of the grant of Râjarâja II., of which, I trust, I have said quite enough above,—it is nowhere stated that Jayasiṁha I. of the Chalukyas of the south, or his son, Raṇarâga, did actually rule in, or even did invade, the south. And the negative evidence is opposed to any such supposition. For, the Aihoḷe tablet and the Miraj plates,—the two[9] authentic sources of information for this period,—do not speak of any of the royal families of the south, the Kadambas, the Pallavas, the Gaṅgas, the Mauryas, and the Nalas, as having been conquered by Jayasiṁha I., or by Raṇarâga: nor does even the forged grant of Pulikêśî I. And I know of no other inscription which takes the genealogy back beyond Pulikêśî I.; which fact suggests the inference that he, the conqueror of Vâtâpi or Bâdâmi, came subsequently to be looked upon as the real founder of the dynasty. Further, on reconsidering the verse that describes Pulikêśî I. in l. 3 of the Aihoḷe inscription, I consider that the epithet *śrit-êndu-kántiḥ* applied to him there, and contrasted by the word *api* with the statement *ayâśid=Vâtâpi-puri-vadhû-varataṁ*, indicates that, before he acquired Vâtâpi[10], he had a capital named Indukânti, which must be looked for somewhere in the north. Finally, after the present grant of Vijayarâja, we have no mention of any Chalukyas in the north until we come to the Chaulukyas of Aṇhilwâḍ, the accession of the first of whom, Mûlarâja I., is placed by Dr. Buhler at A.D. 941-2, though he speaks also of an ancestor of his, named Bhûpati, who is said to have been reigning in A.D. 695-6.

Taking all these indications together, the conclusion at which I arrive is that, at the death of Vijayarâja, or possibly by an invasion of his kingdom which resulted in his defeat and death in battle, the power of the Chalukyas in the north was subverted, and the family expelled, by the Gûrjara kings, or by the kings of Valabhî, the other most powerful rulers of those parts; that his cousin, Pulikêśî I., was the only surviving representative of the family; and that, in his flight, directing his course to the south, Pulikêśî I. was attended by a band of adherents sufficiently numerous and strong to enable him to invade, and conquer a part of, the dominions of probably the Pallava king[11], and, by wresting the city of Vâtâpi from them, to establish for himself a new seat of government there. Or, taking into consideration also the close resemblance of the style of this grant of Vijayarâja to the style of the grants of Dadda II., as noticed above and in the notes to the Text below,—it is even possible that the Chalukyas were originally feudatories of the Gûrjara kings, but, in the person of Pulikêśî I., threw off that yoke, and, emigrating to the south, established an independent sovereignty of

[9] I have spoken of the Miraj plates at p. 103 above. I have now found that this is the identical copper-plate grant from which the genealogy of the Yêwûr tablet is taken, down to the notice of Jayasiṁha-Jagadêkamalla. Accordingly, for that part of the genealogy, the Miraj plates are entitled to be quoted in preference to the Yewûr tablet. I shall shortly give a full account of these plates and the tablet combined.

[10] *Lat*, 'went to the condition of being the bridegroom of the bride which was the city of Vâtâpi.'

[11] This fact is nowhere expressly stated. But I discovered at Bâdâmi itself a rock inscription, unfortunately very fragmentary, but of early though uncertain date, which mentions Vâtâpi, and also "the Pallava, the foremost of kings",—*kshitibhṛiâm-agrêsarah Pallavah*. I have little doubt that Vâtâpi was originally a Pallava capital.

their own. And to reconcile the dates of Vijayarâja and Pulikêśî I., on this supposition that they were grandsons of one and the same Jayasiṁha, we have only to assume that, of two brothers, Raṇarâga was the younger by some considerable difference of years.

Transcription.

First plate.

[1] Svasti Vijaya-skandhâvârât Vijayapura-vâsakât śarad-upagama-prasanna-gagana-tala-vimala-
[2] nikar-âvabhâsitê mahâ-satv-âpâśraya-durlaṁghyê gâṁbhîryavati sthity-anupâlana-parê mahô-
[3] dadhâv=iva Mânavya-sagôtrâṇâṁ Hârîti-putrâṇâṁ Svâmi-Mahâsêna-pâd-ânudhyâtânâṁ Chalukyânâm=anvayê vyapagata-sajala-
[4] kiraṇa-kuvalayatara-yaśasaḥ(sc. yaśâḥ) Śrî-Jayasiṁha-râjaḥ [‖*] Tasya sutaḥ prabala-ripu-timira-paṭala-bhidurah satatam=udaya-sthô naktan-diva-
[5] m=apy=akhaṇḍita-pratâpô dî(di)vâkara iva vallabha-raṇa-vikrânta-Śrî-Buddhavarmma-râjaḥ [‖*] Tasya sûnuḥ pri(pṛi)thivyâm=a-pratirathaḥ chatur-udadhi-salil-â-
[6] svâdita-yaśô(śâ) Dhanada-Varuṇ-Êndr-Ântaka-sama-prabhâvaḥ sva-bâhu-bal-ôpârt-ôrjita-râja(jya)-śriḥ pratâp-âtiśay-ôpanata-samagra-sâmanta-ma-
[7] ṇḍalaḥ paraspar-âpîḍita-dhamm(rmm)-ârtha-kâma-nimô(rmô)chi praṇati-mâtra-suparitôsha-gambhîr-ônnata-hṛidayaḥ samyak-prajâ-pâlan-âdhigataḥ dîn-â-
[8] ndha-kṛipaṇa-bhê(śa)raṇâgata-vatsalaḥ yathâbhilashita-phala-pradô mâtâ-pitṛi-pâd-ânudhyâtaḥ Śrî-Vijayarâjas=sarvvân=êva[12] vishayapati-râshṭra-
[9] grâmamahattar-âdhikârik-âdîn=samanudarśayaty=astu[13] vas=saṁviditam=asmâbhir=yathâ Kâśâkûla-vishay-ântargataḥ Sandhiyara-pûvvi(rvvî)ṇa[14]-Pariya-
[10] ya êsha grâmaḥ sôdraṁ(ddraṁ?)gaḥ sôparikaraḥ sarvva-ditya-vishṭi-prâtibhêdikâ-parihîṇaḥ bhûmi-chhi(chchhi)dra-nyâyên=â-châta-bhaṭa-prâvêśyaḥ[15] Jaṁbûsa-
[11] ra-sâmânya-Mâ(vâ)jasanêya-Kâṇv-âdharyya(ryyu)-sabrahmachârî(ri)ṇâṁ mâtâ-pitrôr=âtmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśô-bhivṛiddhayê Vaiśâkha-pûrṇṇamâsyâm=udak-âti-
[12] sarggêṇa pratipâditaḥ [‖*] Bharadvâja-sagôtr-Âdityaraviêḥ(vêḥ) pattikê[16] dvê Indraśûrâya pattikâ Tâviśûrâya dvy-ardha-pattikâ Îśvarasy=ârddha-pattikâ
[13] Dâmâya pattikâ Drôṇây=ârdha-pattikâ Atta(?rtta)svâminê=ardha-pattikâ Mâilây=ârdha-pattikâ Shashṭhidêvây=ârdha-pattikâ Sômây=ârdha-pattikâ Râmaśa-
[14] rmmaṇê=rddha-pattikâ Bhâyyây=ârdha-pattikâ Drôṇadharây=ârdha-pattikâ [‖*] Dhûmrâ-yaṇa-sagôtr-Âvukâya div-ardha-pattikâ Śûrây=ârdha-pattikâ ‖ Dauṇḍakîya-
[15] sagôtra-Bhaṭṭêḥ pattikâ Samudrâya div-arddha-pattikâ Drôṇâya pattikâ-trayaṁ Tâviśarmmaṇê pattikê dvê Bhaṭṭinê=rddha-pattikâ Va(?cha)trâya pattikâ
[16] Drôṇaśarmmaṇê=rddha-pattikâ dvitîya-Drôṇaśarmmaṇê=rdha-pattikâ ‖ Kâśyapa-sagôtra-Vappasvâminê tisraḥ pattikâ Durgaśarmmaṇê=rdha-pattikâ Dattâyâ-
[17] y=ârdha-pattikâ ‖ Kauṇḍina(ṇya)-sagôtra-Vâdây=â[17]. . . . v-ardha-pattikâ Sêlâya pattikâ Drôṇâya pattikâ Sômây=ârdha-pattikâ Sêlây=ârdha-pattikâ
[18] Va(?cha)traśarmmaṇê=rdha-pattikâ Bhâyisvâminê=rdha-pattikâ ‖ Mâdhara-sagôtra-Viśâkhâya pattikâ Dharâya pattikâ Nandinê pattikâ Kumârâya pattikâ
[19] Râmâya pattikâ Bâśrasy=ârdha-pattikâ Gaṇây=ârdha-pattikâ Korṭṭuvây=ârdha-pattikâ Bhâyiva(bha?)ttây=ârdha-pattikâ Narmmaṇê=rdha-pattikâ Râmaśarmmaṇê=rdha-
[20] pattikâ ‖ Hârita-sagôtra-Dharmmadharâya div-ardha-pattikâ ‖ Vaishṇava-sagôtra-Bhaṭṭinê pattikâ ‖ Gautama-sagôtra-Dharây=ârdha-pattikâ Ammadharâ-
[21] y=ârdha-pattikâ Sêlây=ârdha-pattikâ ‖ Śâṇḍila-sagôtra-Dâmây=ârdha-pattikâ [‖*] Lakshmaṇa-sagôtra-Kârkkasya pattikâ [‖*]

[12] This letter, *va*, was at first omitted, and then inserted below the line.

[13] In the two Kaira grants of Dadda II., l. 32 in each grant, the corresponding words are *sarvvân=êva rôja sâmanta-bhôgika-vishayapati-râshṭragrâmamahattar-âdhikârik-âdîn=samanubôdhayaty=astu*. In the Ilâô grant of Dadda II., l. 11, and the Umetâ grant of Dadda II., l. 14, the words are *sarvvân=êva râshṭrapati-vishayapati-grâmak âṭ-âyuktaka-niyuktak-âdhika-mahattar-âdîn-samâjñâpayati astu*; where *âdhika*, in each plate, is doubtless a mistake for *âdhikârika*.

[14] The marks over this letter, *ṇa*, are a fault in the copper. We have similar faults over, *e.g.*, the *vai* of *Vaiśâkha* and the *rṇṇa* of *pûrṇṇamâsyâm*, l. 11.

[15] In the two Kaira grants of Dadda II., l. 33 in each grant, the corresponding words are *sôdraṅgaḥ sôparikaraḥ sarva-âdâna-samarâhyaḥ sarvva-ditya*, &c., as in our text. In the Ilâô grant, l. 16, and the Umetâ grant, l. 20, the words are *sôdraṅga-sô(sô)parikara-sadhânyahiraṇyâdêya-sôtpadyamânanavshṭika(kaḥ) samasta-râyakîyânâm = a-pravêśyaḥ*.

[16] See note 27 below.

[17] One letter here is quite unintelligible.

Second plate.

[22] Vatsa-sagôtra-Gôpâdityâya pattikâ Viśâkhây=ârddha-pattikâ Sûrây=ârdha-pattikâ Bhâyi-svâminô=rdha-pattikâ Yakshaśarm=â-

[23] rdha-pattikâ Tâviśûrâya pattikâ Karkṛi(rkka)sy=ârdha-pattikâ Tâviśamma(rmma)ṇô=rdha-pattikâ Śarmmaṇô=rdha-pattikâ Kumârây=ârdha-pattikâ

[24] Mâtṛiśvarây=ârdha-pattikâ Bâṭalây=ârdha-pattikâ [||*] Êtêbhyaḥ sarvvêbhyaḥ bali-charu-vaiśvadêv-âgnihôtr-âdi-kriy-ôtsarppaṇ-ârtham[18] â-chandr-ârk-âṛṇava-kshi-

[25] ti-sthiti-samakâlînaḥ putra-pautr-ânvaya-bhôgyaḥ yata(tô)=smad-vaṁśyair=anyair=v=âgâmi-bhôgapatibhis=sâmânya-bhû-pradâna-phal-êpsubhiḥ nala-vênu-kadali-

[26] sâraṁ saṁsâram=udadhi-jala-vîchî-chapalâṁś=cha bhôgân prabala-pavan-âhat-âśvattha-patra-chaṁchalâṁ cha śriyaṁ kusumita-śirîsha-kusuma-sadṛi-

[27] ś-âpâyaṁ cha yauvanam=âkalayya ayam=asmad-dâyô=numantavyaḥ pâlayitavyaś=cha [|*] Yô v=âjñâna-timira-paṭal-âvṛita-matir=âchchhidya(dyâ)d=âchchhi-

[28] dyamânaṁ v=ânumôdêta sa pañchabhir=mmahâ-pâtakais=saṁyukta(ktaḥ) syât [||*] Uktaṁ cha bhagavatâ vêda-vyâsêna Vyâsêna || Shashṭim varsha-sahasrâṇi sva-

[29] rggê vasati bhûmi-daḥ âchchhêttâ chy(ch)=ânumantâ cha tâny=êva narakê vasêt [||*] Vindhy-âṭavîshv=atôyâsu śushka-kôṭara-vâsinaḥ kṛishṇ-âha-

[30] yô hi jâyantê bhûmi-dâyaṁ haranti yê || Bahubhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhiḥ Sagar-âdibhiḥ yasya yasya yadâ bhûmiḥ tasya

[31] tasya tadâ phalaṁ || ûrvva-dattâṁ dvi-jâtibhyô yatnâd=raksha Yudhishṭhira mahîṁ mahîmatâṁ śrêshṭha dânâch=chhrêyô nupâlanaṁ || Yân=îha

[32] dattâni purâ narêndraiḥ dânâni dharmm-ârtha-yaśas-karâṇi nirvvânta-mâlya-pratimâni tâni kô nâma sâdhuḥ=punar=âdadîta [||*] Saṁvatsara-śa-

[33] ta-trayê chatur-nnavaty-adhikê Vaiśâkha-paurṇṇamâsyâṁ Nannavâ(?châ)sâpaka-dûtakaṁ likhitaṁ mahâ-sandhi-vigrah-âdhikṛitêna Khudda(?ḍḍa)svâ-

[34] minâ || Saṁvatsara || [19] 394 [||*] Vaiśâkha-śu 15 || Kshatriya-Mâtṛisiṁhên=ôtkîrṇâni [||*]

Translation.

Hail! From the victorious camp, located at (*the city of*) Vijayapura[20]:—

In the family of the Chalukyas, who are of the lineage of Mânavya, and who are the descendants of Hârîti, and who meditate on the feet of Svâmi-Mahâsêna,—(*which family*), like the great ocean, is as pure and extensive as the expanse of the sky which is pellucid at the approach of autumn; and is made radiant by the mass of the virtuous qualities of various jewels of men; and is hard to be crossed, through being the place of refuge of great beings; and is possessed of profundity; and is intent on preserving stability,—(*there was*) the king Śrî-Jayasiṁha, whose fame was just like a blue water-lily under the beams of the cold-rayed moon in an expanse of the sky from which the veil of clouds laden with water has passed away:—

His son (*was*) the king Śrî-Buddhavarmâ, the lord, the valorous one in battle,—who, like the sun, dispersed the canopy of the darkness which was his enemies, and was always rising (*higher and higher*), and was possessed of brilliance which was undiminished both by night and by day:—

His son, Śrî-Vijayarâja,—who is without an opponent in the world; whose fame is flavoured by the water of the four oceans; who is equal in prowess to (*the gods*) Dhanada and Varuṇa and Indra and Antaka; who has acquired great regal fortune by the strength of his own arm; who has bowed down the assemblage of chieftains by the excess of his splendour; who liberates (*from their constant conflict*) religion and wealth and passion which mutually annoy each other; whose profound and noble heart enjoys proper satisfaction merely by (*the performance of*) obeisance (*to him*); who is devoted to properly governing his subjects; who is full of compassion for the poor and the blind and the wretched and those who go to him for refuge; who gives rewards

[18] In the first of the two Kaira grants of Dadda II., l. 42, the corresponding words are *châturvvidyâ-parikalpanâ-pûrvvaṁ bali-charu-vaiśvadêv-âgnihôtra-pañchamahâ-yajñ-âdi-kriy-ôtsarppaṇ-ârtthaṁ*. In the second of these grants, l. 41, in the Jâo grant, l. 14, and in the Umêtâ grant, l. 17, they are simply *bali-charu-vaiśvadêv-âgnihôtra-pañchamahâyajñ-âdi-kriy-ôtsarppaṇ-ârtthaṁ*.

[19] This mark of punctuation is wrongly placed here, instead of after the numerals.

[20] The construction is *Vijaya-skandhâvârât Vijayapura-vâsakât . . . . . Śrî-Vijayarâjas=sarvvân-êva . . . . . samanudarśayati*. The genealogy prior to the mention of Vijayarâja is by way of a parenthesis.

such as are desired; and who meditates on the feet of his mother and his father,—issues his instructions to all the lords of districts and the *Mahattaras*[21] of countries and villages and the *Âdhikârikas* and others :—

Be it known to you that, on the day of the full-moon of (*the month*) Vaiśâkha, in order to increase the religious merit and the fame of Our mother and father and of Ourself, the village of Pariyaya, which was formerly (*called*) Sandhiyara[22], included in the district of Kâśâkûla, has been given by us with plentiful libations of water,—with the *udraṅga* and the *uparikara*, and free from all the *ditya*[23] and (*the liability to*) forced labour[24] and the *prâtibhêdikâ*, and (*to be enjoyed*) by the rule of *bhûmi-chchhidra*[25], and not to be entered (*for the purpose of billeting*) by the irregular or the regular troops[26],—to the general body of officiating priests and religious students of (*the village of*) Jambûsara, who belong to the Vâjasanêya (*sect*) and the Kâṇva (*school of the Vêda*). (*The shares are*) :—Of Âdityaravi, of the Bharadvâja *gôtra*, two *pattikâs*[27]; to Indraśûra, one *pattikâ*; to Tâviśûra, two and a half *paṭṭikâs*; of Îśvara, half a *pattikâ*; to Dâma, one *pattikâ*; to Drôṇa, half a *pattikâ*; to (?) Attasvâmî, half a *pattikâ*; to Mâîla, half a *pattikâ*; to Shashṭhidêva, half a *pattikâ*; to Sôma, half a *pattikâ*; to Râmaśarmâ, half a *pattikâ*; to Bhâyya, half a *pattikâ*; to Drôṇadhara, half a *pattikâ*.—To Âvuka, of the Dhûmrâyaṇa *gôtra*, two and a half *pattikâs*; to Śûra, half a *pattikâ*.—To Bhaṭṭi, of the Dauṇḍakîya *gôtra*, one *pattikâ*; to Samudra, two and a half *pattikâs*; to Drôṇa, three *pattikâs*; to Tâviśarmâ, two *pattikâs*; to Bhaṭṭî, half a *pattikâ*; to (?) Vatra, one *pattikâ*; to Drôṇaśarmâ, half a *pattikâ*; to the second Drôṇaśarmâ, half a *pattikâ*.—To Vappasvâmî, of the Kâśyapa *gôtra*, three *paṭṭikâs*; to Durgaśarmâ, half a *pattikâ*; to Dattâya, half a *pattikâ*.—To Vâda, of the Kauṇḍinya *gôtra*, ... [28], half a *pattikâ*; to Sêla, one *pattikâ*; to Drôṇa, one *pattikâ*; to Sôma, half a *pattikâ*; to Sêla, half a *pattikâ*; to (?) Vatraśarmâ, half a *pattikâ*; to Bhâyisvamî, half a *pattikâ*.—To Viśâkha, of the Mâdhara *gôtra*, one *pattikâ*; to Dhara, one *pattikâ*; to Nandî, one *pattikâ*; to Kumâra, one *pattikâ*; to Râma, one *pattikâ*; of Bâśra, half a *pattikâ*; to Gaṇa, half a *pattikâ*; to Kortṭuva, half a *pattikâ*; to (?) Bhâyivaṭṭa, half a *pattikâ*; to Narmâ, half a *pattikâ*; to Râmaśarmâ, half a *pattikâ*.—To Dharmadhara, of the Hârita *gôtra*, two and a half *pattikâs*.—To Bhaṭṭî, of the Vaishṇava *gôtra*, one *pattikâ*.—To Dhara, of the Gautama *gôtra*, half a *pattikâ*; to Ammadhara, half a *pattikâ*; to Sêla, half a *pattikâ*.—To Dâma, of the Śâṇḍila *gôtra*, half a *pattikâ*.—Of Kârka, of the Lakshmaṇa *gôtra*, one *pattikâ*.—To Gôpâditya, of the Vatsa *gôtra*, one *pattikâ*; to Viśâkha, half a *pattikâ*; to Śûra, half a *pattikâ*; to Bhâyisvâmî, half a *pattikâ*; Yakshaśarmâ, half a *pattikâ*; to Tâviśûra, one *pattikâ*; to Karka, half a *pattikâ*; to Tâviśarmâ, half a *pattikâ*; to Śarmâ, half a *pattikâ*; to Kumâra, half a *pattikâ*; to Mâtrîśvara, half a *pattikâ*; to Bâtala, half a *pattikâ*.

This, Our gift,—(*which is given*) to all of these for the purpose of maintaining the *Bali* and the *Charu* and the *Vaiśvadêva* and the *Agnihôtra*

[21] The precise meaning of *Mahattara* and *Âdhikârika*, as classes of officials, is not very well settled as yet.

[22] *Sandhiyara-pûrvvîṇa*, l. 9. But the meaning is very doubtful. Perhaps it should be, "which was the ancestral property of the Sandhiyaras." Prof. Dowson reads wrongly *Sandhiyamhprivyina*, and does not suggest any explanation, except that some name or descriptive title of the village granted must be intended.

[23] Prof. Dowson derives *ditya* from *dô*, *dâ*, 'cut, split', and *prâtibhêdikâ* from *prati* + *bhid*, 'break, tear', and suggests 'cutting and hewing (*of wood*)' as the translation.

[24] *Vishti* is the Sanskrit equivalent of the Canarese *bitti*, 'compulsory and unrequited labour.' We have had it also in l. 49 of the Lakshmeśwar tablet, at p. 101 above.

[25] No satisfactory explanation of this term has been suggested.

[26] *A-châta-bhaṭa-prâvêśyaḥ*. The explanations of this term are various. Prof. Dowson adopts as the translation "into which the entrance of cheats and outcasts is interdicted"; and he quotes, as translations by others,—1, "there shall be no passage for troops", Sir Charles Wilkins; 2, "the village is not to be entered into by the troops and followers of the king", Bâl Gaṅgâdhar Śâstrî; and 3, "exempt from the ingress of fortune-tellers and soldiers", Prof. FitzEdward Hall. I follow the translation given by Dr Buhler at *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI., p. 71. It is borne out by the expression *samasta-râjakiyânâm=a-pravêśyam*, 'not to be entered by any of the king's people', in the Ilâô and Umêtâ grants of Dadda II.

[27] Except in one instance in l. 16, where it is written *pâṭṭikâ*, this word is always written in the present inscription with the dental *t*,—*pattikâ*. On the other hand, in the cancelled inscription at the back of these plates, No. XLVII. below, it is invariably written *paṭṭikâ*. There is no doubt that *paṭṭikâ* is the correct form; though, at the same time, *pattikâ* may be an authorized variation of it. Prof. Dowson translates it by 'share', and suggests that it may be connected with the *pattî* of the joint-tenancy villages in the North-West Provinces. I prefer rendering it by 'strip of land.' Conf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI., p. 29, note ‡; and *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. XII., p. 395, note 18.

[28] See note 17 above.

and other rites, and which is to continue as long as the moon and sun and ocean and earth may last and is to be enjoyed by sons and sons' sons in succession,—should be assented to and preserved by future governors[29], whether of my lineage or others, who are desirous of the general reward of bestowing a grant of land, having taken into consideration that worldly existence is as (*frail as*) the pith of a reed or a bamboo or the stem of a plantain-tree, and that pleasures are as transient as the waves of the ocean, and that fortune is as unsteady as the leaves of the sacred fig-tree when struck by a strong wind, and that youth fades away like the flowers of a *śirîsha*-tree in bloom. He shall incur the guilt of the five great sins, who, having his mind obscured by the thick darkness of ignorance, may confiscate (*this grant*) or assent to its confiscation! And it has been said by the holy Vyâsa, the arranger of the *Vêdas*;—The giver of land dwells for sixty thousand years in heaven; but the confiscator (*of a grant*), and he who assents (*to such confiscation*), shall dwell for the same time in hell! They, who confiscate a grant of land, are born as black snakes, dwelling in the dried-up hollows of trees in the forests of the Vindhya mountains, destitute of water! Land has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; he, who for the time being possesses land, enjoys the benefits of it! O Yudhishthira, best of kings!, carefully preserve land that has been previously given to the twice-born; the preservation (*of a grant*) is better than making a grant! Those gifts of land, productive of religion and wealth and fame, which have been made by kings in former times, are like the unused remnant of garlands (*offered to an idol*); what good man would take them back again?

(*This charter*) has been conveyed as a message[30] by Nannavâsapaka, and written[31] by Khuddasvâmî, the High Minister for peace and war, on the day of the full-moon of (*the month*) Vaiśâkha, in the year three hundred and ninety-four. The year 394, the fifteenth (*day*) of the bright fortnight of Vaiśâkha. Engraved by the *Kshatriya* Mâtṛisiṁha.

No. XLVII.

It remains to add of the Kaira grant of Vijayarâja that it is in a way a palimpsest. The backs of the plates contain a cancelled inscription, which was evidently intentionally hammered down after heating the plates. This cancelled inscription commences on the second plate; there are twenty-three lines of writing on the back of that plate, and sixteen on the back of the first plate. It is, of course, very indistinct and difficult to read, and no facsimile can be made of it; but careful cleaning of the plates has made a good deal of it legible, with the help of the inscription in favour of which it was cancelled. The characters in which it is engraved differ from those of the extant inscription in only three points;—1, The vowels *ê* and *ai* are marked by strokes above the line,—2, The letter *na* is invariably formed with a loop;—and 3, The letter *va* is more of a triangular shape. In these three peculiarities, which happen to be illustrated by one of the passages containing the date of which a facsimile is annexed, they agree with the characters of the two grants of the Gûrjara king Dadda II., which were found at the same place and time, and also with those of the Umêtâ grant.

I have transcribed as much of this cancelled inscription as is legible, and can be supplied, without any doubt. It commences:—

[1] *Svasti Vijaya-[vi]kshêpân=Na(?ná)*[32]. . . . . *yâ(?pâ)pu(?dhu)ra(?ka)-vâsakân=Mânavya-sagôtrâ [nâm] Hârî[ti]-putrânâṁ Svâmi-Mahâsêna-pâ[d-ânudhyâ][2]tânâṁ Kâlu(?li)kyânâm=anvayê vyapagata-sajala-jaladhara-paṭala-gagana-tala-gata-śiśirakara-kirana-kuvala-yatara-ya[śâh] Śrî-Jayasiṁha-râjaḥ* [||*] *Tasya [su]taḥ prabala-riputimi[ra]-vi[pa]ta(?)la-bhiduraḥ satatam=udayasthô naktan-divam=apy=akhaṇḍita[4]pratâ[pa]-*[33] . . . . . *-divâkarô vallabha-ranavikrânta-Śrî-Buddha[va]rm[m]a-râjah* [||*] *Tasya [su]taḥ.*

In the remainder of this line, the whole of ll. 5 and 6, and the greater part of l. 7, only a

[29] *Lit.*, 'lords of possession',—*bhôga pati.*

[30] *Dûtakam* Conf the statement *Dûtakô S tra mahâsâṁdhivigrahika-Srî-Chamdasarmmâ*, Pl II, l 11, of the second of the Chaulukya grants published by Dr Buhler at *Ind. Ant*, Vol. VI, p 180; the third, and the fifth to the eleventh, of the same set of grants, have each a similar statement. Conf, also, *Srî-Kaṇḍakanaka-dûtakam*, in l. 24 of the Kâvî grant of the Gûrjara king Jayabhata, the father of Dadda II., published by Dr. Buhler at *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 109. The *Dûtaka*, 'messenger', must be the official to whom the charter was entrusted to be conveyed from the court, where it was issued, to the local authorities concerned.

[31] *sc*, 'caused to be written, by an engraver employed in his office.'

[32] One letter, or perhaps two, is quite illegible here.

[33] Four or five letters are quite illegible here

ew detached letters are legible with any certainty. The only entire words I can make out are [*âsvâ*]*dita-yaśâḥ*, *parâjaya*, and *nya-lak*[*ṣha*]*ṇa-parâ*; and I cannot complete the passage, since the remaining scattered letters show that it differed substantially from the corresponding passage of the extant inscription. The name of the son of Buddhavarmâ is at the end of l. 7, in the words—

[*pâ*]*d-âvanataḥ Śrî-Vi*[*ja*]*yavarmma-râ*[*jaḥ*]. It continues:—[8]*sarvvân=ś*[*ca*] *vishayâ-*[*pa?*]*ti(?)-*[34] . . . . . *vas=saṁviditam=astu (?) yo*[*thâ*] *Kâśâlâla-vi*[*shay-â*][9]*ntarggataḥ Saṁdhiyara-pûrvvîṇa-*[*Pari?*]*ya*[*ya?*][*ê*]*sha grâ*[*maḥ*] [*mâtâ-pitṛ̂r=â*]*tmanaś=cha puṇyâ-yaśô-bhi*[*vṛi*]*ddhayê Jambûsara-*[35] . . . . . .

The first six or seven letters of l. 10 are not legible with any certainty; but then come the words [*Bha*]*radvâja-sagôtrasya Âdityaravêḥ* . . . . ., which show that the specification of the grantees and their shares commences here. Several of the names and shares are distinguishable; thus,—

l. 10, again, *Indraśûrasya* . . . . . *Viśvaśurasya* . . . *div-arddha-pa*[11][*ṭṭikâ*][36];—l. 11, again, *Îśvarasy=ârddha-paṭṭikâ* . . . . . *nya-sagôtrasya*[*di*]*v-arddha-paṭṭikâ* . . . . . *Drôṇasya paṭṭikâ*;—l. 12, *Śê(?śê)lasya ardha-paṭṭikâ Sômasy=ârddha-paṭṭikâ Kâśyapâyana-sagôtrasya(?)* . . . . . *-kasya div-arddha-paṭṭikâ*;—l. 13, ... *-sagôtrasya Dhammadharasya di*[*v-arddha*]*-paṭṭikâ Vaishṇava-sagôtrasya Bhaṭṭêḥ paṭṭikâ Daṇḍaki*[14]*ya-sagôtrasya Bhaṭṭêḥ paṭṭikâ Sômadhasya div-arddha-paṭṭikâ Drôṇasya paṭṭikâ-tra*[*yam*];—ll. 15 to 22, the words *arddha-paṭṭikâ*, *paṭṭikâ*, and *div-arddha-paṭṭikâ* are of frequent occurrence, but no names can be read with certainty;—l. 23, *Mâtṛîśvarasya arddha-paṭṭikâ Shashṭhi-*[*dêva*]*sy=ârddha-pa*[*ṭṭikâ*];—l. 24, *Dômasya paṭṭika*. In l. 26 commences the sentence *Etêbhyaḥ sarvêbhyaḥ balicharu-vaiśvadêv-â*[27]*gnihôtra-kriy-ôtsarppaṇ-ârtha*ṁ *Vaiśâkha-*[*pû*]*-rṇṇamâsyâṁ=udak-âtisargêṇa pratipâditô yam=asmad-vaṁśyair=anyair=vvâ.*

And so on, in much the same words as in the extant inscription, down to *pañchabhir=mmahâ-pâtakaiḥ, saṁyuktaḥ syât*, in l. 32. Then,—prefaced by the words *Uktañ=cha bhagavatâ vêda-vyâsêna Vyâsêna*,—come the same five verses as in the extant inscription; l. 32, *Shashṭhiṁ varsha-sahasrâṇi*, &c.; l. 33, *Vindhy-âṭavîshv=atôyâsu*, &c.; l. 34, *Bahubhir=vvasudhâ bhuktâ*, &c.; l. 35, *Pûrvya-dattâṁ dvi-jâtibhyô*, &c.; and l. 36, *Yân=îha dattâni purâ*, &c. At the end of this verse, in l. 37, it continues:—

Saṁvatsara-śata-trayê [38]*chatur-nnavaty-adhikê Vaiśâkha-pûrṇṇamâsyâṁ Nannavâ(?cha)sâpaka-dûtakaṁ likhitaṁ mahâ-saṁdhi-vigrahâdhikṛitê* [39]*na Hari(?)da(?)tt*[*ê*]*na.* || *Saṁvatsara* 394 *Vaiśâkha-śu* 15 [||*]

It is thus seen that, with some slight variety of construction, this cancelled grant of Vijayavarmâ is substantially the same as the extant grant of Vijayarâja on the insides of the plates.

Like the Umêtâ and Ilâô grants of Dadda II., it is issued *vijaya-vikshêpât*,—not *vijaya-skandhâvârât*, as in the extant grant. As Dr. Bühler has pointed out, at p. 62 above, note 8, *vikshêpa*, in such a passage as this, must have much the same meaning as *skandhâvâra*, 'camp' though there is no lexicographical authority for it. The name of the *vikshêpa* is unfortunately in part quite illegible. But the first syllable is undoubtedly *na* or *ṇa*. Now, the two Kaira grants of Dadda II. are issued *Nândîpurîtaḥ*, 'from Nândîpurî', which place Dr. Bühler, at p. 62 above, has identified with a fort of the same name just outside the Jhadêśwar gate of the city of Broach. It is just possible that this cancelled grant commenced,—whether intentionally, or by a mistake of the composer of the inscription in following too servilely a model that he had before him,—as if it was issued from the same place, and that the text ran =*Nândîpurî-vâsakân*=, &c.

In the name of the dynasty, in l. 2, the first syllable is undoubtedly *kâ*; the second may be either *lu* or *li*. This may be a mistake of the composer or of the engraver of the inscription, or it may be an early varying form of the name.

The names of the first two kings are just the same as in the extant grant,—Jayasiṁha, and Buddhavarmâ. The son of Buddhavarmâ is called 'Vijayarâja' in the extant grant; but his name is here given as 'Vijayavarmâ.' With this we may compare 'Kîrttirâja' as a varying form, in one of the Nerûr

[34] About eighteen letters here are not legible with any certainty. The words would seem to differ from those in the extant inscription.

[36] Four or five letters here, at the end of the line, are illegible.

[36] See note 27 above.

plates which remains to be published by me, of the name of the southern Chalukya king who is elsewhere always called 'Kîrttivarmâ' I. And in my Kadamba grants at *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI., p. 22, and at p. 33 above, other instances will be found in which the termination *varman*, in the names of kings, sometimes is used and sometimes is omitted.

The date of this cancelled grant is precisely the same as that of the extant grant,—the (Śaka) year 394, and the day of the full-moon, or the fifteenth day of the bright fortnight, of the month Vaiśâkha. And, in the same way, it is given in both words and figures. The accompanying facsimile of the passage containing the figures has been made from a careful hand-drawing, directed by myself. The broken appearance of some of the letters and symbols is due to the way in which the inscription was hammered down; and, though the last few lines are comparatively well preserved, this specimen will serve to give an idea of the fragmentary nature of the characters of this cancelled grant, as they now stand. With the exception of the symbol for 90, which has a projecting stroke on the right side as well as the left,—these symbols agree with those which are given in Paṇḍit Bhagwânlâl Indraji's paper at *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI., p. 42. Here, again, the symbol for 5, the letter *ná*, illustrates what was evidently an invariable rule in the use of alphabetical characters to form numerical symbols, *viz.*, precisely the same form of *na*, with the loop, is used in composing it, as is used in the body of the inscription.

It is difficult to say why this grant was cancelled. But the characters, besides having slight differences of type, as noted above, are not nearly so neat as those of the extant grant; they are rather sprawling, and they have wider intervals between them than is usually the case. And, though it was conveyed by the same *Dûtaka* or messenger, Nannavâsâpaka, it was prepared in the office of a different minister; for, in the last line, the first syllable of his name is undoubtedly *ha*, the penultimate consonant is *tt*, and the last syllable is *na*, and, though the second and third syllables are rather indistinct, the name seems to be 'Haridatta.' At any rate, it certainly is not 'Khuddasvâmî', as in the extant grant. And the name of the engraver is not given at the end. And, finally, the names of the sharers seem to be not so full as in the extant grant. Bearing in mind how repeatedly the word *pattiká* occurs, any one acquainted with the capabilities of the average Hindu copyist will understand at once how often he would lose his place, and become confused, in copying such a document. If, therefore, I may hazard a conjecture, it is that the grant, when first engraved, was too full of errors to admit of correction as it stood, and accordingly it was cancelled, and a fresh copy was prepared, in a different office, and by a different engraver of more skill in writing and fidelity in copying.

THE KUDÂ INSCRIPTIONS.

BY PROFESSOR H. JACOBI.

The Kuḍâ inscriptions have already been edited by the Rev. Dr. J. Stevenson—*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. V. pp. 169-174. But as his translations are not trustworthy, and sometimes rather fanciful,—with the assistance of Dr. G. Bühler I have made the subjoined transcripts and translations according to Mr. Burgess's facsimiles.

There is no clue to the date of these inscriptions except the general resemblance of their letters and of their style to those of the Kanhêrî, Kârlêñ, Junnar, and Nâsik inscriptions which belong to the times of the Andhrabhṛityas.

Inscription No. 1 *in Cave I.*

Mahabhojiya Saḍageriya Vijayâputasa Sulasadataputasa Utaradatâputasa cha | Mahâbhojasa Mandavasa Khaṇḍapâlitasa lekhaka Sivabhûtisa saha bhayaya Naṇdâya deyadhama (*lenaṁ*).

Sanskṛit of No. 1.

[1] Mahâbhojyâḥ Sâḍagairyâ vijayâyâḥ putrasya Mahâbhojasya Mandavyasya Skandapâlitasya lekhaka (*sya*)

[2] Sulasadattaputrasya Uttaradattâputrasya cha Śivabhûteḥ saha bharyayâ Nandaya deyadharmo [*layanam* ||]

Translation of No. 1.

This cave is the benefaction of Sivabhûti [Śivabhūti], son of Sulasadata [Sulasadatta], and of Uttarâdata [Uttarâdatta] the writer of Mahâbhoja Mandava [Mândavya] Khandapâlita [Skandapâlita], son of Mahâbhojî Sadageri Vijayâ [Satagairî Vijayâ] together with his wife Nandâ [Nandâ].

Remarks on No. 1.

1. The correctness of the way in which the two parts of this inscription have been connected is proved by the statements made in No. 3 regarding Khandapâlita and Sivabhûti.

2. Mahâbhoja and Mahâbhojî are evidently titles, as the words immediately following them have to be taken for family names. Bhojaka commonly occurs in the inscriptions with the meaning of 'a priest in charge of a temple.' Another meaning, 'great prince', is given to Mahâbhoja in the *Bhâgavata Purâṇa* (see the *Petersburg Dictionary*, s. v.). Bhoja, too, is used as a royal title in the *Aitareya Brâhmana* VIII. 12. Mahâbhoja occurs also in the Bedsâ inscription No. 2, *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. VIII. p. 222. As the persons bearing this title seem to have occupied a high position, the second meaning is the more appropriate one, and we may assume that Vijayâ was the wife, if not of a sovereign king, at least of a Sâmanta, and that Khandapâlita ruled over some district or province. This explanation is also confirmed by the construction of inscription No. 8.

3. *Sadageriya* would be in Sanskrit *Śâtagairyâh* or *Sâtagairyâh*, *i.e.* belonging to the family or to the country of Śatagiri or Satagiri. Śata and Sata are mentioned as proper names by Pâṇini, IV. 3, 52. Dr. Stevenson's conjecture, according to which Sâdagiri would correspond to Salsette, does not appear tenable, as the ancient name of Salsette is Shatshashti, 'containing sixty-six villages.'

4. *Mandavasa* probably corresponds with the Sanskrit *Mândavyasya*: compare also below, No. 3. The Mandavyas are enumerated (*Brihatsamhitâ* XV. 2) among the nations of Central India, together with the Medas or Mers, who probably then, as at present, resided in southern Râjputânâ —Medapâta or Mewâd. *Mandaviya* occurs also in the Bedsâ inscription No. 2.

5. The name Sulasadatta is of some interest, as (according to Dhanapâla's *Pâiyalachchhî*) Sulasâ and (according to Hemachandra's *Deśîkośa*) Sulasamanjarî are names of Vishnu's sacred basil-tree, the *tulsî*. The proper name Sulasadatta means therefore 'given by Tulsî', and corresponds with the modern Tulsidâs, and seems to indicate that the worship of the plant dates from early times.

Inscription No. 2 in Cave V.

Siddhaṁ ṭherâṇa bhadata Pâtamitâna bhadata Âgimitana cha bhâgineyiya pâvayitikâya Nâginikâya duhatuya pâvayitikâya Padumanikâya deyadhamaṁ leṇa poḍi sahâ atavâsiniya Bodhiya saha âtivâsiniya Asalhamitâya.

Sanskrit of No. 2.

Siddhaṁ sthavirâṇâṁ bhadanta-Pâtramitrâṇâṁ bhadanta-Agnimitrâṇâṁ cha bhâgineyyâḥ pravrajitikâyâ Nâginikâyâduhituḥ pravrajitikâyâḥ Padminikâyâ deyadharmo layanaṁ poḍî cha saha antevâsinyâ Bodhyâ saha antevâsinyâ Ashâḍhamitrayâ [1]

Translation of No. 2.

Hail! This cave and tank are the benefaction of the female ascetic Paduminikâ (Padminikâ), daughter of the female ascetic Nâganika (Nâginikâ), the sister's daughter of the Theras Bhadata Pâtamita (Bhadanta Pâtramitra) and Bhadata Agimita (Bhadanta Agnimitra), together with her disciple Bodhî, and her disciple Asalhamitâ (Ashâḍhamitrâ).

Remarks on No. 2.

1. *Siddhaṁ* has been misunderstood first by Dr Stevenson, and later by Dr. Bhâû Dâjî and Professor Bhândârkar, who all translate it by "to the Perfect One." If this meaning were intended it would be either *siddhasa* or *siddhâya*. *Siddhaṁ* is really the neuter nominative singular of *siddha*, and, like *siddhi*, a synonym of *svasti*.

2. The plurals Pâtamitâna(ṁ) and Agimitana(ṁ) are *plur. majestatis*: compare below in inscription No. 9; see also Stevenson, *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. V. p. 173.

3. For the name Naganikâ compare 'Devî Nayanika' over one of the figures of the Nânâghât cave.

Inscription No. 3 in Cave VI.

Mahâbhojiya Sâdageriya Vijayâya putasa Mahâbhojasa Mâṇḍavasa Khaṇḍapalitasa upajîvînaṁ Sulasadatasa Utaradatâya cha putânaṁ bhâtûnaṁ lekhakâ Sivabhûtimhâ kanethasa Siva[sa]masa dheyadhammaṁ leṇa

saha bhayâya Vijayâya putânam cha sa° Sulasadatasa Sivapâlitasa Sivadatasa Sapilasa cha selarûpakamam duhutûnam Sasapâya Sivapâlitâya Sivadatâya Sulasadatâya cha thambhâ.

Sanskrit of No. 3.

Mahâbhojyâḥ Sâdagairyâ Vijayâyâḥ putrasya Mahâbhojasya Mândavyasya Skandapâlitasya upajîvinâm Sulasadattasya Uttaradattâyâścha putrâṇâm bhrâtṛiṇâm lekha kâch Śivabhûteḥ kanishthasya Śivaśarmaṇo deyadharmo layanam saha bhâryayâ Vijayayâ [|] putrâṇâm cha sa° Sulasadattasya Śivapâlitasya Śivadattasya Sarpilasya cha śailarûpakarma | duhitṛiṇâm Sasyapâyâḥ Śivapâlitâyâḥ Śivadattâyâḥ Sulasadattâyâś cha sthambhâḥ ||

Translation of No. 3.

This cave is the benefaction of Siva(*sa*)ma (Śivaśarman), after the writer Sivabhuti (Śivabhûti), youngest amongst his brothers the sons of Sulasadata (Sulasadatta) and Uttaradatâ (Uttaradattâ), servants of Mahâbhoja Mandava (Mandavya) Khandapâlita (Skandapâlita), son of Mahabhojî Sâdagerî Vijayâ (Satagairî Vijayâ), together with his wife Vijayâ; and the decoration of the rock (*is the benefaction*) of their sons (*whose father is alive*) Sulasadata (Sulasadatta), Sivapâlita (Śivapalita), Sivadata (Śivadatta), and Sapila (Sarpila); and the pillars (*are the benefaction*) of their daughters Sasapâ (Sasyapâ or Sasapâ), Sivapâlitâ (Śivapâlitâ) Sivadatâ (Śivadattâ) and Sulasadatâ (Sulasadattâ).

Remarks on No. 3.

1. The change of *Sivamasa* to *Sivasamasa* is supported by Junnar inscription No. 7, *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 40, and by the fact that *Sivama* gives no sense.

2. The *sa* in the phrase *putânam* cha *sa Sulasadatasa* is probably an abbreviation for *sanâtha*, which we find in No. 4: *putasa cha sanâthasa Isirakhitasa*. Professor Bhândârkar (Nâsik Inscriptions, No. 24, *Transactions Or. Cong.* 1874, p. 347) thinks that either *chasa* may be traced to *śasya*, or if read as *vasa* to *vasu*, and translates it by 'worthy.' In his inscription, as well as in all the Kudâ inscriptions where it occurs, the *cha* must necessarily be taken in the sense of 'and.' *Sanâtha* if applied to females means one whose natural protector, *i.e.* husband, is alive; if applied to males it probably denotes that the father was alive, though I am unable to produce any authority for the latter interpretation. The ulterior meaning of the term is probably 'worthy', as conjectured by Professor Bhândârkar.

Inscription No. 4 in Cave VII.

Mâmakavejiyasa vejasa Isirakhitupâsakasa putasa vèjasa Somadevasa deyadhamma lenam putasa cha sanâgasa Isirakhitasa Sivaghosasa cha
duhutaya cha sa° Isipâlitâya pusâya dhammâya sapâya cha.

Sanskrit of No. 4.

Mâmakavaidyikasya vaidyasya Ṛishirakshitopâsakasya putrasya vaidyasya Somadevasya dêyadharmo layanam
putrasya cha sanâthasya Ṛishirakshitasya Śivaghoshasya cha
duhituścha sa° Ṛishipâlitâyâ | Budhâya dharmâya saṁghâya cha ||

Translation of No. 4.

This cave is the benefaction of the physician (*vaid*) Somadeva, son of the Bauddha devotee Isirakhita (Ṛishirakshita) Mâmakavejiya (Mâmakavaidyika), a physician, and of his sons (*whose father is alive*) Isirakhita (Ṛishirakshita) and Sivaghosa (Sivaghosha), and of his daughter (*whose father is alive*) Isipâlitâ (Ṛishipâlitâ), for Buddha, the Law, and the Fraternity.

Remarks on No. 4.

1. *Mâmakavejiyasa* apparently corresponds to a Sanskrit *Mâmakavaidyikasya*, and *may* mean 'belonging to the country or town of Mâmakavaidya', though such a name is not known from other sources.

2. *Sanâthasa* looks like *sanâgasa*, but that reading would give no sense.

3. *Pusâya* and *Sapâya* do not readily give any good sense; one is tempted to read *Buddhâya dharmâya saṁghâya cha.*

Inscriptions No. 5 and No. 6 cannot be translated with any confidence—the stone is much abraded.

Inscription No. 7 in Cave XIV.

Karahâḍakasa lôhavaṇiyiyasa Mapikasa[*mahikasa*]deyadhammaṁ leṇa.

In Sanskrit.

Karahâḍakasya lohavaṇijo mahikasya deyadharmo layanam ||

Translation of No. 7.

This cave is the benefaction of Mahika, an ironmonger of Karahâḍa.

Remarks on No. 7.

1. It ought to be noted that the first six as well as the ninth letters of this inscription resemble those used in Aśoka's edicts, and differ considerably from the rest.

2. *Mapika* gives no sense; it must be changed into *Mahika*. Dr. Stevenson reads *Mohika*—*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol. V. p. 171.

3. *Lohavaṇiyiyasa* would be in Sanskrit either *lohavarṇiyikasya* or *lohavaṇijiyasya*. I prefer the latter etymology, because the former gives no sense.

4. Dr. Stevenson has already recognized in *Karahâḍakasa* the name of 'Karhâd, a town on the Krishnâ, nearly in a direct line south from Satârâ.'

Inscription No. 8 in Cave XV.

Mahâbhojeṁ Mâdatê[*maṁdavê*] Kohiputê Malidatê Apilase putasa sudhagachhakasa Râmadatasa deya

dhema[*dhaṁma*]cha bhichhaghara[*bhichhughar*] uyaraka cha bhayâva saº Vêlidatâva deyâdhaṁmaṁ uyaraka

Sanskrit of No. 8.

Mahâbhojê Mândavyê Kohiputrê Mallidattê apilasya putrasya śuddha gotrasya Râmadattasya dêya.

dhamaścha bhikshugrihaṁ uyarakaścha bharyâyâḥ saº Velidattâyâ deyadharma uyarakaḥ ||

Translation of No. 8.

While Mândava (Mandavya) Malidata (Mallidatta) son of Kohi (*rules as*) Mahâbhoja, a dwelling for the ascetics and an Uyaraka [*has been dedicated as*] a charitable gift by Râmadata (Ramadatta) of pure family, son of Apila, and an Uyaraka [*has been given*] as a charitable gift by his wife Velidatâ (Velidattâ), whose husband is alive.

Remarks on No. 8.

1. *Uyaraka* apparently corresponds with the *ovaraka* of Nâsik No. 24, *Transactions Or. Congr.* 1874, p. 347, which Professor Bhândârkar renders by 'apartment'. Childers' *Pali Dict.* gives *ovaraka* with the meaning of 'inner or store room', and this explanation fits here also very well.

2. Mallidatta looks a Jaina name, as *Malli* is a name of one of the Tîrthaṁkaras.

3. For the forms *bhayâva* and *Velidatâva* compare *Purisadatâva*, Nâsik 24. I think *va* is merely a substitute for *ya*, just as in *Tavatiṁsa* for *trayastriṁśa* *âvudha* *âyudha*, &c.—compare Kuhn, *Beitrage Paligram.* p. 42—and forms like *alâdhayevu* for *drâdhayeyuḥ* in the Aśoka inscriptions.

Inscription No. 9 in Cave XVII.

Siddha therâṇa bhayata
Vijayâṇa ativâsiniya
pava-itikaya Sapilâya
deyadhaṁmaṁ lêṇaṁ saha sâ-
lohitâhi Vêṇhuyâhi sacha
âtivâsiniya Bodhiya.

Sanskrit of No. 9.

Siddhaṁ sthavirâṇâṁ bhadanta-Vijayâṇâṁ antevâsinyâḥ
pravrajitikâyâḥ Sarpilâyâ
deyadharmo layanaṁ saha salohitâbhih Vishṇu-kâbhih sa[*ha*]cha
antevâsinyâ Bodhyâ ||

Translation of No. 9.

Hail! This cave is the benefaction of the female ascetic Sarpilâ (Sarpilâ), disciple of the Thera Bhayata Vijaya (Bhadanta Vijaya), together with her venerable kinswoman Veṇhuyâ (Vishnû), and her disciple Bodhi.

Remarks on No. 9.

1. *Sâlohitâ* is a not unusual Pâli word, equivalent to the Sanskrit *Salohitâ*. The plural *salohitâhi Veṇhuyâhi* may be explained as *plur. majestatis*. *Vishnû* probably was a paternal or maternal aunt, and as such entitled to particular respect.

No. 10 on a Well south of Cave XVIII.

Mâlâkârasa Mugupa . . . [*de*][1]
yadhamatha-

Sanskrit.

Mâlâkâraya Mugu[*pâlitasya de*]
yadharmaḥ stambhaḥ [||]

[1] In the first line of the inscription four *aksharas* have been lost, the last of which must have been *de*. As the half-defaced letter before the lacuna seems to be *pâ*, the whole name was most probably Mugupâlita.

Translation.

This pillar is the benefaction of the gardener Mugupâlita.

Inscription No. 11 *on back wall of the Verandah of Cave XVIII.*

. . . . . ṇo sathavâhasa Nâgasa leṇaṁ deyadhaṁmaṁ.

Sanskrit of No. 11.

. . . . . ṇo sârthavâhasya Nâgasya layanaṁ deyadharmaḥ ||

Translation.

This cave is the benefaction of Nâga, leader of a caravan.

Inscription No. 12 *in Cave XIX.*

Sethiṇo Vasupaṇakâ
sa deya dhaṁmaṁ lêṇa.

Sanskrit of No. 12.

Śreshṭhiṇo Vasupaṇaka-sya deyadharmo layanam ||

Translation of No. 12.

This cave is the benefaction of the merchant Vasupaṇaka.

THE INSCRIPTION OF RUDRADÂMAN AT JUNAGADH.

BY BHAGAVÂNLÂL INDRAJI PANDIT AND DR. G. BÜHLER.

From the following inscription it appears that an artificial lake, called Sudarśana, was situated at the foot of the Girnâr. It had first been dug by the brother-in-law of the Maurya king Chandragupta, a Vaiśya called Pushyagupta, and had been adorned with outlets by Tushâspa, the Yavana governor of Aśoka.[1] In the seventy-second year of Rudradâman's reign, on the first day of the dark half of Mârgaśirsha, a heavy storm, attended by a copious rainfall, happened, quite out of season, and so much increased the force of the current of the rivers which flowed through the lake that it destroyed a great portion of the embankment which enclosed the latter. The water of the lake ran off, and its loss no doubt caused great inconvenience to the inhabitants of Junâgadh. A little later the dyke was repaired by the Pahlava Suviśâkha, who, as Rudradâman's governor of Sorath and Anarta, resided at Junâgadh.

No tradition even of the former existence of the Sudarśana lake survives in Junâgadh. But it seems to me that it must have been situated to the east of the Girnâr hill, on the site which is now called 'Bhavanâtha's pass' (*bhavanâthnuṁ nákuṁ*).

This narrow valley or ravine extends in length from east to west a little more than a mile, and is about as broad. On three sides it is enclosed by high hills; and on the fourth, towards the west, a narrow passage leads from it to the town. Two small perennial rivers, one of which is called Sonârekhâ, flow through it; and in the rainy season numerous other brooks, which come from the surrounding hills, carry abundant water into it. The valley looks as if were destined by nature to be made a *talâo*. All that is required to convert it into an enormous reservoir is to close up its mouth on the west by an embankment. In favour of the identification of this valley speak the resemblance of the modern name of one of the rivers, Sonârekhâ, to the Suvarṇasikatâ of our inscription, and the fact that the foundations of an ancient wall or embankment are still extant on the side of the hills in the narrow opening of the valley, a little above the so-called Dâmodar Kuṇḍa, and opposite the sanctuary of the Musalman *fakîr* Jarâsâ. These foundations I believe to be a remnant of the old embankment.

The inscription states that the dyke was destroyed in the seventy-second year of Rudradâman. But it seems altogether improbable that Rudradâman should have reigned for so long a time, and it is still less probable that he should have had a still longer reign, as the fact that the inscription was written after the completion of the long and difficult work of restoration would force us to assume. It seems therefore necessary to assume, as has been done by the former translators of the inscription, that the figure seventy-two refers not to the years of Rudradâman's reign, but to the era used on the Kshatrapa coins. This explanation is confirmed by the fact that the coins of Rudradâman's son, Rudrasiṁha, are dated between the years 102 and 117 of the same era. The same circumstance indicates also that Rudradâman's

[1] As the text calls Tushâspa *te(no)*, 'that'—*i.e.* 'the celebrated'—Yavanarâja, it is not improbable that he was more than a mere official. Perhaps he was the Sâmanta or feudal lord of Sorath.

reign must have come to an end about the year 100. The reign of Rudradâman must have been a long one, and cannot be estimated at less than thirty years. He therefore probably mounted the throne about the year 70. If this was the case, the inscription cannot have been written immediately after the destruction of the lake in the year 72. An interval of at least eight or ten years must lie between the two events. For, on the one hand, it is said that the work was abandoned after the first beginning by the king's ministers, because it was found too difficult, and that later only Suviśâkha succeeded in completing it. On the other hand, the numerous exploits of king Rudradâman which the inscription enumerates cannot have been performed in a few years. It is said that he conquered the Yaudheyas, who lived in the extreme north of his dominions; that he twice completely defeated Sâtakarṇi, who ruled over the Dekhaṇ; and that he reinstated kings who had lost their thrones. Such a career requires at least ten years. I therefore conclude that the date of the incision of the inscriptions falls in the year 80 of the Kshatrapa era, or even a little later

The name of Rudradâman's father, which has been effaced in our inscription, was, according to Mr Burgess's inscription from the Junâgadh cave[2], Jayadâman. The *visarga* before *putrasya* is a remnant of the genitive *jayadâmnah* which doubtlessly preceded it.

The three inscriptions of the Kshatrapas which have been hitherto discovered all begin the dynasty with Chashtana. Not one of them gives the name of Chashtana's father. The reason for this omission seems to be that Chashtana really was the first of the Kshatrapas, and that his father possessed no such title. The name of the father occurs on Chashtana's coins. But it is to be regretted that no really good specimens have been found, and that for this reason the name cannot be read with certainty. As far as I can make out, the legend on the coins is *râjño mahâkshatrapasa ysamotikaputrasa, chashṭanasa*, "(*the coin*) of the king, Mahâkshatrapa Chashtana, son of Ysamotika." The latter name is very curious, and the initial combination *ysa* altogether without analogy. Perhaps it may have been intended to indicate that the *ysa* is to be pronounced soft, *za*.

Be this as it may, Chashtana certainly was the first of his family who bore the title Kshatrapa. Before him it had been borne by another lord of western India, Nahapâṇa, who belonged to the family of Kshaharâta. This ruler, whose priority to Chashtana follows from a comparison of the types of their coins, or his immediate successor, was destroyed by the Andhra king Gotamîputra, as we learn from the Nâsik inscriptions. Shortly afterwards Chashtana must have obtained the dignity of Kshatrapa, and seems to have retaken some of Gotamîputra's conquests from the latter's son Vâsishthîputra. The word Kshatrapa has been identified by Mr. Prinsep with the Persian Satrap, and it has been conjectured that originally the wearers of this title were governors of some paramount king in the interior of India. It seems to me that the correctness of this conjecture, as far as Nahapâna, Chashtana, and Jayadâman are concerned, is corroborated by the fact that the coins of the first two show, besides the Nâgarî (or Pali) characters, Bactrian Pali legends also. The occurrence of the latter unmistakably points to a connection with the north, where this alphabet was in general use. Besides, the epithet *svayamadhigatamahâkshatrapanâmnâ*, 'by him who himself has earned the title Mahâkshatrapa,' which is given to Rudradâman in our inscription, indicates that he had become free, and perhaps had freed himself, from subjection to a lord paramount.

It is not certain who the Sâtakarṇi was whom Rudradâman conquered. For Sâtakarṇi is not a name, but a title which probably belonged to all the kings of the Andhra dynasty. My conjecture regarding the question is that the person intended is either Madharîputra or Gotamîputra II., as the letters in the inscriptions and coins of these two kings belong to the same time as those of Rudradâman's inscription. Further details regarding the Andhra dynasty have been given in my papers in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* vol XII. pp. 303ff.[3]

As regards the names of the countries

[2] *Second Report of the Archaol. Survey of Western India*, pp. 140, 141.

[3] See also *Archæol Survey Report on Kâthiâvâd and Kachh*, pp. 131-133.—ED.

mentioned in the inscription, I offer the following identifications:—

(*a*) Pûrvâpara Âkarâvanti I take to be the names of the two ancient divisions of Mâlavâ, and I construe *purva*, 'eastern,' with *âkara* and *apara*, 'western,' with Avantî. This identification may be supported by a passage from the commentary in Vatsyâyana's *Kâmasûtra* (*adhikarana* 3), where it is said that western Mâlavâ (which the text mentions) is Ujjayinî, and eastern Mâlavâ is Mâlavâ properly so called.[4] The latter would correspond with the Bhilsâ district, the ancient capital of which was Vidiśâ (now the deserted town of Besnagar), on the Vetravatî. That Avantî is another name for Mâlavâ is well known.

(*b*) *Anûpa* means literally 'a well-watered country,' and *nivṛit* 'country' in general. I take the two words as a compound, and the first part as a proper noun. I therefore translate 'the Anûpa country.' But I am unable to identify it.[5]

(*c*) Anarta is known from the *Mahâbhârata* and the *Purânas*. It corresponds to northern Kâṭhiâvâḍ. Its capital was Kuśasthalî, the modern Dvârkâ.

(*d*) Surâshṭra was the name of southern Kâṭhiâvâḍ, which has been preserved in the form Soraṭh as the designation of the Junâgaḍh territory.

(*e*) Svabhra is either the country on the banks of the Sâbharmatî, in Sanskrit Śvabhramatî, in northern Gujarât, or the old name of Sâmbhar (Sâmbar), in the Ajmir territory.

(*f*) Maru is, of course, a portion of modern Mârvâḍ; and Kachha the province north of Kâṭhiâvâḍ, still called so.

(*g*) Sindhu-Sauvîra probably comprises modern Sindh and a portion of the Multân districts. The two names are very commonly mentioned together, and the Jainas name Vîtabhaya as its capital (*Pravachanasâraddhâra, dvâra* 12).

(*h*) Aparânta is, according to Varâhamihira (*Brihatsanhitâ* XIV. 14. 20), a western country, and, according to the commentary of the *Vâtsyâyana Kâmasûtra*, the coast of the western ocean.[6] It corresponds with the modern Konkaṇa, the district extending from Gokarṇa, in the Karwar Collectorate, to the Damân Gangâ, the frontier river of Gujarât, or perhaps even further north to the Tâpî. This identification is supported by a passage of the *Arjunatîrthayâtrâ* in the *Âdiparva* of the *Mahâbhârata* where it is asserted that Arjuna, after going to visit the sanctuary of Paśupati at Gokarṇa, travelled to all the *tîrthas* in Aparânta, and, following the sea-coast, finally arrived in Prabhâsa (Somnâth Paṭṭan in Kâṭhiâvâḍ).[7] *Raghuvanśa* IV. 53, too, Aparânta is described as the country between the Sahyâdri range (the western Ghâts) and the ocean; and Mallinâtha, in his commentary on the verse, quotes the *Viśvakosha* to the effect that Śûrpâraka was the capital of Aparânta. This town is the modern Sopârâ, near Bassein (Vasai), in the Thânâ districts, as has been shown by Mr. J. Burgess.

In my opinion the Greek name of the western coast of India, Ἀριακή, Ariake, is a corruption of Aparântikâ, which in Prakrit may have become Abarâtikâ or Avarâikâ.

Regarding the other countries mentioned I am unable to say anything, nor am I able to decide where Rudradâman's capital was. On the latter point I will, however, say thus much, that it was not in Kâṭhiâvâḍ, as this province was ruled by a governor.

[1] ॥ सिद्धं ॥ इदं तडाकं सुदर्शनं गिरिनगरा(द्रिपादरम)- - - - - - - - - - - - (मृ)त्तिकोपलविस्तारायामोच्छ्रयनिःसन्धिबद्धदृढसर्व्वपाळीकत्वात्पर्व्वतपा-

[4] *Ujjayinîdeśabhavyâśtâ evâparamâlavyah . . . . . mâlavya iti purvamâlavabhavâh.*

[5] Professor Bhândârkar has shown that the capital of Anûpa was Mâhishmatî, and that it consequently corresponds with Nimâḍ.

See *Trans. Or. Cong.* of 1874, p. 313.—G. B.

[6] *Vâtsy. adhik.* 3: *aparântakâ iti paśchimasamudratire aparântadeśas tatrabhavâh.*

[7] . . . . Gokarnamabhito gatam ॥
âdyam paśupatesthânam darśanâdeva muktidam ॥
yatra pâpopi manujah prâpnotyabhayam padam ॥
sopârânteshu tîrthâni punyânyâyatanâni cha ।
sarvânyevânupûrvyena jagâmâśitavikramah ॥
samudre paschime yâni tîrthânyâyatanâni cha ।
tâni sarvâni gatvâ sa prabhâsam upajagmivân ॥

[8] *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 321; vol. IV. p. 282; conf. *Second Archæol. Report*, p. 131.—Ed.

[9] Variæ lectiones:—

L. 1, गिरि is distinct, though faint, on the stone. The reading °राद्रि is very improbable. Bhagavânlâl's पाळीकत्वात्प is doubtlessly the correct reading. But the stone has *tpâ* for *tvâ*.—G. B.

[2] दप्प्रतिस्पर्दि सुश्लिष्ट(बन्धं) ---------- वजातेनाकृत्रिमेण
सेतुबन्धेनोपपन्नं सुप्रतिविहितप्रनाळीपरीवाह
[3] मीढविधानं च त्रिस्क(न्धं) ---------- नादिः
भिरनुग्रहैर्महत्युपचये वर्त्तते तदिदं राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य सुगृही-
[4] तनाम्नः स्वामिचष्टनस्य पौत्र---------:पुत्रस्य
राज्ञो महाक्षत्रपस्य गुरुभिरभ्यस्तनाम्नो रुद्रदाम्नो वर्षे द्विसप्ततितमे ७२
[5] मार्गशीर्षबहुलप्र[तिपदि] ----------(सु) सृष्टवृष्टिना
पर्ज्जन्येन एकार्णवभूतायामिव पृथिव्यां कृतायां गिरेरूर्जयतः सुवर्णसिकता-
[6] पलाशिनीप्रभृतीनां नदीनां अतिमात्रोद्वृत्तैर्वेगैः सेतुम ---------- [क्रा]यमाणानुरू-
पप्रतीकारमपि गिरिशिखरतरुतटाट्टालकोपतल्पद्वारशरणोच्छ्रयविध्वंसिना युगनिधनसदृ-
[7] शपरमघोरवेगेन वायुना प्रमथितसलिलविक्षिप्तजर्ज्जरीकृता(व) ---------- क्षिप्ताश्मवृक्षगु-
ल्मलताप्रतानं आनदीत(लादि)त्युद्घाटितमासीत् चत्वारिहस्तशतानिवी (वि)शदुत्तराण्यायतेन एतावन्त्ये-
व विस्तीर्णेन
[8] पंचसप्ततिहस्तानवगाढेन भेदेन निस्सृतसर्व्वतोयं मरुधन्वकल्पमतिभृशं दुर्द्दर्शनं] ---------
(स्या)र्थे मौर्य्यस्य राज्ञः चंद्रगु(प्तस्य)राष्ट्रियेण (वै)श्येन पुष्यगुप्तेन कारितं अशोकस्य मौर्यस्य
ते[तत्!]यवनराजेन तुषास्पेनाधिष्ठाय
[9] प्रनाळीभिरलंकृतं तत्कारितया च राजानुरूपकृतविधानया तस्मि[न्]भेदे दृष्टया प्रणाळ्या वि(स्तृत)
से(तु) ---------- नो आगर्भात्प्रभृत्यविहतसमु(दित)राजलक्ष्मी(धार)णागुणतस्सर्व्ववर्णैरभिगम्य
रक्षणार्थं पतित्वे वृतेन आप्राणोच्छ्वासात्पुरुषवधनिवृत्तिकृत-
[10] सत्यप्रतिज्ञेन अन्यत्र संग्रामेष्वभिमुखागतसदृशशत्रुप्रहरणवितरणत्वाविगुणरि ---------
(धृ)तकारुण्येन स्वयमभिगतजनपदप्रणिपत्ति[त्रिशे!]षशरणदेन दस्युव्याळमृगरोगादिभिरनुपसृष्टापूर्व्व-
नगरनिगम-
[11] जनपदानां स्वबीर्य्यार्जितानामनुरक्तसर्व्वप्रकृतीनां पूर्व्वापराकरावन्त्यनूपनीवृदानर्त्तसुराष्ट्रश्व(भ्र)मरुक-
च्छ(सि)न्धुसौवीरकुकुरापरांतनिषादादीनां समग्राणां तत्प्रभावाद्य ---------- क्रामविषयाणां
विषयाणां पतिना सर्व्वक्षत्राविष्कृत-
[12] वीरशब्दजातोत्सेकाविधेयानां यौधेयानां प्रसह्योत्सादकेन दक्षिणापथपतेस्सातकर्णेर्द्विरपि नीर्व्याजमव-
जीत्यावजीत्य संबंधाबदूर(त)या अनुत्सादनात्प्राप्तयशसा मा(द) -----(त्त)विजयेन भट्टराजप्र-
तिष्ठापकेन यथार्थहस्तो-

L. 2, the letters त–म, visible in the photograph, have been left out by Bh. परा° for परिवाहं is doubtful.—G. B.

L. 3, probably नं. [Bhagavânlâl.] Eggeling's त्रिस्कन्द is, I suppose, a misprint. The stone shows faintly Bh.'s reading.—G. B.

L. 4, °भ्यस्तकाभ्यो for °नाम्नो is caused by a fissure in the stone, which has come out too clearly in the photograph. The down-stroke in the figure ग which appears on the photograph is caused by an accidental fissure. The mason incised ज only.—G. B.

L. 5, Bhagavânlâl's प्र[तिपदि] is by no means certain. I think that the reading of the stone is प–. The stone has clearly ◡ (*r*) above the ज, which is not clear in the photograph.—G. B.

L. 7, Bhagavânlâl's *kshiptâśma*° is certain from the stone, though only the right-hand portion of the first *akshara* has been preserved.—G. B.

L. 8, the *ai* of *vaisyena* is clearly visible on the stone. But the lower part of the *akshara* has completely peeled off. I think Bh. is right in his conjecture.—G. B.

L. 9, the *akshara* over °लंकृतं is not clear on the stone. A letter has been lost after this word, perhaps *s*. Bhagavânlâl's restoration, *samuddita*, is doubtful.—G. B.

L. 10, the marks on the photograph after निगम are fissures or scratches, not letters.—G. B.

L. 11, only the *ra* of the syllable भ्र in *svabhra* is quite clear. *Ma* in *mara* is certain even from the photograph.—G. B.

L. 12, for नीर्व्या°, °जीत्य, read निर्व्या°; °जित्य. [Bhagavânlâl.] The क in प्रतिष्ठापकेन and the ज in राज are doubtful; न and ज्य may be the correct readings.

[13] ह्रयार्जितोर्जितधर्मानुरागेन शब्दार्थगान्धर्व्वन्यायाद्यानां विद्यानां महतीनां पारणधारणविज्ञानप्रयो-
गावाप्तविपुलकीर्त्तिना तुरगगजरथचर्य्यासिचर्मनियुद्धाद्या- - - - - - - - - परबलललाघवसौष्ठव-
क्रियेण अहरहर्दानमानान-

[14] वमानशीलेन स्थूललक्षेण यथावत्प्राप्तैर्बलिशुल्कभागैः कनकरजतवज्रवैदूर्यरत्नोपचयविष्यन्दमानकोशेन
स्फुटलघुमधुरचित्रकान्तशब्दसमयो- दारालंकृतगद्यपद्य- - - - - - - - - न प्रमाणमानोन्मानस्वर-
गतिवर्णसारसत्वादिभिः

[15] परमलक्षणव्यंजनैरुपेतकान्तमूर्त्तिना स्वयमधिगतमहाक्षत्रपनाम्ना नरेंद्रकन्यास्वयंवरानेकमाल्यप्राप्तदाम्ना
महाक्षत्रपेण रुद्रादाम्ना वर्षसहस्राय गोब्राह्म- - - - - - - - - र्थं धर्म्मकीर्त्तिवृद्ध्यर्थं च अपीड-
यित्वा करविष्टि-

[16] प्रणयक्रियाभि. पौरजानपदं जनं स्वस्मात्कोशा[त्]महता धनौघेन अनतिमहता च कालेन त्रिगुणदृ-
ढतरविस्तारायामं सेतुं विधाय (सर्व्व)नग(र) - - - - - - - - - - - - सुदर्शनतरं कारितमिति-
(त)स्मिन्नर्थे

[17] महाक्षत्रपस्य मतिसचिवकर्म्मसचिवैरमात्यगुणसमुदयुक्तैरप्यतिमहत्याद्वेदस्यानुत्साहविमुखमतिभिः प्रत्या-
ख्यातारंभं

[18] पुनः सेतुबन्धनैराश्याद् हाहाभूतासु प्रजासु इहाधिष्ठाने पौरजानपदजनानुग्रहार्थं पार्थिवेन कृत्स्नाना-
मानर्त्तसुराष्ट्राणां पालनार्थन्नियुक्तेन

[19] पल्हवेन कुलैपपुत्रेणामात्येन सुविशाखेन यथावदर्थधर्म्म व्यवहारदर्शनैरनुरागमभिवर्द्धयता शक्तेन दान्ते-
नाचपलेनाविस्मितेनार्य्येणाहार्येण

[20] स्वधितिष्ठता धर्मकीर्तियशांसि भर्त्तुरभिवर्द्धयतानुष्ठितमिति

Translation:

To the Perfect One[10]! This Sudarśana lake[11] . . . . . possesses a well-joined construction rivalling the spurs[12] of the mountain, because it is entirely enclosed by a[13] embankment without holes, broad, long, and high, (*made of*) mud and stones, ... which is endowed with a natural[14] embankment, where outlets for the water have been made by means of conduits, the outline of which runs in curves like a stream of urine,[15] and which is divided into three parts. . . . . is through the benefactions such as . . . . in the most excellent condition. This same (*lake*) . . . . (*was destroyed*) in the seventy-second year of the great Kshatrapa, king Rudra Dâman, whose name is repeated by great men, son of (*Mahâkshatrapa Jayadâman*), and grandson of Mahâkshatrapa, king Svâmi Chashtana, whose name is of auspicious import, on the (*first day*) of the dark half of the month of Mârgaśîrsha . . . . . When, in consequence of the rain which had fallen very copiously, the earth had become, as it were, one ocean, by the excessive swelling of the currents of the Palâśinî, of the Suvarṇasikatâ, and of the other rivers which (*come*) from Mount Ûrjayat, the embankment . . . . . in spite of suitable devices employed, an extremely furious hurricane, similar to the storm (*which rages*) at the Deluge, throwing down hill-tops, trees, rocks, terraces, (*pieces of*) the neighbouring ground, gates, houses, and pillars of victory, violently stirred the water, which (*in its turn*) displaced and broke . . . . . (*thus*

L. 13, read हस्तोच्छ्रया.—

L. 15, the form of the *da* [द] in अपीडयित्वा shows that Bhagavânlâl's reading of the sign in *pramâṇâbhah*, &c. as *l* is correct.—G. B.

L. 19, °थैधर्म should be °थैधर्मे, as the stone and photograph read.—G. B.

[10] All translators have copied Dr. Stevenson's old mistake. The meaning of *siddham* is the same as that of *svasti*, hail!'—G. B.

[11] Add '(*which is situated near*) the foot of the Girnagara hill.'—G. B.

[12] *Parvatapâdâ* are probably the spurs at the bottom of the hill, which in Gujarâtî are called धार or पाऽ.—Bh.

[13] Add 'solid' before 'embankment.'—G. B.

[14] 'Natural' refers to the hills which surrounded it on three sides: see below, Remark 1.—Bh.

[15] *Mûtrarekhâ* is a common expression in Gujarâtî for 'crooked.'—Bh.

this lake,) into which stones, trees, bushes, and tangled creepers had been thrown, was opened down to the bottom of the river. As all its water escaped through the rent (*in the embankment*) one hundred and twenty ells long, as many (*ells*) broad, and seventy-five ells deep, it resembled a desert and became exceedingly unsightly . . . . . for the sake of . . . the Vaiśya Pushyagupta, the brother-in-law of the Maurya king Chandragupta, had caused to be constructed. It had been adorned with conduits[16] that Yavanarâja Tushâspa (*the servant*) of the Maurya (*king*) Aśoka. With the conduit made by him, the construction of which was worthy of a king, and which was visible in that rent, an extensive embankment . . . . . .

He whom men freely elected their lord for their protection on account of this quality, that from his birth he bore the indelible and greatest (*marks of*) Royal Fortune; he who took, and kept to the end of his life, the vow to stop killing men except in battle; he who shewed a compassionate disposition . . . . . to slay foes (*of*) equal (*strength*) that came to meet him, to surpass . . . . he who afforded special protection, on account of their submission, to people that came to him of their own free will; he (*who is*) the lord of eastern and western Âkarâvati, of Anûpadeśa, Ânarta, Surâshtra, Śvabhra, Maru, Kachha, Sindhu,[17] Sauvîra, Kukura, Aparânta, Nishâda, and other territories, in which the people of new towns (*even*) and bâzârs are not attacked by thieves, snakes, (*wild*) beasts, diseases, and the like, which he has gained by his own valour, in which all people are loyal, (*in which,*) in consequence of his power . . . . . (*are found all*) objects of enjoyment; he who annihilated the Yaudheyas who had become arrogant and disobedient in consequence of their receiving from all Kshatriyas the title 'the heroes'; he who has obtained glory because he did not destroy Sâtakarṇi, the lord of the Dekhaṇ, on account of his near relationship, though he twice really conquered him; he who has gained victorious . . . . . ; he who has restored to their thrones deposed kings; he who by raising his hand not in vain (*i.e.* by giving religious gifts) has earned the affection of *Dharma*; he who has gained great fame by studying to the end, by remembering, understanding, and applying the great sciences such as grammar, polity, music, logic; (*he who*) . . . . . the management of horses, elephants, and chariots, fighting with the sword and the shield,[18] &c.; he who easily and fully conquers hostile armies; he whose nature it is to give daily presents to, to confer honours on, and not to slight (*his servants*); he who possesses large views; he whose treasury overflows with gold, silver, diamonds, lapis-lazuli, and quantities of (*other*) precious objects, which he has obtained in a righteous manner as presents, dues, and (*royal*) shares; (*he whose*) prose and metrical compositions are clear, (*distinguished by*) brevity, sweet, admirable, lovely, remarkable for grammatical correctness and embellished by (*rhetorical*) ornaments. . . . . ; he whose beautiful frame is endowed with the most excellent marks and signs, such as proper size (*in height and breadth*), (*proper*) weight, (*due*) proportion (*in the limbs*), (*a pleasing*) voice, (*majestic*) gait, (*a beautiful*) complexion, strength and prowess; he who himself has earned the title Mahâkshatrapa; he who has obtained numerous garlands at the *svayaṁvaras* of kings' daughters;—he, the Mahâkshatrapa Rudradâman, for the sake of a thousand years, for the sake of . . . . . cows and Brahmans, and for the increase of his merit and fame, has rebuilt the embankment three times stronger in breadth and length, in a not very long time, expending a great amount of money from his own treasury, without oppressing the people of the town and of the province by (*exacting*) taxes, forced labour, acts of affection,[19] and the like,—the whole town . . . . . (*and*) has made the lake more beautiful (*or* more worthy of the name Sudarśana) (*than before*). When in this affair the Mahâkshatrapa's advisers and engineers, though possessed of the qualifications of ministers, lost heart on account of the enormous size of the gap and gave up the undertaking, and when the people, despairing of seeing the em-

[16] Insert 'under the superintendence of' I regret that I cannot agree with Bhâgvânlâl-Bhâû Dâji's conjecture *tena* or *tat* ('that'). I believe there is some greater corruption in the original.—G. B

[17] The reading *Sindhu* has been suggested to me by Dr. Buhler.—Bh

[18] I propose 'to use the sword and the shield, (*the science of*) pugilism, &c'—G. B

[19] Probably a kind of tax like the modern *prîtidân*?

bankment rebuilt, began to lament, (*the work*)[20] was accomplished by the minister Suvisâkha, the son of Kulaipa, a Pahlava, who has been appointed by the king, out of kindness towards the town and country people, to protect the whole of Ânarta and Surâshtra, who by the proper dispensation of justice in temporal and spiritual affairs increases the affection (*of the subjects*), who is able, of subdued senses, neither hasty nor wanting in presence of mind, of noble family and unconquered, who governs well and increases the spiritual merit, fame, and glory of his master."

NOTE by Dr. G. BÜHLER.

The Gujarâtî original of the above article was made over to me for translation by Pandit Bhagavânlâl in the end of May 1877. Various personal reasons prevented my going to work on it at once. But even now, after Professor Eggeling's revised transcript and version of the inscription has appeared in Mr. Burgess's *Report of Kâthiâvâd*, I do not think that the publication of Bhagavânlâl's paper will be deemed superfluous. Mr. Burgess's facsimile, it is true, is a very good one, and Professor Eggeling's work shows great progress as compared with Dr. Bhâû Dâjî's. Still a repeated and careful comparison of the stone with the photograph from Mr. Burgess's paper cast, which I made in December 1876, has yielded a few better readings in such places where the faintness of the letters, or accidental scratches, necessarily made the readings from the photograph doubtful. Most of these have also been given by Bhagavânlâl, but I have once more pointed them out in the notes to his transcript.

I fully concur in most of the Pandit's important new readings and new renderings. One of his remarks also I recommend to special notice, the identification of the Greek name of the western coast, Arabike or Ariake, with Aparântikâ. I have no doubt that he is right, and that the reading Arabike (APABIKH) in the *Periplus*[21] has to be altered to *Abaratike* (ABAPATIKH). The identification of Aparânta with the Konkaṇa has been made first by Prof. R. G. Bhândârkar, *Trans. Or. Cong.* p. 313. The same gentleman's identification of Kukura with Hiwan Thsang's Kiu-che-lo cannot stand, as *ku* is never represented by Chinese *che*, and the identification with Gujjara is perfectly unobjectionable. Mr. Burgess's identification of Nishâda[22] with Berar rests on a mistake. Nala's kingdom is called Nishadha, not Nishâda. It would seem that there were several districts in ancient India which bore this name. In our inscription, probably, the north-western Nishâda, which, according to a passage of the *Mahâbhârata* (see the *Pet. Dict.* s. v. Nishâda), corresponded with the Hissâr and Bhatnîr districts, is meant. Bhagavânlâl's Śvabhra is a bold conjecture which is not sufficiently supported. But he is right in not accepting the form Aśvaka which former decipherers have imported into the text.

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

THE PÂRSÎ PRIESTHOOD.

To the Editor of the "Indian Antiquary."

SIR,—The communication from Mr. Sorâbji Kâvasji Khambâtâ in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. VII. p. 179, pointing out some errors in the information which Prof. Monier Williams had received regarding the Pârsî religion and rites, shows that there are still some obscurities with respect to the classification and titles of the Pârsî priesthood, which it ought not to be difficult to clear up.

Mr. H. G. Briggs, in his work on *The Parsis or Modern Zerdusthians*, says, on the subject of the priesthood (p. 45)—"*Mubed* is the general term, and tantamount in acceptation to our word *Clergy*. The learned among them, and those who hold spiritual dignity, are denominated *Dasturs* or *Andhiârus*, almost significant to our *Doctors* and *Bishops*. *Herbads* are the inferior clergy."

This is not the same as the account given by Prof. Monier Williams. Mr. Sorâbji Kâvasji's differs from both. And it might be assumed that his is correct, were it not that it has an appearance of being a little at variance with itself. *Herbad*, it says, is "a mere generic term for *Dasturs* and *Mobeds*," while a footnote says, "Some *Herbads* are neither *Dasturs* nor *Mobeds*, for they do not choose to enter the holy order."

The account of this priesthood would be made more distinct if, in addition to a statement of the

[20] *Karma* must be added in the text.

[21] Αριακη occurs in the *Periplus*, §§ 14, 41, and 54; in the second, the reading Αραβικη occurs in the codex, but is generally regarded as corrupt.—ED.

[22] *Report on Kâth.* p. 131.

classification and titles, and of ceremonies regulating admission (to which your correspondent briefly refers), it embraced also some notice of the several qualifications required and duties performed. R. M.

A CASE OF *SAMÂDH* IN INDIA.

BY MONIER WILLIAMS, D.C.L., BODEN PROFESSOR OF SANSKRIT AT OXFORD.

IT may interest some of your readers if I give a brief account of a case of *Samâdh* which has recently occurred in the district of Kaira (Kheḍâ), in Gujarât. The particulars were furnished to me by Mr. Frederick Sheppard, the energetic Collector, in whose camp I stayed twice during my Indian travels. Permit me, however, to introduce the narrative by a few remarks about sacrifice, immolation, and self-torture, all of which were once common in India.

In what may be called the Brâhmanical period, which succeeded the Vedic period of Hinduism, human sacrifice must have prevailed. This is sufficiently evident from the story of Śunaḥśepha in the *Aitareya-brâhmaṇa*. It is even believed by many that the sects called Śâktas (or Tântrikas) formerly ate portions of the flesh and drank the blood of the victims sacrificed at their secret orgies. Human sacrifices, however, were probably rare, while the sacrifice of animals became universal. The first idea of sacrifice seems to have been that of supplying the deities with nourishment. Gods and men all feasted together. Then succeeded the notion of the need of vicarious suffering, or life for life, blood for blood. Some deities were believed to thirst for human blood, and the blood of animals was substituted for that of men. One of the effects of Buddhism was to cause a rapid diminution of animal sacrifice. It is now rarely seen except at the altars of the goddess Kâlî, or of forms and near relations of Kâlî (such as the *Grâma-devâtâs* (village mothers), and at the altars of the tutelary deity Ayenâr,[1] and at devil-shrines in the south. I myself saw very few animals sacrificed even to the bloody goddesses, though I took pains to visit them on the proper days.

Other forms of immolation were once common in India. The Thags maintained that they sacrificed their victims to the goddess Kâlî. Now that Thagism has been suppressed by us, a good deal of *datura*-poisoning is practised by the same class of people. The killing of female infants once prevailed extensively in the Panjâb and Râjputâna, owing to the difficulty of providing daughters with suitable husbands, and the immense expenses entailed by nuptial festivities.

Again, in former days self-immolation was common. Many immolated themselves at the great car-festivals, voluntarily throwing themselves under the enormous wheels, not only of the car of Jagannâth at Puri, in Orissa, but of other idol-cars also.

I found similar cars attached to every large pagoda in the south of India. Some of them are so large and heavy that they require to be supported on sixteen wheels, and on a particular day once a year they are drawn through the streets by thousands of people. Every now and then persons are crushed under the wheels; for our civilization has tended to the increase of religious gatherings among the natives, by creating facilities of communication, and the best government cannot always prevent accidents.

Self-immolation in other ways was once extensively prevalent. Arrian, it is well known, describes how, in the time of Alexander the Great, a man named Kalanos—one of the sect of Indian wise men who went naked—burned himself upon a pile.[2] This description is like that of the self-cremation of the ascetic Sarabhanga in *Râmâyaṇa* iii. 9. There are some sand-hills in the Sâtpura range dedicated to the god Śiva,—supposed as Mahâkâla to delight in destruction,—from a rock on which many youths have precipitated themselves, because their mothers, being without children, have dedicated their first-born sons to the god.

With regard to the immolation of the faithful wife (commonly called *satî*) who followed her husband in death, and burned herself on his funeral pile, everywhere in India, I saw scattered about in various places monuments erected over the ashes of *satîs*; and everywhere such monuments are still regarded with the greatest veneration by the people.

Happily we put a stop to this practice in 1829, though we had previously sanctioned it under certain regulations; believing that we ought not to interfere with an ancient religious custom. In one year an official report of 800 widows burnt was received at Calcutta. Between 1815 and 1828 the average varied from 300 to 600 per annum.

We have also prevented the burying alive of lepers, and others afflicted with incurable diseases, which was once universally prevalent in the Panjâb, and common in some other parts of India.

Of course, leprosy in India, as in other Eastern countries, is a kind of living death. Lepers are excluded from society, and can get no employment; and they often gave themselves up of their own accord to be buried alive, the motive simply being

[1] The son of Śiva by Mohinî; also called Hari Hara.—ED.

[2] *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. pp. 245-6, 334-5; and Plutarch's *Alexander*, 65.—ED.

a desire to be released from physical suffering. This was called performing *samádh* (Sanskrit—*samádhi*, suspending the connexion between soul and body by religious abstraction).

Sleeman describes how he once knew a very respectable Hindu gentleman who came to the river Narmadá, attended by a large retinue, to perform *samádh*, in consequence of an incurable disease under which he laboured. After taking leave of his family, he entered a boat, which conveyed him to the deepest part of the river. He then loaded himself with sand, and stepping into the water disappeared

In most of these cases the laudable humanity of our Government in preserving human life has given rise to fresh evils and difficulties.

In the first place, population is increasing upon us in a degree which threatens to become wholly unmanageable. Then, widows never marry again; not even if their boy-husbands die, leaving them widows at the age of six. A woman is supposed to be sacramentally united to one husband, and belongs to him for ever. Every town, every village, almost every house, is full of widows, who are debarred from all amusements, and converted into household drudges. They often lead bad lives. Their life, like that of the lepers, is a kind of living death, and they would often cheerfully give themselves up to be burned alive if the law would let them. Only the other day in Nepál, where our supremacy is still barely recognized, the widows of Sir Jang Bahádur became *satis*, and burned themselves with their husband.

Then, again, the increase in the number of girls who cannot find suitable husbands is now causing much embarrassment in some districts; and even the lepers, whose lives we preserve, involve us in peculiar difficulties. These unfortunate creatures often roam about the country, exacting food from the people by threatening to touch their children.

Here and there we have built leper-villages—rows of cottages under trees, devoted to their use; and we make the towns contribute from local funds to support them, while charity ekes out the miserable pittance they receive.

As to the practice of self-torture, this cannot be entirely prevented by our Government, but it is rapidly dying out. Formerly, it was possible for devotees—with the object of exciting admiration, or extorting alms, or under the delusion that their self-torture was an act of religious merit—to swing in the air attached to a lofty pole by means of a rope and hook passed through the muscles of the back. Such self-inflicted mutilation is now prohibited. Yet, even in the present day, to acquire a reputation for sanctity, or to receive homage and offerings from the multitude, or under the idea of accumulating a store of merit, all sorts of bodily sufferings, penances, and austerities, even to virtual suicide, are undergone—the latter being sometimes actually perpetrated out of mere revenge,—as its consequences are supposed to fall on the enemy whose action has driven the deceased to self-immolation.

I saw a man not long since at Allahábád who has sat in one position for fifty years on a stone pedestal exposed to sun, wind, and rain. He never moves except once a day, when his attendants lead him to the Ganges. He is an object of worship to thousands, and even high-caste Brâhmans pay him homage.

I saw two Urdhva-bâhus, one at Gayâ and the other at Banâras,—that is, devotees who hold their arms with clenched fists above their heads for years, until they become shrivelled and the finger-nails penetrate through the back of the hands. Another man was prostrating himself and measuring every inch of the ground with his body round the hill of Govardhan when I passed

Two attempts at *samádh* occurred in Mr. Sheppard's district. A devotee announced his intention of adopting this extraordinary method of securing perfect abstraction and beatitude, and was actually buried alive in the neighbourhood of a village. His friends were detected by the villagers in pouring milk down a hollow bamboo which had been arranged to supply the buried man with air and food. The bamboo was removed, and the interred man was found dead, when his friends opened the grave shortly afterwards.

The other attempt is still more recent, and I will conclude this communication by giving Mr. Sheppard's own account of it, almost in his own words:—"As I was shooting near my camp one evening, a mounted orderly came up with news that a Bhât had performed *samádh* that afternoon in a neighbouring village, and that there was much consequent excitement there. Not having a horse with me, I directed the orderly to ride off to the village (picking up my police escort as he passed through my camp) and to dig up the buried man, taking into custody any persons who might endeavour to oppose the execution of my orders.

"On returning to my camp, I ordered the apprehension of all those who had assisted in the *samádh*, and soon afterwards received a report that the man had been actually buried in a vault in his own house, but had been taken out alive. He was, however, very weak, and died the following morning. It was then reported to me that the limbs, though cold, had not stiffened, and the people—ready, as of old, to be deceived, and always inclined to attribute the smallest departure from

the ordinary course of events to supernatural agency—declared that the Bhât was not dead, but lying in the *samâdh* trance. There was, however, no pulse, and as it was clear that, even if the supposition of the villagers was correct, medical treatment would be desirable, I sent the body in a cart to the nearest dispensary, distant some six or seven miles, and in due time received a certificate of death from the hospital assistant in charge of that institution, together with a report of a *post-mortem* examination of the body, which showed that death had resulted from heart-disease.

"Meanwhile I visited the village and ascertained the following facts:—The deceased was a man in fairly comfortable circumstances, and with some religious pretensions. It was well known that he aspired to a still higher reputation for sanctity, and that, with this view, he had for several months been contemplating *samâdh*. The proper date for this rite had been finally settled, after many solemn ceremonies and the due observance of fasting, prayer, and charity.

"On the afternoon fixed for the *samâdh* he assembled the villagers, and told them that it had been imparted to him in a vision that the Deity required him to pass six weeks in religious abstraction, and that he felt compelled to obey the divine command, and to remain in the vault prepared for him during that period. He then produced and worshipped a small earthen vessel containing the sacred Tulsi plant, and afterwards carefully planted therein twenty grains of barley, telling the villagers to watch for their growth, as it had been revealed to him that the grains represented his life. If at the end of the six weeks the grains had sprouted, the villagers were to understand that the Bhât was still alive. He was then to be removed from the vault, and worshipped as a saint. If, on the other hand, germination had not taken place, they were to understand that the Bhât was dead also, and the vault was in that case to be permanently bricked up, and the Tulsi planted over the grave.

"After giving these directions, the devotee recited some *mantras* and entered the vault, bidding farewell to the world, and declaring his belief that his life would be miraculously preserved. The vault was then roofed over with boards, and plastered thickly with mud. About two hours after this event, he was removed from the vault by the police under my orders, and placed in the verandah, the house itself being locked up.

After ascertaining the above particulars, I caused the house to be opened, and then discovered that a gross attempt at imposture had been practised. The grave was about three feet deep, being a hole dug in the floor of the inner room of the house. The wall of the room formed one side of the vault. The roof over the latter was a clumsy structure and had been partly demolished to allow of the removal of the devotee. As usual in India, the only light admitted to the room was through the door, and the unsubstantial nature of the roof was not likely to attract the attention of the villagers. But I satisfied myself that the occupant of the vault might, with great ease, have demolished the covering which was supposed to shut him off from the world.

"The vault itself was somewhat dark. I entered it in order to ascertain how much space had been allotted to the occupant. I found therein the rosary of the deceased, and the chaplet of flowers which he had worn before his self-immolation. There was sufficient room for me to sit in tolerable comfort. On one side of the vault I felt a small wooden plank apparently let into the wall, and on obtaining a light I found that a trap-door about a foot square had been ingeniously contrived to communicate with the other room of the house. The trap-door was so hung as to open inwards, towards the vault, at the pleasure of the inmate. On going into the outer room, into which communication had thus been opened, I found that a row of the large earthen jars, which Horace would have called *amphoræ*, and which are used in India to store grain, had been arranged against the wall. The trap-door into the vault was effectually concealed by them, and the supply of air, food, and water to the impostor within, thus cleverly provided for. The arrangement was neatly contrived, and was not likely to have attracted suspicion. Had the Bhât been a strong man, and in good health, he might, without any danger to life, and with only a minimum of discomfort, have emerged triumphantly after his six weeks' *samâdh*, and have earned a wide reputation. But the excitement and fasting were too much for him."—*Athenæum*, August 4th, 1877.

ARUṆAD YAVANO MADHYAMIKÂM.

Mr. Carlleyle's and General Cunningham's remarks on pp. 201–205 of Vol. VI. of the *Archæological Survey Reports* induce me to state that the oldest and best MSS. both of the *Mahâbhâshya* and of the *Kâśikâ Vritti* on P. III. 2. 111 read अरुद्यवनो मध्यमिकाम् (and *not* माध्यमिकान्). A marginal note in one of the MSS. of the *Mahâbhâshya* states that Madhyamikâ was a town (नगरी); Nâgojîbhatta on P. VI. 3. 37 likewise says मध्यमिका नगरी; and in the *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi* we read मध्ये भवा मध्यमिका नगरी, तस्यां भवो माध्यमिकीयः.

I leave it to General Cunningham to decide whether this correct reading *Madhyamikâ* is of any

value for the interpretation of the legend on the coins found by Mr. Carlleyle, and whether the ancient city of Nâgari may originally have been called Madhyamikâ. To me it would seem that the *Majhamikâya* of the coins might well be the oblique case of a feminine noun in *â*, equivalent to a Sanskrit form मध्यमिकायाः

Later writers have freely copied Kâtyâyana's Vârttika on P. III. 2. 111, and in some cases also Patanjali's instances. The author of the *Prasâda* (a commentary on the *Prakriyâ-kaumudî*) quotes अरुणद्यवनः साकेतम्; the same instance we find in the *Jainendra-mahâvritti* of Abhayanandin, who instances besides अरुणन्महेन्द्रो मथुराम्, and in the *Sabdârnava-chandrikâ*, another commentary on the *Jainendra-vyâkarana*, we read अदहद्यवनः साकेतम्. But the most interesting instances are no doubt those which Hemachandra in his Sanskrit grammar gives for his rule ख्याते दृश्ये, *viz.*:—

अरुणत्सिद्धराजो ऽवन्तीन् (*sic*), and अजयत्सिद्धः सौराष्ट्रान्.

According to the late Dr. Bhâu Dâjî, Hemachandra lived 1088-1172 A.D., and Siddharâja reigned some time during the first half of the 12th century (Lassen, vol. III. p. 567).

F. KIELHORN.

HALLE MAKKALU.

From inquiries lately made I find that the Morasu Holiyars are the Halle Makkalu—old (adopted) sons—of the Morasu Wakligas.[1]

"In former times" the Morasu Holiyars had the following privileges:—

(i) Carrying the Wakliga bride's box in which her trousseau was placed;

(ii) Washing the feet of the Wakliga bride and bridegroom;

(iii.) Assisting to carry to its grave the body of a deceased Wakliga;

(iv.) Partaking of the *pinda*, i.e. the food prepared on the third day after death, and of which, as a rule, only members of the family can partake.

Of these four privileges the first is now the only one universally admitted and exercised. Individual Wakligas deny that the Holiyars exercised all these privileges, but a very little cross-examination soon brings out that the denial is confined to the privileges being exercised with regard to the individual and his own relations; that he is aware the Holiyars are said to have had these privileges in former times, and believes that here and there even now they occasionally exercise them. This is only what is to be expected. Each individual tries to make the most of his own family, and denies any relationship with a lower caste. There is sufficient evidence to prove that the Morasu Holiyars are affiliated to the Morasu Wakligas.

Why this took place I have been unable to discover, but a more than ordinarily intelligent head-man said that he thought the Holiyars had been adopted because they assisted the Wakligas when they first came to the country.

The Morasu Holiyars are the only Holiyars who weave cloth.

What is the meaning of Morasu? I think it must have been the old name of that part of the country where the Morasu Wakligas are to be found.

Among the Wakligas of Maisûr the following appellatives are to be found:—Morasu, Hali Gangâdikar, and Nonaba, and the same appellatives are to be found among the Holiyars. Now the Gangâdikar and Nonaba Wakligas evidently derived their respective appellative from the old name of that part of the country where to this day they are to be found in the largest numbers. The Gangâdikar Wakligas are chiefly in the south and west of the Maisur district, and this part of the country was formally called Gangâvâdî. In the same way the Nonaba Wakligas are found in the west of the Tumkur district, which part of the country was formerly known as Nonambavâdî. Reasoning by analogy, the ancient name of those parts of the country where there is an appellative common to both Wakligas and Holiyars ought to be the appellative. The Morasu Wakligas are to be found principally in the Bangalor district, the Hale Wakligas in the Hassan district. Perhaps some of the readers of the *Antiquary* in those districts could help in clearing up this point.

I can add little or nothing about the Kongaru Holiyars. The term Kongaru is applied by the Kanarese-speaking people to the Tamil-speaking camp followers of regiments. I saw an old man the other day at Tyamgondla, Nelamangla Tâlukâ, who said he was a Kongira Holiya; he came up to this part of the country with the commissariat elephants. He eats with the Holiyars of this country, but he told me that among the Holiyars of Madras there is a sub-division who correspond to Halle Makkalu. They are called Puli Kutti pariahs of the Vellalas. He would not eat at the houses of any of this sub-division, but they would in his. Some of your Madras readers ought to be able to say if the old man is right or not.

J. S. F. MACKENZIE.

Bangalore, 9th May 1878.

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[1] Conf. *Ind. Ant.* vol I. p. 38; vol. II pp. 29, 50, 170; vol. III. pp. 8, 191, 197.

NOTE ON THE ORISSA HYPÆTHRAL TEMPLE.

After the notice of the remarkable temple discovered by the late Sir John Campbell in Orissa had appeared in the *Antiquary* (*ante*, page 19), I met with the description of a somewhat similar structure in General Cunningham's *Archæological Reports*, vol. II. (for 1864-5).

It was found among the ruins of Khajuraho, an ancient site in Bandelkhand, between Chhatrapûr and Panna, which in more recent times was the capital of the Chandel Râjputs, who flourished from the 9th to the 14th century.

By the present inhabitants the building is known as the Temple of the Chaonsat Yôgini, or "64 female demons," and consists of a massive oblong enclosure constructed of granite and open above, the length of which is 102½ feet, and the breadth 58½ feet. The exterior is simply ornamented with three broad flat horizontal mouldings, but round the inside are 64 cells or niches, 22 on each side and 10 at each end (exclusive of the entrance and a larger cell opposite), each cell 36½ inches high by 28½ broad, intended apparently for the reception of an image which no longer exists.

At what period the Yôginîs were worshipped, why their number is fixed at 64, and what place they hold in the Śaiva theogony, is not clear.[1] It may even be doubted whether they belong to any of the recent forms of superstition with which we are acquainted. The temple at Khajuraho bearing their name is evidently of greater antiquity than the neighbouring buildings. It is the only one constructed of granite, all the others being built of a light-coloured fine sandstone, quarried hard by, and it is the only one not placed due north and south—all pointing to a different age and a distinct race of worshippers.

On these points, however, we may hope to be further enlightened shortly. A late letter from General Cunningham states he has discovered a third example of the same kind of structure, which he is now engaged in describing,—viz. a circular cloister containing the 64 Yôginîs, with several other statues, most of them accompanied by inscriptions, which will doubtless indicate their precise character.

WALTER ELLIOT.

MR. HENRY BLOCHMANN.

Oriental literature has sustained an irreparable loss by the death of Mr. H. Blochmann, Principal of the Muhammadan College at Calcutta, and for many years the active Secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Cut off at the early age of forty, ere he had attained the full maturity of his powers, he has left behind him a rich store of early gathered fruit, the earnest of an abundant harvest never to be garnered. Mr. Blochmann's acquirements in Arabic and Persian, and the accuracy and soundness of his knowledge, marked him out for a teacher. In early life his desire to become personally acquainted with the East led him to enlist as a soldier; but arrived in India his scholarship soon became known, and he was appointed to a subordinate position in the college of which he died the chief. In this office he had peculiar opportunities of extending his knowledge, and he was indefatigable in turning them to account. He enjoyed the society of learned Musalmâns, and the stores of public and private libraries were at his command. They were well used. Few men had a more intimate acquaintance with Muhammadan life, and none surpassed him in his knowledge of Arabic and Persian MSS. A living catalogue it was seldom that an inquiry about books was addressed to him in vain. The pages of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* attest the activity and diversity of his researches. Literature and lexicography, coins and inscriptions, in turn engaged his attention. But two subjects he made peculiarly his own—Persian prosody, the difficulties and mysteries of which he has done much to unravel; and the life and reign of the great emperor Akbar. The translation of the *Ain-i-Akbarî*, the Institutes of Akbar, is Blochmann's *magnum opus*, and on this his reputation will mainly rest. He has published a large portion of the Persian text, but unhappily only one volume of the translation has appeared. It is greatly to be hoped that the MS. of the remainder is in a forward state of preparation, for who would venture to take up the pen which his hand dropped? The translation of a Persian book into English may not seem a great and arduous work to those who have no knowledge of the original text. But this book deals with intricate and technical subjects, and is written in a style which native writers consider as abstruse and difficult. With all his knowledge, and with the great sources of information at his command, there are passages which Mr. Blochmann could not interpret, and he has shown the manliness and honesty of the true scholar in saying so. In this translation he has inserted a series of memoirs of the great men of the days of Akbar,—a peerage, in fact, of the Moghul Empire, comprising more than four hundred names. This was entirely his own compilation, and it supplies a most interesting and instructive series of pictures of the life and manners of the time.—JOHN DOWSON. (*The Academy*)

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[1] Wilson renders Yôgini by "a female fiend or sprite attendant on and created by Durgâ; in some places eight Yôginîs are enumerated by name": *Sans Dict. s. v.* This supports Mr. Walhouse's suggestion, at p. 137, regarding "the *eight* stone images facing inwards" at the Trimurti Kovil in Koimbatur. These female demons may have some connection with the Turâman deities described and figured by Pallas in his *Sammlungen historischer Nachrichten über den Mongolischen Folkerschaften über P. T. Pallas*, St. Petersburg, 1776.

BOOK NOTICES.

Original Letters and Papers of the late Viscount Strangford upon philological and kindred subjects. Edited by Viscountess Strangford. (8vo, pp. 284.) London: Trübner & Co. 1878.

The late Lord Strangford, condemned by his father to the diplomatic career in which the latter had risen to eminence,—for which the son seems to have had no taste—consoled himself with philological studies more extensive and profound than those of any other Englishman of his day not being a professional scholar. Fate or temperament prevented him from ever embodying the results in anything that could be called a book; but fortunately his widow is fitted by her own talents and acquirements to select and edit the present volume, which with the two published by Bentley in 1869 are enough to show what he was and might have been.

The volume under review contains notes and reflections upon almost every language under the sun, of which a couple attacking the "Dog Persian" of the Government of India will perhaps be the most interesting to our readers. But the special value of the work consists first in the intense scorn of theorism and sciolism which pervades these miscellaneous selections as thoroughly as if they formed a single treatise written for the express purpose of keeping philological and ethnological sciences from running off the rails; and secondly in the astonishing wit and humour of almost every sentence.[1]

One cannot close the book without thinking how much happier and more useful might have been the career of the noble writer—noble more by nature than by race—if the lines had fallen for him in places a little further East; and if, instead of the cramping, disheartening influences of a diplomatic chancery, he had grown up under those of early power and responsibility, which form the best men of the Indian services.

S.

Outlines of the History of Religion to the Spread of the Universal Religions. By Professor C. P. Tiele, D. Th., Professor of the History of Religions in the University of Leiden. pp. 249. London: Trübner & Co. 1877.

Professor Tiele states that the time for writing an elaborate history of religion has not yet come. He does not pretend to supply more than outlines, mere "pencil-sketches," helpful towards the full picture which will in due time be drawn. This "little work," as he modestly calls it, contains an introduction and five chapters. It traverses an immense extent of ground, without seeking to describe with minute accuracy any part of it. We are very far from accepting all the Professor's inferences from facts, or even all his supposed facts; but the work supplies evidence both of extensive reading and of careful reflection.

Professor Tiele[2] belongs to the advanced school of "liberal" theologians. He does not believe in Revelation—at least in the sense in which the term is usually applied to religion. In all religions we trace, according to the professor, only a process of development or natural growth. He thus comes to enunciate, especially in treating of the faith of Israel, opinions which violently conflict with the belief of nine-tenths, or more, of Christendom. The professor is, of course, aware of this; but he goes on in serene self-confidence, making one bold asseveration after another, hardly condescending to refute his opponents, or even to supply evidence of the truth of his own positions.

We intend to enter into no contest with Professor Tiele. We simply bring under the notice of our readers the views of a good representative of a certain school. Besides, our author is professor of the History of Religions, and on his own special subject he deserves an attentive hearing.

He holds that the earliest religion has left but few traces behind it. It was followed by Animism, or the worship of spirits. This stage is represented by the polydæmonistic tribal religions, which, among civilized nations, were soon developed into polytheism resting on traditional doctrine. Nomistic religions followed—that is to say, systems grounded on sacred books, and superseding polytheism by pantheism or monotheism. Out of these, again, sprang the universal religions—Buddhism, Christianity, and Muhammadanism—"which start from principles and maxims."

Leaving the reader to form his own opinion of this nimble generalization, we follow Prof. Tiele into his account of Animism. This is a belief in the existence of spirits, of which the powerful become objects of worship. When the spirits take up their abode in any material object, which thus becomes endowed with power, we have Fetishism. Animism is unorganized polydæmonism. It does not exclude belief in a supreme spirit. It is accompanied by a belief in magic, which seeks to obtain power over the spirits by spells. Fear is the ruling power in all Animistic worship. The spirits and their worshippers are alike selfish

[1] The very device on the cover is a philological joke, being the writer's signature Russianized, "Astraugfúrd," with an initial *dlif* for the benefit of the Asiatic, who would not otherwise have 'got round it.' It reminds one of that Bombay billiard-marker who, having to score for a gentleman named Scott, wrote 'I' on the slate, to represent "Ishkát Sâheb."

[2] The author of *De godsdienst van Zarathustra van haar ontstaan in Baktrië tot den val van het Oud Perzische Rijk* (Haarlem, 1864).

Animism has little or no moral character. Its doctrine of a future state contains no idea of recompense—*i.e.* of punishment or reward.

Over a large extent both of Asia and Europe the Âryans, and perhaps the Semites, were preceded by Turânian races, whose religion was purely Animistic, and under the influence of a belief in magic. The religions of America exhibit Animism at various stages. Those of Mexico and Peru reached the extreme limit of Animism, and would probably have risen above it if the Spanish conquest had not checked their development.

This outline of Prof. Tiele's views regarding the lowest existing form of religion, out of which all the higher forms, according to him, have proceeded, must suffice for the present. We may simply mention that he touches on the religions of the Chinese, of the ancient Egyptians, of the Babylonians and Assyrians, of the Phœnicians, of the Israelites, Islam, Brahmanism, Pârsîism, the systems of the Letto-Slavs, the Germans, the Greeks and the Romans.

Our author is always suggestive; but we are frequently startled by his cool dogmatism. Take one example:—"The Egyptian religion furnished to Roman Catholic Christendom the germs of the worship of the Virgin, the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, and the type of its theocracy." Let us add, however, that this is one of the most unguarded assertions in the volume; it is not a case of *ex uno disce omnes*.

M.

LANGUAGE and the STUDY of LANGUAGE: Twelve lectures on the Principles of Linguistic Science. By William Dwight Whitney, Professor of Sanskrit, &c., Yale College. 3rd Edition, augmented by an Analysis. (London: Trübner & Co.)

It is not easy to bring a work which

"With extensive view
Surveys mankind from China to Peru"

within the exclusively Oriental scope of the *Indian Antiquary*, and Professor Whitney's lectures, though necessarily not exhaustive in detail, deal with the general features of speech and writing, so far as at present known to science. In such a work, however, it is impossible for the writer to avoid devoting some of his most important chapters to the languages of the East. Moreover, the Orientalist—proudly conscious that "in his father's house" the science of Comparative Philology was, if not born, at least weaned—may fairly claim not to be considered a meddler if he occasionally notices the progress of this now independent branch of knowledge. We cannot better support this claim than by quoting Professor Whitney's own words:—"Stripped of all exaggerations, and making all due allowances, the Sanskrit is still the mainstay of Indo-European philology; it gave the science a rapid development which nothing else could have given; it imparted to its conclusions a fulness and certainty which would have been otherwise unattainable."

The closely printed table of contents of the volume under review occupies two pages and a half of small type.

It will easily be inferred that no abstract of it worth reading could be crowded into these pages; and we must therefore be content with noticing its most salient features. First of these, as might be expected from its place of birth, is an extreme independence of thought and expression. Professor Whitney is "*nullius addictus in verba jurari*," and no amount of respect will induce him to give the least quarter to what he holds to be errors. For example, though most fully acknowledging the services of Bopp to his science, he does not hesitate to hold up that writer's studies upon the Malay-Polynesian and Caucasian languages as "a striking example and warning," and "an utter caricature of the comparative method" (p. 245, note); and his discussions with Professor Max Müller, while too well known to be repeated here, are really a higher compliment to the German scholar than the servile reverence with which he is sometimes treated in England.

If Professor Whitney had thought fit to take a classical motto, it would certainly have been "*Hypotheses non fingo*." For him the science which he prefers to call "linguistics" (he considers the term "comparative philology" already outworn) is still in its youth, if not infancy; and he denounces most strongly the practice of drawing hasty conclusions, and of inferring affinities from arguments often delusive in themselves, and still more frequently based upon a *petitio principii*. The theory of a common origin of the Semitic and Âryan (in his terminology—Indo-European) languages seems to him to have as yet no basis at all; nor does he less object to the term 'Turanian' and the signification usually attached to it—the former as too local and narrow, the latter as too wide, and including in one class languages and races whose affinities are not yet sufficiently proved, or even investigated.

Whether his specific conclusions be accepted or no, it is sufficiently obvious that this is the right frame of mind in which to approach the subject. In India, particularly, we have suffered extremely from the habit of talking as if the Âryan immigration was a thing as well understood as the English conquest; and the absurdity and mischief of such hasty generalization is not now for the first time reprobated in these pages. It is satisfactory, at least, to know that whatever assistance we may hereafter obtain from beyond the Atlantic

will be rendered by scholars trained to take nothing for granted.

In the meanwhile, the work under review may safely be recommended as a text-book fully equal to any that we possess, and especially suited to those students, sufficiently numerous in Anglo-Indian society, who are striving to make up in the leisure hours of manhood for time wasted by themselves or their teachers in youth. It is, though much larger, more simple than Mr. Peile's little hand-book of Philology, which lands the beginner rather too abruptly among such terrible words as 'agglutinative' and 'analytic;' and it is written in a style always clear, and sometimes, where the dignity of the subject requires it, rising to eloquence. Take, for example, the fine passage (p. 231) describing the rise to importance of the European races and tongues. It has, besides, not only a good index, but an exhaustive analytic table of contents, most useful to the student. At the end of the book, indeed, Professor Whitney seems to leave his safe ground, and to abandon for a moment, when contemplating the future, the reserve and caution which characterize him in dealing with the past.

He expresses (with many saving clauses, it is true) an idea that English may yet become "a world language," by which we presume that he means, if not the universal speech of civilized man, at least one as generally intelligible as Hindustani is in a great part of India. And, with a view to this glorious future, he thinks that we should seriously consider the phonetic reform of our orthography. If other proof were wanting of the baselessness of such a dream, it would be found in his own work. He states expressly that it is in the communion of literature, and of the cultivated classes, that the hope of preserving one common language to England and the United States must be based. Of those classes we could find no more competent representative than himself; yet so far has the disintegrating influence of altered circumstances and of separate national life gone, that the English reviewer cannot help remarking, here and there in his work, differences of expression, at which, indeed, we have no right to cavil, but which indicate that the thing which has been shall be, and that English must submit to the fate which has already overtaken Greek and Latin. The most striking instance is the use of the word 'doughfaceedness' as an example. This may have been introduced half in jest, to recall the flagging attention of the class. But its mere presence in this book is significant; and if we go further, to such a work as General Sherman's Autobiography, which may be taken as fairly representing the speech of educated Americans, we shall find similar new expressions in every page. It is to be hoped that when the American language does become a separate tongue its literature will contain many works as useful as Professor Whitney's.

EARLY RECORDS of BRITISH INDIA; a History of the English Settlements in India, as told in the Government Records, &c. &c. By J. Talboys Wheeler, late Assistant Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department, &c. (8vo, pp. 391.) London: Trübner & Co. 1878.

Mr. Wheeler, he tells us in his preface, "was originally employed to report upon the records of the Home Department in Calcutta, and intended to confine his extracts to the papers preserved there. As, however, he proceeded with his task," he found that it was not enough for him; the papers of the earliest period had been destroyed by a storm in 1737, or in the sack of 1756. In Madras, however, he found a more perfect and valuable series of documents, and has already given the substance of them to the world in three volumes, under the title of "Madras in the Olden Time", of which the part of the present volume relating to the affairs of "the coast" appears to be a judicious condensation. With Bombay he does not appear to have any acquaintance, and contents himself with giving a few extracts from Mandelslö, Fryer, and Khafi Khân,[1] the only authorities upon the early affairs of that Presidency of whose existence he appears to be aware.

Although, therefore, Mr. Wheeler speaks of his volume as compiled from original and half-forgotten sources, it is obvious that a good deal of it is already before the world in one form or another. Perhaps the most interesting extracts are those from the records of Bengal of the period following the battle of Plassey; the Company's negotiations with the Râja of "Meckley" (Manipur); their refusal and subsequent acquisition of the Divâni, and their disputes with the second Nawâb of their own creation, Mîr Kâsim, and the massacre at Pâtnâ. Upon this last subject Mr. Wheeler quotes "the journal of a gentleman at Pâtnâ" and "the journal of an English prisoner at Pâtnâ," but very provokingly denies us the name of either diarist, and leaves us to guess even whether they are identical (the entries extracted are for different days). He also gives extracts from the diary of

[1] The last named, funnily enough, is brought in under head "Madras under the Moguls." Khâfi Khân was condemned by Mr. Wheeler, and without a hearing (in his *History of India*), as a "type of the flatterers who flourished during the Mogul period." Now that Mr. W. can read some portions of Khâfi Khân's invaluable history in Prof. Dowson's version, he withdraws his condemnation (p. 140, note, and conf. *Ind. Ant.* vol. VI. p. 331). If we compare his quotation p. 140 *ad inf.* with the version he abridges from in Elliot and Dowson's *History*, vol. VII. p. 353, we may form a fair idea of the freedom with which he treats his originals.

Dr. Fullarton, whom he calls "the sole survivor of the massacre," which is hardly correct, as the doctor was confined apart from the other prisoners, and was not even a witness of their fate. The 13th chapter is interesting for some quotations from the minutes of Mr. Verelst, which show the commencement of the science of internal administration in Bengal. Verelst, as Mr. Wheeler truly observes, was a man very much ahead of his time. He administered with considerable success the districts of Bardwân, Midnâpûr, and Chittagong, which with Clive's *jâghîr* form the earliest territory of that youngest Presidency which has since so much outgrown its elder sisters. His remarks upon points of principle can in few instances be contradicted even now; and if they appear to us to be verbose and full of platitudes it must be remembered that Verelst was laying the foundations of a system, and was forced to dilate upon what a modern writer may safely take for granted. Mr. Wheeler does not mention, but our readers will not be sorry to know, that Mr. Verelst, after holding the highest offices in days when the pagoda-tree daily quivered to its root under English hands, retired from the service a poor man, but acquired the fortune he well deserved along with the hand of an heiress.

After Verelst's papers no extract in the Bengal section of the work under review is so curious as one from a memorandum submitted, in 1746, by a Colonel James Mill to the Emperor Francis, consort of Maria Theresa, urging him to the conquest of the Lower Provinces. Colonel Mill, says Mr. Wheeler, had been twenty years in India; and his memoir is an appendix to "Bolt's Affairs in Bengal." We would like to know more of the man who, at so early a date, planned a conquest which was only forced upon the Company by stress of circumstances. "It is a miracle," he says, "that no European prince with a maritime power has ever attempted the conquest of Bengal. By a single stroke infinite wealth might be acquired, which would counterbalance the mines of Brazil and Peru. The policy of the Moghuls is bad; their army is worse; they are without a navy. The empire is exposed to perpetual revolts. Their ports and rivers are open to foreigners. The country might be conquered or laid under contribution as easily as the Spaniards overwhelmed the naked Indians of America. A rebel subject, named Aliverdi Khân, has torn away the three provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa from the Moghul empire. He has treasure to the value of thirty millions sterling. His yearly revenue must be at least two millions. The provinces are open to the sea. Three ships with 1500 or 2000 regulars would suffice for the undertaking. The British nation would cooperate for the sake of the plunder and the promotion of their trade. The East India Company should be left alone. No company can keep a secret. Moreover, the English company is so distracted as to be incapable of any firm resolution."

Reading these spirited sentences, and admiring the grasp of his subject displayed by the writer, we cannot enough regret that Mr. Wheeler vouchsafes so little information about him, and wonder whether he had no share in the realization, by his own nation, of his splendid dream. Or is it possible that our author has been deceived by a fabrication of some pamphleteer writing after the event?

The extracts relating to Madras have apparently, as already mentioned, appeared in a former work of Mr. Wheeler's, which is probably in the hands of those interested in the subject. The most interesting are those relating to the internal government and social life of the settlement; in particular the will of a young writer named Davers, dated 1720, and a letter to the Court of Directors dated 14th October 1712, respecting the trade in English woollen cloths.

So far Mr. Wheeler's extracts—by far the most important part of the work. The connecting text is by no means so valuable. It contains little new information, and is written in a jerky, slipshod style, painful to read, and often puzzling to make out the meaning of. To take, as an example, the first sentence in the book:—"The three English Presidencies of Madras, Calcutta, and Bombay were founded in the 17th century, during the reigns of Charles the First, Oliver Cromwell, and Charles the Second." Now, any one reading this and new to the subject would suppose that a Presidency of Madras was first established during the reign of the first-mentioned monarch, one of Calcutta under the Commonwealth, and one at Bombay under the "Merry Monarch," Bombay being consequently the junior Presidency. But Mr. Wheeler must know that there was no such thing as a Presidency of Bombay until 1687, when that of Surat, the oldest permanent establishment of the English nation in India (founded in 1612), was transferred to the island acquired by the English crown as part of the dowry of Katharine of Braganza, and subsequently granted to the Company, to be held "as of the Manor of East Greenwich," for a yearly rent of ten pounds in gold. Our author's references to authorities, too, are amazingly scanty, and his Index illusory—as a help, at least, to the systematic reader.

S.

SÂNTÂL IDEAS OF THE FUTURE.

BY REV. F. T. COLE, TALJHARI.

SOME Santals believe that after death they at once enter another world, while others imagine that the spirit hovers about near the place where it left the body. Others, again, fancy that the spirit is born anew in another person. In proof of this they tell the following story:—

Once a lad of five years old was presented with a bracelet by his mother. While out one day shepherding, he took off this bracelet and hid it in the hollow of a tree. Soon after he got home he fell ill, and died without mentioning what he had done. His spirit entered a woman in the same village, and in the course of a year he was born again When he attained the age of five, he recollected that during a former sojourn in the world he had hidden a bracelet. He mentioned the fact to his mother, and begged her to accompany him to a certain spot. At first she refused, saying it was all nonsense, and that she had never given him a bracelet. However, afterwards, upon his repeated entreaties, she consented to go with him; and, sure enough, upon arriving there, the boy at once found the bracelet where he had deposited it. His former mother, happening to see it, claimed it as having belonged to her dead son, but the boy declared it was his own, and so it was concluded that the boy had been born a second time.

The Sântâls also believe that our spirits very frequently change their abode, entering at will into the bodies of men or of animals. A favourite resort of the departed spirit is in the body of the large red lizard. Cows and buffaloes, dogs and pigs also become abodes of the spirits. Very quarrelsome people are said to be possessed with the spirit of a dog It is supposed by some that the spirit of a man leaves the body in the form of a lizard. In proof of this the following story is told:—

One day a man fell asleep, and becoming very thirsty his spirit left the body in the form of a lizard to obtain water from a pitcher close by. It so happened that just as the lizard entered the pitcher the owner of the water covered it, not knowing what had happened: consequently the spirit could not return to the man's body, and he died. While his sorrowing friends and relations were making preparations for burning the corpse, some one uncovered the pitcher to get water. The lizard immediately escaped, and returned to his abode in the body of the dead man. At once the man arose, to the great astonishment of the by-standers, and asked them why they were weeping. They answered that they thought he was dead, and were preparing to burn his body. The man told them that he had been down a well to get some water to drink, but had found it difficult to get out again, and that he had just returned. The truth now dawned upon their minds that the well was the pitcher of water, and that, on account of its having been covered, the man had not been able to escape, but that as soon as he did escape he recovered.

The people say that if they push wood into a fire with the feet they will have to suffer the penalty of having their feet burned in the next world. And if they see a piece of grass or straw on a man's head they immediately remove it, or they will have to carry large bundles of grass on their heads hereafter.

In the next world there will be nothing but hard work, their principal occupation being to grind dead men's bones day and night in a mortar, using the stalk of the castor-oil plant as a pestle. They will have but one chance of getting a little rest—that is, the men, if they can chew tobacco, can sometimes beg for a few minutes' respite under the excuse of preparing their tobacco. When the taskmaster calls them to return to their work, they say, "Wait a moment, Sir, I have not quite finished preparing my tobacco." Then they make pretence of rubbing it to a powder in the palm of the hand (mixing a pinch of lime with it, to give it pungency) as vigorously as possible, but as soon as the taskmaster turns his back they will again prepare it very slowly. In this way they manage to prolong their rest. But woe to those who cannot chew tobacco or smoke the *hukah!* For this reason every Sântâl makes a point of learning the practice in this world Women who have children can also obtain a little rest, under the plea of feeding them. When told to return to work, they say, "Oh! wait a few minutes longer, Sir, my child is very hungry," while really the child is but nestling in her bosom.

But sad is the lot of poor women who have no family! When a man's *śer* (two lb. weight) is completed—that is, when his allotted time on earth is past—the king of death sends his messengers to convey him to his presence. He employs certain beetles as his spies. The beetle plucks out a hair from the head of his victim, and if it is not white with age he will wet it and roll it in white ashes, and then, showing it to the king, will say, "The owner of this hair is a very old man. Your Highness, is it not time you sent your messengers to fetch him?" The king, not wishing perhaps to call such a one just yet, takes the hair, washes it, and says, "Take the hair back to the owner; he may remain a little longer, his *śer* is not yet completed."

When a Sântâl dies, all his possessions are placed by his bed, and some rupees too, if any are in the house, as it is supposed he will have to buy everything in the next world; and as he will have to provide himself with all kinds of necessaries he must take his weapons also with him, so his bow and arrows are carefully laid by his side.

If any one should enter the next world in a human form the inhabitants of that land would devour him. A child was in great trouble, they say, at losing his mother. Every day he visited the place where her body had been burnt. The Sun (the Supreme Being of the Sântâls), seeing the boy's grief, asked him whether he would like to see his mother again. So he took him up, telling him not to speak or to show himself, or he would be devoured. He placed him in a hole, which he covered up so that the boy could see without being seen. Presently his mother passed by and began to sniff, saying to her companion, "I smell a man, where is he?" The Sun said to her, "You must be mistaken, how can there possibly be a man here?" The woman having left the place, the Sun asked the boy if he had seen his mother, to which he replied, "Yes, please take me away, I have seen quite enough." From that day he never again longed for his mother.

The Sântâls are mortally afraid of a certain class of women, believing that after death the are always on the watch for men. They are supposed to lick their victims to death, filing off the flesh with their rough tongues. When any of these women die, the survivors stick thorns into the soles of their feet, thus rendering them lame and powerless to pursue their victims, as they suppose. All whose bodies are properly burnt and whose bones have been thrown into the river D a m u d â (the Sântâl sacred river) become good spirits, the others become demons. The funeral pyre, which is always placed near water, consists of a large heap of wood, upon which the body is placed; then the eldest son, or the nearest relative, sets fire to the wood, having first placed the torch near the dead man's mouth. If the hand or the foot move during the burning, it is a sure sign that others of the family will soon be called away. To propitiate the king of death, frogs are thrown on to the burning pile, and sometimes small images of clay in the shape of a man are placed beside the corpse. If the body is not consumed quickly, it is pierced with a spear or chopped in pieces with an axe. It is said that misers burn very slowly, but that generous men are quickly consumed. So, to avoid such a disgrace, the body of a rich man is smeared over with *ghi* and oil, to expedite its combustion. After the body is consumed, search is made for the collar-bones. These are washed in turmeric water and deposited in a new earthen jar, and then taken to the Damudâ. When the ceremony of throwing the bones into the river is completed, all the relations assemble at the village of the deceased to offer sacrifices to his memory. Goats and sheep are killed, and a feast is prepared. Several questions are asked of the departed spirit, such as "Are you angry with any of us? If so, please forget it. Did any one injure you in your lifetime? if so, accept these sacrifices and forgive the offender." Then the sacrificer addresses the other spirits in these terms: "We consign the departed to your care, make him one of yourselves. We have now done our part, let us go in peace."

THE LATE F. W. ELLIS'S ESSAYS ON SOUTH-INDIAN LANGUAGES.

To the Editor of the Indian Antiquary.

SIR,—In the *Indian Antiquary*, vol IV. p. 219, you reprinted a letter I communicated to the *Athenæum* on the Tamil MSS. in the India Office Library, in which, among a few remarks introduced incidentally regarding that eminent Orientalist, the late F W. Ellis, of the Madras Civil Service, I stated that he had written essays on the Tamil,

Malayâḷam, Telugu, and probably the Canarese languages, of which the third only—that on Telugu—had been preserved, having been printed by Mr. A. D. Campbell in his *Telugu Grammar*, about 1816, with the author's permission.

I have lately discovered the proof-sheets of the second and third of the above treatises, among some papers brought from Madras, which fell into my hands when examining the books of the College of Fort St. George. Mr. Ellis was the first Principal of the Board of Superintendence of that institution, and printed such papers as he published before his death at the college press. It was among a heap of corrected proofs and manuscript that I discovered these papers when I was a member of the Board.

The essay on the Malayâḷam language seems well worthy of preservation, and I beg therefore to offer it to you for publication in the *Antiquary*. The *Telugu Grammar* is so rarely met with that it is worthy of consideration whether the third essay may not be reprinted also. I therefore submit it likewise for your opinion.

I made many inquiries for the Tamil treatise which doubtless was the first of the series, but I could obtain no tidings of it. Among the *fragmenta disjecta*, however, I found two MS. books filled with rough copy of a *Treatise on Tamiḷ Prosody* by Mr. Ellis, and abounding in extracts from the Southern poets, which were probably connected with the missing essay. These I showed to the late Rev. T. Brotherton, a distinguished Tamiḷ scholar, who stated that he "thought they would be very useful if published. . . . . We have no separate English work," he added, "on Tamiḷ prosody, that I am aware of."

The difficulty will be to find a competent editor. The MS. occupies upwards of 100 pages of foolscap in the rough, and is apparently unfinished.[1]

In addition to the enumeration of Mr. Ellis's writings given at pp. 220-21 of vol. IV., I should specify his paper, "On the discovery of a modern imitation of the Vedas," in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. XIV. pp. 1ff.

WALTER ELLIOT.

DISSERTATION ON THE MALAYĀḶMA LANGUAGE.

BY THE LATE F. W. ELLIS.

The country of Malayâḷam, lying on the west coast of the Indian peninsula, is, according to the *Kêraḷôtpatti*, divided into four *Khaṇḍam* or provinces. The most northern, commencing at Gôkarnam and extending southward to Perumbuḷa, near Mangalore, is called Tuḷu-râjyam, 'the kingdom of Tulu': from Perumbuḷa to Pudupaṭṭanam, near Nîlêśvaram, the country is called Kûpa-râjyam; thence to Kannêrri, near Kollam (Quilon), lies Kêraḷa-râjyam; and thence to Kanyâkumâri (Cape Comorin) Mûshika-râjyam. The Malayâḷa, or more properly the Malayâḷma, is at present the language of the two last provinces. It is spoken likewise in Kûpam, but in this province and in Tuḷu, which constitute the district on which, in recent times, the name of Kanara has been imposed, the Tuḷu, a distinct dialect, though of the same derivation as the Malayâḷma, prevails among the aborigines, and a variety of tongues among the Haiga, Kôṅkaṇa, Kannaḍa, Telugu, and other tribes who have long colonized the country. There is a certain variation in dialect between the language of Kêraḷam and Mûshikam, and, indeed, in the several *nâḍus* into which they are divided, but none of sufficient importance to require particular notice: in the latter province affairs of state are conducted in the Tamiḷ language, which is there, consequently, much more prevalent than in the former.

The Malayâḷma is, like the Kŏḍun-Tamiḷ, an immediate dialect of the Śĕn-Tamiḷ: it differs from the parent language generally in the same manner as the Kŏḍun; it differs from the Kŏḍun in pronunciation and idiom, but more especially in retaining terms and forms of the Śĕn-Tamiḷ which in the former are obsolete. But its most material variation from its cognate dialects is that, though deriving from a language superfluously abounding in verbal forms, its verbs are entirely devoid of personal terminations, the person being always indicated by the pronoun. It is this peculiarity which chiefly constitutes the Malayâḷma a distinct tongue, and distinguishes it in a peculiar manner from all other dialects of Tamiḷ origination. (*See Note A*, p. 287.)

The Malayâḷma is written in three different characters, namely the Âryam, the Koḷĕḷuttu, and the Vaṭṭĕḷuttu, or, as it is called in the more southern districts, Malayâḷa Tamiḷ. The Âryam, a variation of the Grantham, has the same number of letters as the Nâgarî, and is derived intermediately from the Tamiḷ alphabet: in this character all books, whether Sanskṛit or Malayâḷma, are written, correspondence conducted, and business transacted. It is considerably varied in the form and mode of writing in different parts of the country: to the south of Calicut it is written square and distinct, and then, with the exception of a few characters, approaches nearer to the Grantham: as written to the north of Caliçut, however, its variation from its primitive

[1] I shall be happy to place these papers at the disposal of any Tamil scholar who will undertake to edit and publish them within a given time.

form is very considerable; the angles are rounded, and the vowel signs and compound consonants more irregularly connected, so that a person acquainted with Grantham, and consequently able to read the square Âryam character, can scarcely decipher the round hand. As the Grantham was originally formed for writing the Sanskrit only, all letters purely Tamil, and consequently not found in the Nâgari, were rejected, but these have been necessarily restored in the Âryam, and retain nearly their proper Tamil form: these letters are *R*, *L*, and *N* only used as a final, or in connection with *r*. Separate forms, which do not exist in the Grantham, have also been devised for the finals *R*, *L*, and *L*, on account of their frequent occurrence.[1]

The Kôlĕluttu is, as its name imports, the writing of the palace, *kôlu* in Tamil being equivalent to the Hindustâni term *darbâr*; in this character all grants, patents, decrees, and, in general, all papers that can be considered records of Government are drawn up. While Kêralam was independent these papers were in the Malayâlma; but in Mûshikam, the country at present under the dominion of the Travankor Government, Tamil is, and always has been, used for this purpose. The Vaṭṭĕluttu, the clipped or abbreviated letter, is the writing of the forum; conveyances, bonds, legal instruments, and, generally, all transactions between man and man, necessary to be recorded, are written in this character. The two characters have each the same number of letters as the Tamil alphabet; the forms of the letters are nearly the same in both, and are either variations, all angles being rounded, or, as the name of the latter imports, abbreviations of the Tamil, but they differ from each other and from the Tamil very materially in the mode of joining the signs of the vowels to the consonants, and in the manner of writing.[2] (*Note B*, p. 287.)

To exhibit with precision the difference between the Malayâlma and the Sĕn and Kŏdun Tamil, I shall make the following comparisons:—*Of terms derived in the two modern dialects from the pure or ancient Tamil; Of words derived from the Sanskrit; Of the declension of the noun; Of the conjugation of the verb; Of idiom.* This arrangement will comprehend every variation, whether in the pronunciation or forms of words, in the idiom, or in the use of terms by those which are obsolete in one dialect being retained in the other.

Comparison of terms in the two dialects derived from pure Tamil.

Like the other dialects of Southern India, the terms of the Malayâlma might be arranged under the three principal classes of *Tatsamam*, pure Sanskrit terms, *Tadbhavam*, Sanskrit derivatives, and *Dêsyam*, native terms, and the latter might be again subdivided into *Tamil Tatsamam*, pure *Tamil*, and *Tamil Tadbhavam*, Tamil derivatives. In the *Dissertation on the Telugu*, the *Tadbhavam* terms of that language are distributed into classes according as they are derived direct or through the medium of the several Prâkrits; of the latter there are few, if any, in Malayâlma, and the former do not abound. Those which occur may be more properly referred to the Tamil than the Malayâlma; thus *simhah*, the sign Leo, becomes in Tamil, by the necessary substitution of *ŋ* for *h*,—the latter not being found in the language,—*singam*, and in Malayâlma *siṅgam* and *chiṅgam*; thus, also, *vrisha*

[1] The Tamil character, though perfectly competent to the expression of the language to which it belongs, is incapable of representing with precision the sounds and combinations of sound of the Sanskrit. To remedy this defect, the Brâhmans, on their establishment in Southern India, had but two methods at their option—to introduce the Nâgari, if it then existed, or to invent a new character. They preferred the latter. (*An error.*) They analyzed the Tamil characters, and supplied the symbols wanting by recombining the lines and curves of which they were formed. The alphabet thus constructed they called Grantham, which, derived from *grath*, 'close-shut,' among other significations means 'a collection of words, a writing,' and is synonymous also with the term *śâstram*, 'a science,' or 'a treatise on any science.' The Sanskrit language is by Tamil writers, whether Brâhmans or Śûdras, always called *vada mŏli*, 'the northern speech,' but it is universally known by its appropriate epithets Sanskrit and Girvâna; if, however, a Tamil Brâhman is asked in what language a Sanskrit book is written, his answer will invariably be 'in the Grantham,' alluding to the character, and conceiving that the inevitable deduction must be that the language is Sanskrit. Hence the mistake of Europeans who speak of the Grantham language and the *Grandonici lingua*, and among others of Ziegenbalg, who in general is accurate, when he says in a letter to La Croze, "Brammhanum lingua propria nomen est Grantham, neque a Brammhanibus ipsis unquam alitor vocatur." In the dissertation prefixed to his Sanskrit grammar, entitled *Siddhârâpam*, p. 7, Paulinus à St. Bartholomæo says, "Ultimum denique alphabetum est Samscrudamicum Malabaricum nostram anno 1772 Romæ typis St. Congregationis impressum. Hoc obtinet in Regio Canara, Carnate, Concam, Maypoor, Madure, Tanjaur, in tota ora Malabarica et Coromandelica, et hoc soli linguæ sacræ Samscrudamicæ proprium ibidem est, ac in libris Brahminicis reperitur." This Paulinus asserts of the Âryam character of Malayâlam, which obtains only in Kanara and Malabar; he evidently confounds it with the Grantham, from which it is indeed derived, but from which it materially differs. From the Grantham may also be deduced the Singalese and Burma alphabets; while the origin of the Kôlĕluttu, Vaṭṭĕluttu, and the characters of Java and Sumatra, all nearly connected, is referable immediately to the Tamil.

[2] I am not aware that any European writer has ever given the Kôlĕluttu or Vaṭṭĕluttu alphabets: Anquetil Duperron notices them both, but with so little intelligence that, though he gives a copy of the ancient plates containing the privileges granted to the Jews, which is written in the Vaṭṭĕluttu, he does not recognize the character, and affirms that he could procure no person capable of deciphering it. That Duperron might know the names of these alphabets, without being at all acquainted with the characters themselves, is very probable, but it is somewhat surprising that he should have found any difficulty in procuring the explanation of a document written in a character so generally known. A transcript of a letter in the Vaṭṭĕluttu taken from the preface to Van Rheede's *Hortus Malabaricus* is engraved in the *Alphabetum Grandonico-Malabaricum*, where it is ridiculously called "infimum scribendi genus," because not applicable to writing the Sanskrit, but no explanation of the character is given. *Vidé* p. 12. [See *Ind. Ant.* vol. I. p. 229.]

bhaḥ, by the usual Tamiḷ substitutions of *i* for *ri* and *ś* for *sh*, becomes *iḍabam*, and in Malayâḷma *iḍavam*. In these instances, however, and in most others of a similar nature, the proper *Tatsamam* term may be optionally used for the derivative. (*Note C*, p. 287.)

The changes by which the *Deśyam* terms of the Malayâḷma are distinguished from those of pure Tamiḷ, though they are mostly such as indicate a lapse from primitive forms, yet, being regular in their occurrence, may be regarded as dialectic differences rather than corruptions. The principal of these changes are as follows:—

The *u* of the pure Tamiḷ in nouns is always converted to *u* (ഉ), though this vowel never occurs as the final of any noun, either in Śĕn or Kŏḍun Tamiḷ; the ഉ so substituted, however, is subject to the rules which govern the *u* in the parent language, and is liable to elision, consequently, before all vowels: *a* and *á* in the nominative, and *e* in the oblique cases, is substituted for the final *ei*; *sh* and *s*, as the mute of the second series is pronounced in pure Tamiḷ, in Malayâḷma becomes *ch*: when the nasal of the third series is followed by the mute of the same series, the compound thence arising, *nda*, is changed into *nna* if preceded by a short vowel, and *ṇa* if by a long one; so likewise the similar compound *aṇda* becomes *ṇna* and *ṇa*: the double mute of the fourth *tt* is often converted to *chcha*; the compound formed by the consonant and nasal of this series, *nda*, sometimes becomes *nna*, sometimes *ñja*, and for the latter the double nasal *ññ* is frequently substituted, as is the double nasal of the first *ṅṅa* for the compound *ṅ-ga*: *la* sometimes becomes *ḷa*.[3]

These observations are exemplified by the following terms:—

Pure Tamiḷ.	*Kŏḍun Tamiḷ.*	*Ma. Tamiḷ.*	*English.*
Vil	Villu	Villu	*a bow.*
Malei	Malei	Malâ	*a hill.*
Kaḷutei	Kaḷutci	Kaḷuta	*the neck.*
Oñdu	Onnu	Onnu	*one.*
Iraṇḍu	Raṇḍu	Raṇḍa	*two.*
Mûṇḍu	Mûnu	Mûnnu	*three.*
Attan	——	Achchan	*father.*
Maṛaṇḍa	Maṛanda	Maṛanna	*forgotten.*
Irundu	Irundu	Irunnu	*being.*
Aindu	Añju	Añju	*five.*
Kareiṇḍa	Kareiñja	Hareinnya	*dissolved*
Nâṇ-gaḷ	Nângaḷ	Nâṇnal	*we.*
Pugaḷ	Pugaṭśi	Pugaḷcha	*praise.*
Kêḷkkudal'	Kêḷkiradu	Kêḷkuna	*to hear.*

[3] Notwithstanding the Malayâḷma alphabet has, like the Nâgarî, five mutes in the five first series, the aspirates are never used except in Saṅskṛit words, and the third in each —*g*, *d*, &c.—but seldom; the first mute in each series, therefore, as in Śĕn and Kŏḍun Tamiḷ, has two sounds,

NOTE.—The peculiar letter *ḷ* [or *z'h*'] is generally pronounced in the districts to the south of the Coleroon *l*: this conversion in Malayâḷma is very arbitrary: for example, they say *kîl*, 'below,' but, in a compound form, *kîl âṇḍil*, 'in the last year.' The occurrence of this letter is generally the cause of some variation in all the Tamiḷ dialects, an idea of which may be given by a single etymology: *pŏḷudu* [pron. *pŏz'hudu*] in pure Tamiḷ signifies 'time,' and the prefixing to this term of the demonstrative particles *i*, 'this,' *a*, 'that,' and *e*, 'what,' forms the temporal adverbs *ippŏḷudu*, 'now.' *appŏḷudu*, 'then,' and *ĕppŏḷudu*, 'when,' according to the Southern pronunciation *ippŏḷudu*, &c.; in Kŏḍun Tamiḷ these words become respectively *ippŏ*, *appŏ*, and *ĕppŏ*, and in the Malayâḷma *ippŏl*, *appŏl*, and *ĕppŏl*.

Comparison of terms in the three dialects derived from the Saṅskṛit.

The Malayâḷma being written in a character accommodated to the expression of the Saṅskṛit, the sounds of *tatsamam* terms are more accurately represented by it than they can be by the Tamiḷ alphabet. In the mouth of Brâhmans of either tongue the pronunciation of words of Saṅskṛit origin is equally correct; but, as the written must always influence the spoken language, the Śûdras of Malayâḷam pronounce these with greater propriety than those of the Tamiḷ countries, as the following terms will show:—

Pure Tamiḷ.	*Kŏḍun Tamiḷ.*	*Ma. Tamiḷ.*	*English.*
Śamudiram	Śamudiram	Samudram	*the sea.*
Virrukkam	Viruśśam	Vṛiksham	*a tree.*
Mirugum	Mirugam	Mṛigam	*a beast.*
Ágâyam	Âgâsam	Âkâśam	*the ether.*
Siṅgam	Singam	Simham	*a lion.*
Irâśśiyam	Râśśiyam	Râjyam	*a kingdom.*
Manudan	Manushan	Manushan	*a man.*
Puvi	Bûmi	Bhûmi	*the earth.*
Śirtidal	Śishṭtikkiradu	Śrishtikkunnu	*to create.*

Of the Declension of the Noun.

In comparing the declension of the noun I shall observe the grammatical arrangement of the Śĕn Tamiḷ: both this and the Kŏḍun Tamiḷ have a variety of forms to the several cases, from which I shall select such as serve to show their connection with the Malayâḷma. There are some peculiarities in the declension of nouns in the high language, which it will be necessary to explain to account for this variety, and to show in what the modern dialects differ in this part of grammar from their

being pronounced without the laryngeal compressure when initial, and with it when medial and final

[4] The Tamiḷ *l* is generally but not uniformly represented by Mr. Ellis as *z'h*, but as *l* is its usual representation, that symbol is substituted throughout the paper.—ED.

parent. The Śĕn Tamiḷ has two primary forms, the nominative and the oblique, the latter derived from the former variously according to the termination: the oblique form has its appropriate grammatical uses in the superior dialect, but in Kŏḍun Tamiḷ it serves only as a genitive; in both, however, the terminations of the cases are added either to the nominative or oblique form, in the former at pleasure, in the latter under certain restrictions. The term I have selected for the following comparison has its nominative form *Vil*, its oblique form *Villin*, and the variations of the fifth or genitive case in Śĕn Tamiḷ are—1st *Villudu*, 2nd *Villâḍa*, 3rd *Villanadu*, 4th *Villinidu*, before words in the singular number; 1st *Villa*, 2nd *Villina*, before the plural number. The variations in Kŏḍun Tamiḷ are—1st *Villu*, 2nd *Villuḍaya*, 3rd *Villinaḷaya*, without discrimination before singular and plural. The Malayâḷma takes its genitive from the third form of the Śĕn Tamiḷ, expunging the penult *a*, converting the final *u*, as usual to *u*, and, according to the rules of Tamiḷ etymology, substituting *ṛ* with the sound of *ḍ* for that letter after a final *n*; *villinadu* thus becomes *villiṉṟĕ*, pronounced *villiṉḍĕ*. The variations of the other cases from their prototype, where they exist might be similarly traced, but they are too minute to render this necessary.

	Śĕn Tamiḷ.	*Kŏḍun Tamiḷ.*	*Ma. Tamiḷ.*	*English.*
N. S.	Vil. Pl. Villugaḷ	Villu-Villugaḷ	Villu-Villukaḷ	*a bow, bows.*
A.	Villanei - gaḷei	Villei - gaḷei	Villino - kaḷe	*a bow.*
1.Ab.	Villinâl - gaḷâl	Vilâl - gaḷâl	Villinâl - kaḷâl	*by a bow.*
	Villinôḍu - gaḷoḍu	Villoḍu - gaḷôdu	Villinoḍa - kaḷôda	*with a bow.*
D.	Villukku - gaḷku	Vilukku - gaḷukku	Villina - kaḷukka	*to a bow.*
2.Ab.	Villil - gaḷil	*wanting*	*wanting*	*from a bow.*
G.	Villinadu - gaḷadu	Villin - gaḷudeiya	Villinḍa - kaḷudo	*in a bow.*
3.Ab.	Villukkan - gaḷkan	Villil - gaḷil	Villil - kaḷil	*of a bow.*

The *k*, though written, has in pronunciation, as is usually the case in Malayâḷma, the sound of *g*.

The fifth case or second ablative of the Śĕn Tamiḷ is supplied in the Kŏḍun and Malayâḷma by particles: the more general use of this case in the high language is to indicate motion from a place, and to compare the qualities of things, for which in English the prepositions *from* and *than* are employed, and in the latter sense the causal form is occasionally used in both dialects, though it is more generally expressed by the verbal form *kâṭṭlum*, meaning 'though shown,' preceded by an accusative; as, Kŏḍun, *Idai kâṭṭilum adu nalludu*; Malayâḷma, *Ida kâṭṭilum ada nalla*, literally, 'though this be shown that is good.' The first meaning of this case is expressed in Kŏḍun and Malayâḷa Tamiḷ respectively by the gerunds *niṇḍu-ninnu*, 'standing,' after the seventh case.

The pronouns in each dialect are declined nearly as the nouns: the Śĕn Tamiḷ, as in the nouns, has one or more oblique forms to which the causal terminations are added. The following comparison will show the variations of the three dialects:—

	Śĕn Tamiḷ.		Kŏḍun Tamiḷ.		Malayâḷma.		
	Sing.	*Plu.*	*Sing.*	*Plu.*	*Sing.*	*Plu.*	
Nom.	Nân, Nâm	Nân-gal	Nân , Nâm	Nân-gaḷ	Ñân , Nâm	Ñaṅṅaḷ	*I, we.*
Obl. form	Ĕn, Ĕm	Nam	Ĕn-Nam.				
Ac.	Ennei, Ĕmmei	Nammei	Ĕnnei-	Ĕng-gaḷe	Ĕnne Namme	Naṅṅaḷe	*me, we.*
Nom.	Nî, Nîr	Nîn-gaḷ	Nîy - Nîr	Nin-gaḷ	Nî	Ninnal	*thou, ye.*
Obl.	Un, Nin	Um	Un - Um.				
Ac.	Unnei Ninnei.	Ummei	Unnei-Ummei	Uṅ-gaḷei	Ninne Niye-	Niṅṅaḷe	*thee, you.*
Nom.	Tân, Tâm	Tâṅ-gaḷ	Tân , Tâm	Tân-gal	Tân,	Taṅṅal	*he, they.*
Obl.	Tan, Tam		Tan , Tam.				
Ac.	Tannei, Tammei		Tannei, Tammei	Taṅ-gaḷei	Tanne	Taṅṅaḷe	*him, them.*

Tân, which in High Tamiḷ is equivalent to the Latin *ipse* or the English 'himself,' is so used also in Kŏḍun Tamiḷ; but more generally in that dialect the plural number of this pronoun, and both the singular and plural in Malayâḷma,[5] usurps the place of the second person singular in addressing those to whom the speaker owes respect or reverence. The demonstratives M. *avan*, F. *aval*, N. *adu* 'that man,' 'that woman,' 'that thing;' *ivan, iva, idu*. 'this man,' &c.; *evan, eval, edu*, 'which men,' &c.;

[5] The Latin and Śĕn Tamil reject with the sternest rigidity the discrimination of persons by adulatory phrases; in all the modern dialects of these languages such phrases abound. It is curious to trace a like aberration of the human mind, through correspondent periods, in countries so distant.

and the general interrogative *ár*, 'who? which?' with the usual changes, are common to the three dialects. The demonstrative letters *a*, 'that,' *i*, this,' *e*, 'what? which?' when they precede a consonant, are sometimes, as in Tamiḷ, short and double the following consonant, and sometimes long: when they precede a vowel they are always long, as in Telugu, and require the letter *y* to be inserted before the vowel.

Comparative Conjugation of Verbs.

The several forms of the verb in pure Tamiḷ are derived from the crude root by a method extremely artificial, and, as respects the permutation of letters, refined to the last degree of nicety; this artifice and this minuteness pervade and govern the variation of the verb in the Kŏḍun and Malayâḷma dialects, though the rules which direct them, and the reason on which they proceed, can be learned only from the grammarians of the Śŏn Tamiḷ. Hence the only distinctions in the verbal systems of the three dialects are, as in the noun, that the Kŏḍun Tamiḷ selects one from the many personal terminations, and that the Malayâḷma rejects them altogether. The pure Tamiḷ has three indefinite tenses for the three times formed from the root; the definite tenses and, to use an expression of European grammar, the moods of the verb, except the imperative, infinitive, and subjunctive, are supplied by auxiliaries; the third person of each tense is declined through the three genders; each tense has an indeclinable participle, which becomes declinable by affixing the first demonstrative pronoun in the three genders; and a gerund of most extensive use serves for all times, and for every person, until the suspended sense is closed at the close of the sentence by the conjugated verb in its proper form: this is the idiom of the verb in every dialect of the Tamiḷ. The Malayâḷma from this extensive scheme selects, for its present and future the third persons neuter of those tenses; the former with slight change, the latter without alteration; and the gerund, with or without alteration, for its past. The gerund is either the same as the past tense, or another form is borrowed from the many it assumes in the parent language; the present and past participles are retained, the future being supplied, as is frequently the case in Kŏḍun Tamiḷ, by a compound.

In Tamiḷ there are three classes or conjugations of verbs, principally distinguished by the variation of the gerund and past tense. The rules for each, as far as connected with the formation of the Malayâḷma, I shall explain. In the first class the gerund is formed simply by the duplication of the consonant of the final syllable, which is always either *gu*, *ḍu*, or *ṟu* preceded by a short syllable this is the root, which serves for the imperative; in the present tense it is followed by a single *g*, and the third person future neuter is formed from it by the addition of *um*, the preceding *u* being lost. In the second class the gerund is formed by the elision of the *u*, with which the root invariably ends, and the substitution of *i* the present and future forms are the same as in the former class, unless the imperative ends in double *k*, in which case it is double also in the present. The third class requires *du* to be added to the root to form the gerund, but it is duplicated, or changed to *ndu*, *ṉḍu* or *ṉḍu* (*ṉṟu*), under the general rules for permutation, according to the letter in which the root ends: when the *d* is duplicated in the gerund, or when the root has a final *a*, the present requires a double *k*, and the third person future is formed by adding *kkum* to the root; in all other cases the characteristic letter of the present is a single *g*, and the future is formed by *um*.

The application of these rules to the two dialects of the Tamiḷ and the Malayâḷma is exemplified and explained in the following synopsis:—

Derivation of the Malayâḷma Present.

		Śĕn Tamiḷ.	Kŏḍun Tamiḷ.	Malayâḷma.	
Common Roots.			*First Class.*		
	Pugu, *enter*	*Person Neuter, Present Tense.*	Puguginṟadu—Pûgudu	*Present Tense.*	Pûgunnu
	Paḍu, *suffer*		Paḍuginṟadu—Paḍudu		Paḍunnu
	Pĕru, *obtain*		Pĕruginṟadu—Pĕrudu		Pĕṟunnu
			Second Class.		
	Kaṭṭu *tie*		Kattuginṟadu—Kattudu		Kaṭṭukunnu
	Nikku, *remove*		Nikkinṟadu—Nikkudu		Nikkunnu
			Third Class.		
	Śĕy, *do*		Śĕyginṟadu—Śĕyudu		Chĕyyunnu
	Kŏḍu, *give*		Kŏḍukkinṟaḍu—Kŏḍukkudu		Kŏḍukkunnu
	Kadi, *bite*		Kaḍikkinṟadu—Kaḍikkudu		Kaḍikkunnu
	Aṟi, *know*		Aṟiginṟadu—Aṟiyudu		Aṟiyunnu
	Kŏḷ, *take*		Kŏḷḷuginṟadu—Kŏḷḷudu		Kŏḷḷunnu
	Nil, *stand*		Niṟkinṟadu—Niṟkudu		Niṟkunnu

I, thou, she, it, they, we, enter, suffer, obtain, &c.

Derivation of the Past.

Gerund.	Śĕn and Kŏḍun Tamiḷ.	Past Tense.	Malayâḷma.	
	First Class.			
Entering	Pukku		Pukku	*I,*
Suffering	Paṭṭu		Paṭṭu	*thou,*
Obtaining	Pĕṭṭu		Pĕṭṭu	*he, &c.*
	Second Class.			*entered,*
Tying	Kaṭṭi		Katti	*suffered*
Removing	Nĭkki		Nĭkki	*removed*
	Third Class.			
Doing	Śĕydu		Chĕydu	
Giving	Kŏḍuttu		Kŏḍuttu	
Biting	Kaḍittu and in K.T. Kaḍiśśu		Kaḍiccu	
Knowing	Arindu		Aṛiñĭyu	
Taking	Kŏṇḍu		Kŏṇḍu	
Standing	Niṇḍu		Ninnu	

Derivation of the Past.

The Third Person Neuter of the Future and the Future Participle.	Śĕn and Kŏḍun Tamiḷ.	Future Tense.	Malayâḷma.	
	First Class.			
It will enter.	Pugum, K.T. Pûgum		Pûgum	*I, thou,*
It will suffer.	Paḍum		Paḍum	*he, &c.*
It will obtain.	Pĕṛum		Pĕṛum	*will*
	Second Class.			*enter,*
It will tie.	Kaṭṭum		Kaṭṭum	*suffer,*
It will remove.	Nĭkkum		Nĭkkum	*obtain, &c.*
	Third Class.			
It will do.	Śĕyum		Chĕyum	
It will give.	Kŏḍukkum		Kŏḍukkum	
It will bite.	Kaḍikkum		Kaḍikkum	
It will know.	Aṛiyum		Aṛiyum	
It will take.	Kŏḷḷum		Kŏḷḷum	
It will stand.	Niṛkum, K.T. Nikkum		Nilkkum	

In the present tense the Malayâḷma differs from the Kŏḍun Tamiḷ in the final syllable only, *nnu* being substituted for *du;* the present participle is formed by changing the final *u* to *a*, as *nikkunna*, 'removing,' &c.; this in Śĕn and Kŏḍun Tamiḷ respectively is *nikkiṇḍa, nikkra.* In forming the past tense the Malayâḷma makes no alteration in the two first classes, the third of the third class assumes the colloquial form of Kŏḍun Tamiḷ, the fourth is corrupted by an easy permutation of consonants, and the last is formed by the usual change of *d* into *n:* the verbs which take these corrupted forms constitute the greater number in the language. It will be observed that the various terminations of the gerund, which in the parent language depends on the primitive form, or artificial preparation of the root, are invariably followed in the Malayâḷma: this agreement is constant even in anomalies. In the future tense of the Malayâḷma there is no alteration.

The variation between the two dialects, produced by the default of the Malayâḷma in personal terminations, will appear from the comparison of the past tenses of the verb *nikkudal*, or *nikkunnu* 'to remove.'

Ś. & K. Tamiḷ.	Malayâḷma.	English.
Nikkinêṉ	Ñân nikki	*I removed.*
Nikkinây	Nî nikki	*thou removedst*
Nikkinân	Avan nikki	*he removed.*
Nikkinâḷ	Avaḷ nikki	*she removed.*
Nikkiṛṛu	Adu nikki	*it removed.*

As simplicity would appear to indicate originality, the defect of the Malayâḷma verb in personal terminations, to cursory consideration, would seem to declare this to be the parent of the Tamil dialects: the superior richness of the Śĕn Tamiḷ in tenses, in the variety of idiom, and in the artifice of language, arising possibly from superior cultivation, affords no refutation of this notion; for cultivation will soon exalt a subordinate dialect above its neglected parent. But analogy sufficiently demonstrates that such has not been the general progress of human speech, and there is no reason to believe that the Tamiḷ dialects constitute an exception; as far as history can ascend, language will ever be found more artificial,

more fertile in terminations, more abounding in inflections, and more copious in terms, in proportion to its antiquity; and during the last fifteen hundred years every progressive change in language, either from desuetude or intermixture, in Asia as well as in Europe, has invariably tended to reduce this exuberance. Throughout every dialect, from the confines of China to the shores of the Atlantic, the ancient structure of language has been gradually dissolved; the cases of nouns have either been reduced or entirely obliterated by the substitution of propositions; the many moods and tenses of the primitive languages have disappeared, and the various incidents of action are now expressed by a few terminations and a multitude of auxiliaries; and the desire to vary the recurring monotony of a modern sentence compels the employment of a cumbrous circumlocution, instead of permitting the more elegant recourse to correlative terms. The perfection of the Śĕn Tamiḷ, therefore, not the defects of the Malayâḷma, indicates the parent of the dialects of Southern India. This deduction is confirmed by the fact that in the higher style of composition the Malayâḷma still uses, though sparingly, the personal terminations of the original language: the extracts I shall hereafter make will afford many instances of this, and the following short example from the invocation to the *Rămâyaṇa* will, therefore, for the present be sufficient:—

Vishṇu tan mâyâguṇacharittram ĕllâm kăṇḍu
Kṛishṇan âm purâṇakarttâvine vanni chŏnnĕn,

"I have related the whole of the wonderful history of Vishṇu, reverencing Kṛishṇan, the ancient lord."

Vanni chŏnnĕn, literally 'I have told reverencing;' *śŏnnĕn* is in the Kŏḍun Tamiḷ the form of the first person past of the verb *śŏlludal*, 'to tell;' in colloquial Malayâḷma it would be *ñân chŏlli*.

Comparison of Idioms.

All that belongs to the comparison of the idiom of cognate dialects may be included in the examination of the construction of sentences and the use of terms. The language of verse in the Malayâḷma dialect differs much less in idiom from the pure Tamiḷ than the language of prose; the rules of prosody are the same, and there is sometimes so near a coincidence that the Malayâḷma will become pure Tamiḷ by the change of a few letters; but the reverse does not obtain, for no verse of pure Tamiḷ could be made Malayâḷma without an entire change of its terms and structure.

This I shall presently exemplify, but first give the following specimens of Malayâḷma prose, distinguishing the Sanskrit words by a variation of type, and adding such remarks as may tend to elucidate the idiomatic difference of the two dialects.

Extract from the Kêrâlôtpatti.

Śrî Parasurâman Kêralattinkal Brâhmaṇare uṇḍâkki—paladikkumum Brâhmaṇare kŏṇḍu vannu Kêrâḷattinkal vĕchchu—adinṟe śêsham avar ârum uṟachch' irunna illa—avar ŏkkŏ taṉṟe taṉṟe dikkil tâmŭ pôykalaññu—adinṟe hêtu Kêralattil sarpaṅgaḷ vannu nîṇṭâde pôy—avarude piḍa kŏṇḍu ârkkum uṟappichcha nîlpân vaśam illa—adin e śêsham Śrî Parasurâman nirûpichchu uttarabhûmiṅkalninna Âryya Brâhmaṇare kŏṇḍu pônnu vĕchchu—Âryya Brâhmanare nâḷâ Âhichhatram âkunna dikkinna purâpaṭṭa Syamanta pancakam âkunna kshêtrattinkal irunnu—â kshêtrattinna gurukshêtram ĕnna pêr uṇḍu

"Śrî Parasurâman caused Brâhmans to be in Kêraḷam; he brought Brâhmans from various quarters and placed them in Kêralam; after that they were all without confidence: all of them returned, therefore, each of his own accord, to his own quarter. The cause of this was that serpents came into Kêralam and remained without removing; from the distress they occasioned it was not possible to cause any (of the Brâhmans) to have confidence or to stay. After that, Śrî Parasurâmân, having formed his determination, carried Âryа Brâhmaṇs from the northern land and placed them here. The Âryа Brâhmaṇs came first from Âhichhatram and remained in the Kshêtram Syamantapanchakam; that Kshêtram is called, therefore, the principal Kshêtram."

This passage, broken into short sentences and unconnected by any of the usual artifices of language, exhibits the most material difference between the construction of the Malayâḷma and pure Tamiḷ; this arises from the former having no connectives to supply the want of the indefinite gerund, which it uses for the past tense—an imperfection which prevents the continued flow of the sense, as in pure Tamil, to the natural period of the sentence. The past tense in Malayâḷma sometimes assumes its primitive functions and is used as a gerund, though this cannot always be done without confusion: there are several instances of this in this example, as *konduvannu* and *nirâppichchu*, which, from the context, must signify 'having brought' and 'having formed his determination,' instead of 'he brought' and 'he formed his resolution,' which are their meanings when used as tenses.

The most remarkable difference in the two dialects in the use of terms is in the application of the gerund *uṟachchu*, as used in the Malayâḷma: the neuter form *uṟeidal* in pure Tamiḷ means 'to thicken, to become firm,' and is generally restricted to the thickening or curdling of milk; in the active form, *uṟeittal*, it almost entirely loses its radical meaning in the Kŏḍun Tamiḷ, except in the compound *uṟeittukŏḷḷudal*, when it signifies 'to act firmly: to

have confidence.' In the foregoing extract this word occurs twice, once in the active form, *uṛaccu*, and once in the causal, *uṛappiccu*, and in both cases retains the radical signification, to convey which in Malayâḷma it is not necessary that it should appear in a compound form.[6]

To exemplify further the differences here noticed, and to enable the Tamiḷ or Malayâḷma scholar to compare the two dialects, I add another extract from the *Kêraḷôtpatti*, with an interlined translation into Tamiḷ. The figures refer to the variation of the two languages noticed in the remarks.

Mal. Śrîmân Śaṅkarâchâriyuḍê charitram churukki yĕḻudi yirikkunnu. Âyada: Kêraḷa khaṇḍattiṅkal
Tam. *Śrîmân Śaṅkarâchâriyuḍaiya sarittiram surukk' ĕḻudi yirukkinṛadu. Ad'ayadu: Kêraḷa kaṇḍattil*
Âlavâykka kiḻakka Kâḷadi yĕnna dêśattil Kaipaḷḷi yĕnna [1]taravâḍâya [2]illattil kaliyugam
Âlavâyukku kiḻakke Kâḷadi yĕnṛa dêsattil Kaipalli yĕnṛa piranda vidatti' âṇḍrattil kaliyugam
mûvâyirattaṉṉûṟṟ' ŏṉṉâmadil [3]chiṅguṇâyaṟil śrâvaṇanakshatrattiṅkal avadarichcha, muppatt' ĕṭṭa
mûvâyiratt' ainûtt' ond' âyadil âvaṇi masattil tiruvoṇanaṭsattirattil avadarittu, muppatt' ĕṭṭu
[4]vayasiṉagam smârtta matatte pramâṇichchu, dikka[5]vijayam [5]kaḻichchu tiriyê keraḷattiṅkal śrîśiva-
vayasinulle smârtta madattei pramâṇittu, tikkavijayam kŏṇḍu tirumba keraḷattil tiruśiva-
pêrûril mahâdevaṉṟê kshetra muṉbil irikkunna maṇḍabatiṅkal ninna [6]tîpatta [7]kaivalya
pêrâril mahâdevanadu kshetra munbil irukkinṛa maṇḍabattil niṉṛu dêvigamâṇḍa mŏtsa
padavikk' ĕḻuṇṇ' [8]aḻuṅgayum cheydu. appôḻ tiruvayasa muppatt' ĕṭṭ' atre yâgunnu. ĕṇṇada [9]kŏṇḍu
padavikk' ĕḻund' aḍuttâr. appoḻudu tiruvayasu muppatt' ĕṭṭumatram âguda. ĕṇḍaḍiṅḍl
ikkeraḷarâjyam nâḷa khaṇḍattilum brahmakshatriyavaisya śûdra nâḷu varṇṇatiṉṉum idil [10]kuraññu
ikkeraḷarajyam nâḷu kaṇḍattilum piṛama sattiriya vaisiya śûdra nâḷu varṇattilum idil taḻṇda
kîḻ [11]parishagalkkum [12]iṉṉaṉê sakala prajagaḷkkum jaga guru nâthanây irikkunna Śrîmân Śaṅkarâchâri
kîḻ kulaṅgaḷuk-kum sagaḷa prajagaḷukkum jaga guru nâdanây irukkinṛa Śrîmân Śaṅkarâchâri
kalpichch' irikkunna âchâravuṁ anâchâravuṁ aṟiññu naḍakkuṇavarkk' allâde môksham [13]lâbhikka ill'
kalpitt' irukkinṛa âchâramum anâchâramum aṛindu naḍakkiṅṛavarkk' allâde mŏtsam adeiyavillei
ĕṉṉ' [14]atre niśchayam.
yĕnbadu tâne nissayam.

A summary of the history of the prosperous Śaṅkarâchârya.

"It is in this wise. He became incarnate in the province of Kêraḷam, in the Dêśam called Kâḷadi, to the south of Âlvây, in the Illam of the place of his birth, called Kaipalle, in the 3501st year of the Kaliyugam (A.D. 400—*too early*), in the month of August, and under the Lunar constellation Śravaṇam; within the age of thirty-eight years he established everywhere the Smârta sect, having travelled through every quarter; returning he departed this life and ascended to the joys of Heaven from the Maṇḍapam in the front of the holy place of Mahâdêva in Śrîśiva-pêrûr in Kêraḷam; at that time the age of the holy man did not exceed thirty-eight years. Thenceforth in the four provinces of the kingdom of Kêraḷa the four castes of Brâhmans, Kshatriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śûdras, have obtained salvation by observing that which should be done and that which should not be done as taught by the prosperous Śaṅkarâchâri, the chief teacher of the world, and by no other means."

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[6] Similar variations are common in all languages; they have been too frequently overlooked by grammarians; and the principles of etymology, therefore, capable as this science is of precision, and leading as it does to the most interesting results, are still too obscure to invite research, too indefinite to inspire confidence. He who shall conquer the difficulties which the absurd speculations of the idle of the ignorant have thrown in his way, and establish etymology on the firm basis of truth and reason, will suggest to the philosopher new and important speculations on mankind, and open to the historian views of the origin and connection of nations, which he can derive from no other source. The European etymologist must not, however, content himself with extending his researches to the Latin, the Greek, or the Teutonic only, nor must he amuse himself and mislead his readers by theories founded on fancied resemblances to Hebrew and Arabic roots: for with these languages neither the ancient nor modern dialects of Europe have any radical connection. It is in India that he must seek the foundation of etymology, being assured that it is on this alone that any durable structure can be erected. It is not intended here to enter further into this subject: that the assertion is generally true will be now admitted by many, though the extent to which it is true is known but to few. A single instance may illustrate it. By what possible interchange of letters can *bis*, though the connection in sense is evident, be derived from *duo*? or, rather, how can any radical connection between them be shown? The real etymology of the word *bis* can only be known by reference to the Sanskrit, and by the application of rules which govern the permutation of letters in the Prâkrits. The crude form frequently used in composition, of the word signifying *two* in Sanskrit is *dvi*, composed of the radical letters *d*, *v* (which before vowels changes regularly to *v* or *w*), and *i*: when this crude noun is declined, *dva* is substituted for it, and its proper form, therefore, in the nominative dual feminine is *dvau*, which in Prâkrit, in which this word has also several other forms, becomes *do*, and in Latin *duo*. This establishes the natural connection between *dvi* and *duo*. In some instances *dvi* loses its first letter, as in the word meaning *twenty*, which, formed from it by the affix *śati*, is not *dvinśati*, but *vinśati* (*viginti*). One of the leading canons of permutation in the Prâkrits is *vabayor abhedam*, 'between *va* and *ba* there is no difference,' and in these dialects the latter is constantly substituted for the former, *vinśati* becoming under this rule, and by the omission of the nasal and of the final syllable, *bîsa*. From the crude noun *dvi* is derived the adverb *dvih*, 'twice,' the final aspirate of which is substituted for *s*, so that the primary form, used also under certain rules in composition, is *dvis*. Hence the derivation of *bis* is clearly indicated, and there can be no doubt but that it is formed, first, by dropping the *d* of *dvis*, which then becomes *vis*; secondly, by changing *v* into *b*, whence *bis*. To prove that *twice* and *bis* are not only of the same derivation, but the same as *bis*, would now be superfluous.

Remarks.

1. The compound *taravâḍa*, which in Malayâḷma signifies, not generally the town or district, but the actual 'place of birth,' is not, as far as I am aware, used in either dialect of the Tamiḷ; the terms, however, of which it is formed are *taravu*, signifying 'the sinciput,' and *âḍu*, as a verbal root, 'to move': the whole implies, therefore, 'the' place where the head first moved.' The first member of this compound is used neither in Kŏḍun Tamiḷ nor Malayâḷma, and it would be impossible, therefore, for any person acquainted with these dialects only to trace its derivation. 2. *Illam*, used in this extract as synonymous with *agrahâram*, 'the residence of Brâhmans,' means in Tamiḷ simply 'a house.' 3. *Chiṅṅa-ñâyaṟu*, 'the month when the sun enters the sign Leo'; it is compounded of the terms *ciṅṅa*, corrupted from the Sanskṛit *siṁha*, 'the sign Leo,' and the Tamiḷ *ñâyaṟu*, 'the sun'; but, as it cannot be so used in Tamiḷ, it is rendered by the name of the month, *Âvaṇimâsam*, with which it corresponds. 4. *Vayasinagam*, the last term, or in the oblique *agattu*, might have been used in the Tamiḷ version instead of *ulle*, but it would savour of the high dialect. 5. *Vijayam* properly signifies 'conquest,' but here 'a journey, travel'; *kalittal* signifies in Tamiḷ 'to take away,' but in this place *kŏḷḷudal*, which has nearly the same sense, must be used for it. 6. *Tippaṭṭa*, from *ti*, 'fire,' and *paṭṭa*, 'suffering,' is employed in Malayâḷma when speaking of the decease of persons entitled to respect; but, though the terms from which it is derived are Tamiḷ, this compound does not belong to that language, the Sanskṛit *deoîgam*, 'the act of God,' being generally used in this sense. 7. This Sanskṛit word is used only in high Tamiḷ, and it is rendered here, therefore, by another, of the same derivation, more commonly received. 8. *Aḷḷugunnu* and *aḷuttal* with the dative both mean 'to reach, arrive at'; they are derived from the same root *aḷ*, which in Malayâḷma takes the affix *u*, and in Tamiḷ *ḍu*, converted, according to the general rules of grammar, with the final *ḷ* to *ḍu*; it would be better Tamiḷ to use in this place *ṇḍeidal*, also from the same root, 'to repair to, to obtain.' 9. *Koṇḍu*, the gerund of *kŏḷḷudal*, 'to take,' may be used in Tamiḷ, also, with the meaning of the prepositions 'by,' 'with,' but the termination of the regular case is generally preferable. 10 *Kureinda* and *tâḻnda* both signify in Tamiḷ 'lessened,' but the latter only can be used in the sense here belonging to *kuraññu*, 'inferior.' 11. *Parishâm*, of Sanskṛit derivation, is not used in either dialect of the Tamiḷ. 12. *Iṅṅané* has the same meaning in Tamiḷ, but it is here superfluous to the sense. 13 This Sanskṛit derivative from the root *labh*, gain, profit, cannot be used in Tamiḷ. 14. *Atra* is a Sanskṛit adverb, and cannot be used, therefore, in Tamiḷ. With these exceptions and a few dialectic permutations of letters, the Malayâḷma in the preceding extract and its Tamiḷ version are word for word the same.

The near coincidence which I have stated to exist in the idiom of measured language, and the agreement of the rules of prosody in these dialects, may be exemplified by the translation of a verse from the Malayâḷma into pure Tamiḷ, retaining the terms, their position, and the measure.

From Eḻutt'Achchan's translation of the Râmâyaṇam.

[1]Nânmâṟă [2]nêrây [3]Râmâyăṇă [4]chămăkkălăl
[5]Nânmukhan [6]uḷḷil [7]bahumânatta [8]valarṭt'oru
[9]Vânmiki [10]kavi [11]śrêshṭan [12]âgiya [13]mahâ [14]muni
[15]Tân [16]mama [17]varam [18]tarik' [19]ĕppóḻum
[20]vannikkunên.

Translation into pure Tamiḷ.

[1]Nânmărĕi [2]nêrâm [3]Râmâyăṇă [4]śămèikkălăl
[5]Nânmugan [6]uḷḷil [7]vagumânattei [8]valarṭṭ' oru
[9]Vânmiki [10]kavi [11]śrêshtan [12]âgiya [13]mahâ [14]muni
[15]Tân [16]varam [17]taruga [18]vĕppoḻ [19]ndilum
[20]vandikkinṟên.

Translation into English.

"For the purpose of [4]*composing* the [3]*Râmâyaṇam* [2]equal to the [1]four *Vêdams*, the [6]four-faced deity caused his [7]gifts to [8]flourish in the [6]mind of [5]a Vâlmiki; [13]this great [14]Muni thus [12]became [11]the chief [10]of poets; may [17]he [5]bestow on [2]me [8]endowment and I will ever reverence [6]him."

Vagumânam, *śrêshtan*, and *mahâ*, derivatives from the Sanskṛit, though often used in colloquial language, are not received into high Tamiḷ, and would not by choice be admitted into metric composition, for Tamiḷ poesy is nicer even than the English in selection of expressions; the elegance only is lost, the sense being exactly retained. I doubt much if the derivation of the term *nâṉmaṟa* could be traced by any person, however well versed in Malayâḷma, unless he were acquainted with the parent language: it is a compound formed of the terms *nâl*, 'four,' and *maṟei*, in its primitive sense signifying 'a word,' in its secondary senses 'doctrine, the Vêdam'; by a grammatical rule of Śĕn Tamiḷ, *l* before *m* changes to *n*, whence the compound *nâṉmaṟei*, 'the four Vêdams;' *nâṉmuḷhan* is similarly formed. The translation as it stands cannot be assigned to either dialect of the Tamiḷ, the terms noticed precluding it from ranking as Śĕn Tamiḷ, and others, as well as its structure, removing it from the Kŏḍun; the fourth term of the first line, for example, radically signifies 'to prepare,' and is here appropriately used in this sense, but in Kŏḍun Tamiḷ it is restricted to the preparation or dressing of food. The language

of Malayâḷma poetry is in fact a mixture of Sanskṛit, generally pure, with Śĕn and Kŏḍun Tamiḷ.

In this verse not only the laws, but even the licenses, of Tamiḷ metre are observed. It belongs to the *Alavadi* or *Kaḷiviruttam* of Tamiḷ prosody, and its common measure is four feet, thus expressed by the usual marks (– ∪∪ – – – ∪∪ – ∪∪), the first syllable in the first, second, and fourth foot, and the two long syllables in the third foot, being at pleasure resolvable each into two short. This rule is strictly observed in this verse, the first syllable of the fourth foot being resolved in every line, as are the first syllable of the third foot in the second line and the first syllable of the second foot in the third and fourth lines; in translating into Tamiḷ I have followed not only the law of this species of verse, but have been able to preserve even the quantity of the syllables, except in the third foot of the last line, where a syllable is resolved, though not so in the Malayâḷma. According to the strict laws of Tamiḷ prosody, the fourth syllable in the third foot of the second line (*bahumânatte*) ought to be long, being preceded by a long syllable and followed by a double consonant; for a similar reason every syllable in the fourth foot of the last verse (*vanikkunnên*) ought also to be long, but in the several species of verse classed under the general term *Viruttam* it is an allowed license to shorten such syllables when followed by double consonants or a nasal and consonant of the same class; this license the Malayâḷma also assumes, and it is retained, therefore, in the same places in the translation. The rules by which the length and shortness of syllables and initial rhyme are governed are the same in both dialects.

In rendering this verse into Tamiḷ the second term of the last line (*mama*) has been omitted; this term is the sixth or genitive case of the pronoun of the first person in Saṅskṛit, and cannot be used in Tamiḷ, as declined or conjugated forms from the Saṅskṛit are not admissible into that language. They are not admissible, also, in Malayâḷma prose, but in verse they are often used with such profusion as to give it the appearance of that fanciful species of composition called in Saṅskṛit *Mani pravâlam*, and in English 'maccaronic verse,' rather than the sober dress of grammatical language: often, indeed, the whole verse is pure Saṅskṛit, connected or concluded by a few words of Malayâḷma.[1] The following stanzas will exemplify these peculiarities: in the two first the grammatical forms of the Saṅskṛit are intermixed with terms of Saṅskṛit and Tamiḷ derivation; in the last nearly all the terms are Saṅskṛit.

A stanza from the *Vyavahâra Samudra*: a treatise on law.

Aṭṭipêrây nîraṅg' ŏṟuvanôḍ'ŏṟuvan janmam ŏkaṁ diśâyâm
Dṛishṭanmâr âṟu pêr uṇḍ' aḷukiya vidhi yĕnnu kêlppuṇḍu śâstram
Sajjâti bandhu putran narapati likhitan tatra sambandhi
Yĕnn'ittham chŏlluḷḷavar ôḷiga kŏḷḷôlâ dhâtṛi-channam.

"At the place where one takes from another the Janmam, or proprietary right in the soil, by the water of the Aṭṭipêru obligation,

"The prescribed law is, that, according to an excellent rule, six descriptions of persons should be present;

"People of pure caste, relations, a son, the prince, a scribe, and persons connected with the parties;

"Unless such as are here mentioned be present, a portion of land must not be purchased."

[1] This profuse intermixture of the grammatical forms of the Saṅskṛit in the higher order of Malayâḷma composition would seem to have led certain recent Italian writers into strange misconceptions. Though one of them, Paulinus à St.-Bartholomæo, has composed a Grammar of the Saṅskṛit, he does not seem quite clear that there is any radical distinction between what he calls the *lingua Samscredamico-malabarica*, and the *Samscredamica* (*vide* 16 and following pages of the Preface to the *Sidharubam*); and the author of the introduction to the *Alphabetum Grandonico-Malabaricum sive Samscrudonicum*, by which he means the Âryan character of the Malayâḷma, though he be sadly puzzled to discover whether the *Samscrudonica lingua* be the mother of the *Grandonica*, or *vice versâ* (*vide* p. 6, sec. VI)., expressly says (p. 10, sec. X.):—"Lingua igitur vulgaris Malabarica, ea nempe quæ usurpatior a Gentibus littoris Malabarici insolis, a Promontorio Comorino usque ad montem Deli prope Regnum Canara, *nil nisi dialectus* est Samscrudonicæ Linguæ." From his invariably giving to Saṅskṛit words Tamiḷ terminations, and from his distinguishing three dialects, *Grandonica*, *Samscrudonica*, and *Malabarica*, it might be conceived that he applied the second epithet to the metric language of Malayâḷma, but he does away with this distinction by stating it as his opinion that the *Grandonica* and *Samscrudonica* may be the same (see p. vi). I cannot, however, conclude this note without making an attempt to relieve one of the writers I have mentioned, Paulinus, from the consequences of a note to one of the articles of the *Asiatic Researches* (see "Dissertation on the Language and Literature of the Indo-Chinese Nations)." In the general intent of this note, and in the facts it states, I agree; but I much doubt whether Paulinus is to blame for the substitution of the Tamiḷ termination "*âḷ* in his *Sanscrit Grammar*, in the place of the regular Saṅskṛit affix *at*," or whether this be anything more than a typographical error. It is shown in this note that this substitution, *ḷ* for *t*, takes place in many other instances wherein Paulinus could not have been misled by the resemblance of the vernacular dialect, and I have had occasion to remark that it is universal in all works printed in the Âryan character at the Propaganda press. In this character the mute *l* and *t* resemble each other so nearly that it is not at all surprising that they should be mistaken by a compositor ignorant of the language; but the fact would rather appear to be that the fount was without the latter letter. The work of Paulinus to which I refer is the *Sidharubam, seu grammatica Samscredamica*, in which Saṅskṛit terms are written in the Âryam character only, not in the Latin, and in which the substitution noticed *invariably* takes place; I have never seen his other work, *Vyakarana*, &c. referred to in the text of this dissertation. (*See Note D. infra*, p. 287.)

Stanzas from the *Râmâyaṇam*.

Paramâtmâvâm mama hṛidayarahasyam id'
Órumâlum mê bhaktihînamâr mêv' idum
Naranmârôḍu paraññ' avayikk' orud' edô
Paramam upadêsam ill' idin mîdê yônnum.

"This is the secret of my heart, the supreme mind; at all times it is improper to converse or have communication with men who are united in friendship with the disparagers of my worship; behold the height of instruction, nothing is above this."

Sarvakâraṇam sarvavyâpinam sarvâtmânam
Sarvajñam sarvêśvaram sarvasâkshinam nityam
Sarvadâ sarvâdhâram sarvadêvatâmayam
Nirvikârâtmâ Râmadêvanênn aṟika nî.

"The cause of all; the omnipresent; the universal soul; the omniscient; the Lord of all; the eternal witness of all; the giver and supporter of all; inscrutable even by the gods, Râmadêvan, the soul uninfluenced by passion, know thou to be."[3]

In the first stanza the term *diśâyâm* is the seventh case of the Saṅskṛit noun *diśâ*, and *tatra* and *ittham* are Saṅskṛit adverbs used as such without alteration or addition. In the first verse from the *Râmâyaṇam*, *mama* and *mê* are genitives of the pronoun of the first person, and in the second every term except the three last is the Saṅskṛit accusative governed by the Malayâḷma imperative *aṟika*. In each example the Saṅskṛit terms intermixed retain their primitive form, and, with one or two exceptions, reject the Malayâḷma termination; there is no instance in them of a conjugated verb, though this form is occasionally introduced.

This hybrid language is not exclusively confined to the Malayâḷma; it is in use in other parts of India, though it nowhere else constitutes the customary garb of poetry. It is an invention far beneath the ancient Tamiḷ writers (*Note E*), and they have, therefore, left no specimens of it; but compositions in the Maṇi-pravâḷam are now common throughout the countries where the Tamiḷ and its dialects are spoken. The *Bhâratam* was a few years ago translated into Tamiḷ Maṇi-pravâḷam, from which I shall give a single extract to compare with the Malayâḷma:—

Arumbuppôlâ *tăvă dantŏpăṅktîh*
Kurumbeippôlâ *kuchhamandaladvayam*
Karumbuppôlâ *madhurâ cha vâṇî*
Irumbuppôlâ *hṛidayăm kim âsît?*

"Like young buds *are the even rows of thy teeth*,
Like tender cocoanuts *the two orbs of thy bosom*,
Like the sugarcane *thy honeyed words*,
Like iron *why then is thy heart?*"

Here the first part of each line is pure Tamiḷ, and the second pure Saṅskṛit; the terms of each language are, however, more usually intermixed with each other, each retaining its own form and idiom. In the present instance the verse, as in Malayâḷma, follows the rules of Tamiḷ prosody, the first syllable of *paṅktîh*, *âsît*, &c., though in Saṅskṛit invariably long, becoming short because preceded by an unconnected short syllable. Saṅskṛit metres of all kinds are, however, often composed in Maṇi-pravâḷam.

The Malayâḷma has never been cultivated as an independent literary language, nor does the Tamiḷ literature, notwithstanding the length of time the country was subject to the kings of Śêram, appear to have been extensively known here, or at least has not survived that dynasty. This is the more extraordinary as some of the earliest and best of the Tamiḷ works were composed in Śêram. This remark, however, applies more to Kôraḷam proper than to Mûshikam or Travankor; the residence of the Śêram Viceroys was in this province, and a knowledge of pure Tamiḷ has always been more prevalent here than in the northern districts.

Paraśurâman, as it is fabled in the *Kêraḷôtpatti*, of Mayûra Varma, as stated by other, and probably better, authority, in endowing the Brâhmaṇs with land, condemned them to perpetual inactivity, and indolence and luxury are now the proverbial characteristics of the Nambûris. The following stanza contains a short satire on them, which at the present day they certainly deserve, and which probably is not inapplicable to their character as formed at an early period by the extraordinary institutions of the country:—

Indra-vajra Vrittam
Prâtăḥ păyŏnăm părătŏ yăvâgûr
Attâḷam *abhyaṅgam ath'*ôṇṇi yappam
Muttâḷam *anté vrishaḷîshu bhogaḥ.*
Nambûrîṇâm janma sujanma manyê.

"In the morning milk and rice, then rice gruel; after the table is removed (!?) and the body anointed, then the eating sweet cakes, and after dalliance (?) the enjoyment of Śûdra women! The life of the Nambûris, methinks, is an excellent life."

I have introduced this stanza partly on account of the contrast it forms with those previously quoted; this verse is a species of Maṇi-pravâḷam, the construction and metre of which are entirely Saṅskṛit, and so are all the terms except the few printed in Roman, which are of Tamiḷ derivation, though here strictly subjected to the laws of Sanskṛit grammar: thus *ôṇṇi yappam* are both Tamiḷ terms, the former being the gerund of *uṇṇal*, 'to eat,' the initial vowel with the final of the preceding word being changed by the Saṅskṛit rules for Sandhi to *ô*, and governing the following substantive, *appam*, 'a cake,'—a mode of construc-

[3] This verse enumerates the *Gunâshtakam* or eight attributes of the Deity.

tion admissible in Saṅskṛit, but incompatible with the Tamiḻ idiom, the proper collocation being *appam uṇṇi*.

It is, however, generally true that the Saṅskṛit has ever been the language of science and literature, as far as science and literature have existed in Malayâḻma; but even in this language no composition of any importance is referable to this country, with the exception perhaps of the works of Śaṅkarâchârya, though these can scarcely be ascribed to Malayâḻma, as it is certain that he left the country at an early age (the *Śaṅkaravijaya* says when only eight years old), and there is no reason, notwithstanding the positive assertion of the fact in the *Kêralôtpatti*, to believe he ever returned to it.[9] In the Tamiḻ countries there has ever been a contention for preëminence of knowledge between the Brâhmans and the inferior castes; when the former established themselves in Southern India they found a native literature already existing, which, though they introduced the language and science of the north, they were compelled, during their long contest with the Jainas, to cultivate in their own defence. The Tamiḻ was used, both by Brâhmaṇs and Śûdras, in commentaries on the *Vêdam* (*Note F*) and original compositions on theology; one of these, the *Tiruváymŏḻi*, was adopted by Râmânujâchârya as the foundation of a new sect, and the authors of it, the holy Âḻvâr, all of them Śûdras, are now worshipped by the Brâhmaṇs, his followers, as saints. In many of the temples of Śiva also the presiding pontiff is a Śûdra, the officiating priests Brâhmaṇs. Nothing of this kind has ever taken place in Malayâḻma; the worship of Śiva and his attributes has generally prevailed, undisturbed by innovation, from the first establishment of the Nambûris until the present day, and, notwithstanding those extraordinary institutions, which, by making the women of all castes, excepting those of a very inferior order, common to them, has in effect peopled the country with their race, these Brâhmaṇs, as such, have kept themselves haughtily distinct from their descendants, and preserved with jealous circumspection all their preëminent privileges.

Under these circumstances it was scarcely to be expected that the Nambûris would cultivate the Malayâḻma; religious or philosophical controversy (as applied to India either epithet is correct) has in all times and in all countries been the great instigator to literary emulation, and, as this stimulus was altogether wanting, the neglect of the Śûdras is easily accounted for, and the non-existence of a native literature in a dialect but one remove from a highly cultivated language ceases to be surprising. There exists in Malayâḻma, as far as my information extends, no work on language, no grammar, no dictionary, commentaries on the Sanskṛit *Amarakosha* excepted. The principal work in prose is the *Keraḻôtpatti*, which is also said to be translated from the Sanskṛit, though the original is now nowhere to be found. The poetical compositions, some few detached poems perhaps excepted, are all translations from the Sanskṛit; these in fact constitute the whole of Malayâḻma literature, and among them will be found all the works of note in the original language. Tradition attributes the composition of the whole of these to one man, of whom the following account is given:—

The customs of Malayâḻma permit but one male in every Brâhmaṇical family to marry, whose descendants maintain the caste, the progeny of the rest belonging to the tribes of their respective mothers: it hence follows that great numbers of Brâhman women remain unmarried, and—as they are strictly precluded from participation in the license of the Nâyarichchis—in celibacy. As an entire community of other women is allowed, there thence arises a peculiar distinction between the Brâhman and the Śûdra: the former knows his father, the latter does not: a *Brâhman without a father* must be born of an unmarried female of that tribe, whose celibacy ought to have been inviolate; he is considered, therefore, illegitimate, and has scarcely an assignable place in society.[10] Eḻutt' Achchan, or 'the Father of Letters,' was a Brâhman without a father, and on that account has no patronymic. (*Note G.*) The difficulties with which he had in consequence to struggle gave him an energy of character which it is probable he would not have possessed had his caste been without blemish. The Brâhmaṇs envied his genius and learning, and are said to have seduced him by the arts of sorcery into the habit of ebriety, wishing to overshadow the mental powers which they feared. The poet, however, triumphed on his habits, though he could not abandon them, and, in revenge against those whom he considered the

[9] The *Kêraḻôtpatti* attributes to Śaṅkarâchârya the existing religious institutions, but the fact is he knew well the truth of the Jewish proverb that a prophet is never without honour except in his own country, and passed the whole of his life in traversing other regions of India, inhabited by tribes less obstinate than the Nambûris.

[10] A similar slur attaches to Śaṅkarâchârya himself: this is not even alluded to in the *Śaṅkaravijaya*, a Saṅskṛit work which contains his life and transactions, and is considered as his true history; but it is noticed in the *Kêraḻôtpatti*, where it is stated that, in consequence of the refusal of the Brâhmans to attend his mother's obsequies he burned her in his own house, which has since become a general practice throughout Malayâlam. This story is incompatible with that which represents him as quitting the country while yet a child and never returning, and is rejected as a calumny by the Smârtas, as those belonging to the sect founded by this teacher are commonly called.

cause of his debasement, he opposed himself openly to the prejudices and the intolerance of the Brâhmans. The mode of vengeance he chose was the exaltation of the Malayâḷma tongue, declaring it his intention to raise this inferior dialect of the Tamiḷ to an equality with the sacred language of the gods and Ṛishis. In the prosecution of this purpose he enriched the Malayâḷma with the translations I have mentioned, all of which, it is said, he composed while under the immediate influence of intoxication. No original compositions are attributed to him.

This story, though obscured by the mist of fiction with which the Indians contrive to envelop every historical fact, shows with sufficient distinctness that the Nambûris have discouraged the cultivation of the Malayâḷma. Their success in this respect is to be ascribed to the influence which the peculiar institutions of the country give them over the minds of the inferior castes, and to this cause the neglect of Tamiḷ literature during the supremacy of the Chêram kings is in all probability referable, as it could not have been introduced without endangering the existence of the mental tyranny which it was the interest of the Nambûris to maintain.

The *Râmâyaṇam*, from which the preceding quotations are made, and which is one of the numerous works attributed to Ĕḷutt'Achchan, is not translated from Vâlmîki, but from the *Âdhyâtmaka Râmâyaṇam*, attributed to Îśvara himself, and said to have been revealed for the entertainment of Pârvatî. The *Vyavahâra Samudram*, from which I have taken a single extract, professes, in the commencement of the work, to have been collected from Nârada and the other Ṛishis; but after a short exposition of the legal constitution of courts, of the rules of evidence, and of the eighteen titles of law, as usual in other law-books, it is confined exclusively to the local usages of Malayâḷam, which are often in direct opposition to the *Smṛitis*. The language of this work is sometimes entirely pure, and sometimes so intermixed with declined and conjugated terms from the Saṅskrit as altogether to lose its native idiom.

NOTES BY DR. BURNELL.

Note A.—Mr. Ellis has gone too far in deriving Malayâḷam from the Śĕn Tamiḷ; for it is now pretty well certain that the latter is, to a great extent, an artificial, poetical dialect, though it has preserved some old forms.

Note B.—Mr. Ellis's derivation of these alphabets is not correct, and he afterwards appears to have given it up (see *Madr. Jour.* vol. XIII. pt. ii. p. 2). For the present state of the question see my *Elements of South-Indian Palæography* (2nd ed.), pp. 33-52. The final forms of *ṟ*, *ḷ*, and *ḻ* are merely the ordinary forms of the letters combined in a peculiar way with *virâma*.

Note C.—Mr. Ellis's transcription is very irregular and full of uncorrected misprints; as far as was possible, it has been here restored to the orthography as settled by Dr. Gundert and other scholars. In a few instances it has been doubtful what words he intended.

Note D.—The people of Malabar (even in reading Saṅskṛit) substitute *l* for *t*, and *ḷ* for *ḍ*, in certain cases: *e.g. tasmât* is pronounced *tasmâl*.

Note E.—It seems that Mr. Ellis was wrong in supposing that the Tamiḷ Maṇi-pravâḷam compositions are recent; one is quoted in a work of the 11th century A.D.

Note F.—I have never seen, or even heard of, Tamiḷ commentaries on the Vedas.

Note G.—Ĕḷuttachchan lived in the 17th century; there is no reason for supposing that he was a Brâhman female's illegitimate son; he was certainly an Ĕḷuttachchan (or schoolmaster) by caste.

The above dissertation is of remarkable historical interest, for (taken with the essay on Têlugu) it proves that before 1816 Mr. Ellis had already foreseen the possibility of comparative philology, not only as regards the so-called Âryan tongues, but also in respect of the Drâviḍian. Now it was not till 1816 (so Brunet says, and I must take his assertion, for I cannot refer to the original) that Bopp published his *Conjugations System*, which was the beginning of comparative philology in Europe. Ellis could (considering the means of intercourse available in those days) hardly have seen or heard of this work at all, for he died early in 1819. He must then, in future, be considered one of the originators of one of the most remarkable advances in science in this century. His unfortunate end—he was poisoned by accident—prevented his doing much, for he was only forty when he died, but he cannot be robbed of his due fame by the success of others more lucky than he was.

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

MODERN AVATÂRAS OF THE DEITY.

Most readers of the *Indian Antiquary* must be aware that the great leaders of religious movements in India are believed by their followers to be descents (*Avatâra*) of portions (*aṅśa*) of the Deity. The Hindûs are generally ready to acknowledge that Christ Himself was an *Avatâra*. The god supposed to be most addicted to these descents is, of course, Vishnu.

When I was in Gujarât a man named Kuvêra

(familiarly Kuber) was living in a village called Sârsâ (for Sârasâ), near Ânand, a station on the Bombay and Baroda railway. He belongs to the Koli caste and I believe, is still alive, but if so must be very old. As a youth he displayed much energy of mind and singularity of character. One day, after long fasting, abstract meditation, and religious ecstasy, he announced to those about him that a portion of the Supreme Being had descended in his person. His next idea was to proclaim that he had a direct mission from God to make a new revelation of the truth. Very soon he attracted a number of admiring hearers, who in due course of time proceeded to worship him, and present him with daily offerings.

I have been told by my friend Judge Gopâl Râo Hari Deshmukh that his followers, who call themselves Hari-jana, and are known by the name of Kubêr-bhaktas, are very numerous. They are variously reckoned at about eighteen or twenty thousand persons, and are regularly divided into holy men or clergy (*sâdhu*) and laity (*grihastha*). The former either itinerate as missionaries, or preside over the temples of the sect, many of which are found in the villages around Neriâd, in Gujarât. I ought to state, however, that I spent a long day at Neriâd but met with no proofs of the existence of any large numbers of the sect in the town itself. Each temple has two teachers, who collect a certain number of disciples every day and read to them extracts from the *Puráṇas* or other writings prescribed by their leader. The doctrine they inculcate is, I believe, a purified form of the Vaishṇava creed.

Other bodies of sectarian religionists exist throughout India, who are unable to hold together as distinct sects for any considerable time after the death of their leaders. I saw the shrine of a man, described to me as a saint, named Parinâma, at Kaira. It contained no image, but simply his couch or seat (*gádí*) and the vestments worn at death. No one could tell me much about him, but I was made to take off my shoes on entering his sanctuary. Only a few hundreds of his followers remain, and these are gradually being re-absorbed into the vórtex of Hinduism.

The same applies to the disciples of a man named Hari-kṛishṇa, who laid claim to great sanctity of character. He died not long ago in Gujarât, and is said to have attracted a large number of adherents during his lifetime, but I could obtain very few particulars about his life or doctrines.

This kind of religious hallucination, however, is not confined to the inhabitants of Asia. In the *Times* of August the 24th and 27th there is a curious account of a man named David Lazzaretti, who was killed a few days before in an encounter with the Italian police. He lived somewhere in Tuscany, and was called by his followers "David the Saint." This man gave himself out to be Christ descended upon earth. He chose twelve apostles, and surrounded himself by a large number of disciples, who built for him a kind of half hermitage half church, on the summit of Monte Labro. His followers are called Lazzarists.

Perhaps the most interesting instance of alleged Avatâra is that of a celebrated Brâhmanical saint or ascetic (*sannyâsí*) named Dattâtreya—supposed to have lived in Central India about the 10th century of our era. He is believed to have been a manifestation of the Hindû trinity in human form. Portions of the essences of Brahmâ, Vishṇû, and Śiva became united, and descended, it is alleged, in his person. Many temples dedicated to his honour are scattered over the Marâtha Country. I saw one much frequented by pilgrims at Wâi, near Mahâbaleśvar. It contained the image of a man with three heads. I observed that many persons were worshipping with apparent devotion at the shrine. I spoke to one or two of the most intelligent, and questioned them as to the precise nature of their creed, but could get no satisfactory reply. Dattâtreya is the name of a well-known sage mentioned in various Sanskrit writings, as well as in modern vernacular books; but any information about his worship as at present conducted in different parts of India would be highly interesting. Whether it is possible to furnish any trustworthy details of his real history may be doubtful, but legends about him still current among the people might be collected, and if collated with earlier legends would be full of interest. An account of other modern reformers or revivalist leaders who claim, or are believed by their disciples, to be partial *Avatâras* of the Deity, would also be acceptable as illustrating the present condition of the Indian mind.

Again, can no one improve our knowledge on the subject of animal worship, plant worship, pebble worship, and the existing state of such superstitions in India? I have been told that there is a temple in Bengal dedicated to a cat. Are cats in that part of India believed to be pervaded by portions of the essence of Deity? Has any one seen actual *pújá* performed to a cat? Many interesting articles on Indian folklore and religious life have appeared in the columns of the *Indian Antiquary*. May they be continued! I would not undervalue the good work done by those scholars who are devoting themselves to the deciphering of inscriptions, but the whole life of a people is not inscribed on these ancient monuments.

I appeal to all readers of the *Indian Antiquary*—especially to all who are, or have been, resident in

districts of the Marâṭhâ Country and Central India, and in districts not much frequented by Europeans —for assistance in throwing more light on the religious idiosyncrasies of our Indian fellow-subjects.

MONIER WILLIAMS.

Oxford, September 1878.

ADDITIONS TO ARCHÆOLOGICAL NOTE NO. XX. (*supra*, page 176).

In further illustration of the use of miniature or toy pottery in prehistoric times, Canon Greenwell, in his very elaborate work, *British Barrows*, describes "*very* diminutive vessels of pottery an inch high" found in Yorkshire barrows (p. 317), and again observes, "toy weapons and implements are sometimes found in barrows, and commonly in Denmark" (p. 361). Dr. Ferdinand Keller, in his work on *The Lake Dwellings of Switzerland and Europe*, translated by J. E. Lee,—a complete repertory of all that is known on the subject,—estimates the number of earthenware vessels found at Möringen, on the Lake of Zug, at several hundreds; "the smallest are only as big as a walnut-shell, and have been used as children's playthings, or as vases for perfumes" (p. 175). Some of the vessels figured (plates 24, 30, 88) perfectly correspond with archaic Indian forms, with round or pointed bottoms; and earthen circlets or rings for supporting or keeping them upright, which are so abundant in Indian cairns, are equally numerous in the lake-dwellings.

The remarks in the 'Note' under review, that handles to cairn-pottery are a feature very rare in Europe will not hold good, at least as regards the lake pottery, in which handles are rather the rule than the exception in the lake-remains on both sides of the Alps. Vases with four short legs have also been found (*Lake Dwellings*, plates 106, 151), and vessels on four short feet have been discovered by Canon Greenwell in British barrows (pp. 88, 89). It may be added that rude clay figures of animals are found in the lake-dwellings (plate 158), as well as in Nîlgiri cairns and the site of old Troy; and further, with respect to the strange custom of disjointing bodies for burial, Canon Greenwell's researches show that bodies were very frequently laid in the barrows piecemeal, and Colonel Meadows Taylor remarked the same appearances in cairn burials in Central India.

In the 'Note' the *svastika* is mentioned as first appearing on the pottery of archaic Greece and the Hissarlik relics, but it must now be pushed back to probably earlier times, for it has been found stamped on clay remains in a lake-dwelling on the Lake of Bourget, in Savoy, together with the stamp or seal with which the impressions were made; the seal is a clay cone 1¾ inches long; a copy of the bottom, taken from plate 161 of Dr. Keller's work (see page 339) is annexed; the

stamps and impressions are in the French Exhibition now open. This ubiquitous symbol must now also be extended to America, for a 'counter' or 'roundel,' either of bone or horn, has been discovered in one of the low mounds near St. Louis, U.S., on which within several concentric circles there is "a regular *croix gammée*," or *svastika;* hence the remark in the 'Note' that the *svastika* is unknown on Mexican remains may any day be set aside.

London, 3rd August 1878.

M. J. W.

THE FIRE-ARMS OF THE HINDUS.

To the Editor of the "Indian Antiquary."

SIR,—The letter from Mr. Sinclair (*ante*, p. 231 and the previous communication from Bâbû Râm Dâs Sen to which it refers, raise an old question respecting the use of fire-arms at an early period by the Hindus. In support of what Mr. Sinclair has observed with regard to the absence of trustworthy evidence of the knowledge of fire-arms (in the sense in which we use the term) in India in the early times referred to,—that is, before the use of gunpowder in Europe,—reference may be invited to an article on the subject in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1876, Vol. XLV. Part 1. No. 1, where, at page 41, ancient *Hindu* fire-weapons are noticed. There seems every reason to believe that they were missiles carrying fire, discharged by ordinary mechanical appliances.

R. M.

THE TELEPHONE.

SIR,—I beg to suggest, through the medium of your valuable journal, a Gujarati word for the newly invented 'telephone,' and hope it will meet the approval of the students of philology.

The word is દૂરવાણ from Persian دور meaning *far*, and گفتن from گو *to speak*. The word literally means *speaker from a distance*, and is coined on the analogy of દૂરબીન ('telescope'), which literally means *observer from a distance*. Like દૂરબીન, the word દૂરવાણ I trust will be equally acceptable to the Marâṭhî, Hindustânî, and Persian languages, and also to the vernaculars of Bengal and Madras if they can allow the infusion of the Persian element in them.

SORÂBJI KÂVASJI KHAMBÂTÂ.

Malabar Hill, September 25th, 1878.

BÔYA.

The *Bôya* in the interesting Chalukya grant published by Mr. Fleet, *ante*, p. 189, is a Telugu term adduced by Mr. C. P. Brown in his *Telugu-English Dictionary*. *Bôya*, or its fuller form *Bôyaḍu*, is explained by *Kirâta*, *Śabara*, and *Mâtaṅgasadṛiśa*, 'a forester, a mountaineer.' Mr. Brown knew also the form *Bôyiḍu* (the shorter form being *Bôyi*), which he explains as follows:—"*Bôyiḍu*, a Boyid or mountaineer: this title was borne by some chieftains, as *Avare bôyiḍu*, *Mâra boyiḍu*, *Goṇḍlaprôti bôyidu*."

F. KITTEL.

Esslingen (Wurtemberg), 30th August 1878.

A CHRONICLE OF TORAGAL.

SIR,—At *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V., p. 33, under the title of *A Chronicle of Toragal*, I published a translation of a Canarese document, part of which was evidently drawn from some copper-plate grant or stone-tablet inscription. This part of the document commences with the words "May it be well! Reverence to Śambhu", &c., p. 34 *b*, l. 20, and extends to the end of my translation.

I have not yet met with the original inscription; nor have I as yet been able to satisfy myself as to the identity of king Jayaśêkhara, the maker of the grants recorded in it.

But I find that a translation of the same inscription is given by Mr. Wathen as No 5 of his *Ancient Inscriptions on stone and copper*, at *Jour. R As. Soc.*, Vol. II., p. 386, and Vol. V., p. 173. He calls it 'Mr. Munroe's *Dânapatra*', and states, It was taken, I believe, from some ancient building in the Karnâtaka, and was translated by the late Mr. Munroe, of the Madras Civil Service."[1]

This Mr. Munroe is probably the Sub-Collector of Sholâpur, who, with Mr. Thackeray, the Political Agent and Principal Collector of Dhârwâḍ, was killed in 1824 in the insurrection at Kittûr. (See Mr. Stokes' *Historical Account of the Belgaum District*, p. 81, where, however, the name is spelt Munro.') If so, the temple from which the inscription was taken, must be somewhere in the Belgaum, Dhârwâḍ, or Kalâdgi, Districts.

The translation given by Mr. Wathen agrees substantially with mine. But mistakes are made in it in respect of many of the proper names. Thus, notably 'Powali' is written instead of 'Pôvalli', and the name of the king is given as 'Jayaśaṁkara' instead of 'Jayaśôkhara.' I have no doubt that the names, as written in the copy supplied to me, are correct. The details of the date,—Śâlivâhana-Śaka 1008, the Kshaya *saṁvatsara*; Sunday, the tenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Pushya or Pausha; under the Bharaṇî *nakshatra*; at the time of the sun's commencing his progress to the north,—are given correctly in the translation published by Mr. Wathen.

J. F. FLEET

20th July 1878.

[1] It is greatly to be regretted that no trace can be found of Mr. Wathen's copper-plates. Inquiry has been made in vain for them, and it is feared they have shared the fate of all others in private hands—been lost or destroyed. Mr. Wathen died at the Cape of Good Hope in 1866.—ED.

HIWAN THSANG'S ACCOUNT OF PULIKEŚÎ II. AND MAHÂRÂSHṬRA.

The kingdom of *Mo-ho-la-ch'a* (Mahârâshṭra) is nearly six thousand *li* (1200 miles) in circuit. The capital, towards the west, is near a large river; its circumference is thirty *li*.[2] The soil is rich and fertile, and produces abundance of grain. The climate is warm; the manners are simple and honest. The natives are tall, and haughty and supercilious in character. Whoever does them a service may count on their gratitude; but he that offends them will not escape their revenge. If any one insult them, they will risk their lives to wipe out that affront. If one apply to them in difficulty they will forget to care for themselves in order to flee to his assistance. When they have an injury to avenge, they never fail to give warning to their enemy; after which each puts on his cuirass and grasps his spear in his hand. In battle they pursue the fugitives, but do not slay those who give themselves up. When a general has lost a battle, instead of punishing him corporally, they make him wear women's clothes, and by that force him to sacrifice his own life. The state maintains a body of dauntless champions to the number of several hundreds. Each time they prepare for combat they drink wine to intoxicate them, and then one of these men, spear in hand, will defy ten thousand enemies. If they kill a man met upon the road, the law does not punish them. Whenever the army commences a campaign these braves march in the van to the sound of the drum. Besides, they intoxicate many hundreds of naturally fierce elephants. At the time of their coming to blows they drink also strong liquor. They run in a body, trampling everything under their feet. No enemy can stand before them. The king, proud of possessing these men and elephants, despises and slights the neighbouring kingdoms. He is of the race of the *Ts'a-ti-li* (Kshatriyas); his name is *Pu-lo-ki-she* (Pulikêśî). His ideas are large and pro-

[2] Was this Vâtâpipûra now Bâdâmi—*Ind. Ant.* vol. V pp. 68, 71.

found, and he extends widely his sympathy and benefactions. His subjects serve him with perfect self-devotion. At present the great king Śîlâdityа[3] carries his victorious arms from the east to the west; he subdues distant people and makes the neighbouring nations fear him; but the people of this kingdom alone have not submitted. Although he be often at the head of all the troops of the five Indies, though he has summoned the bravest generals of all the kingdoms, and though he has marched himself to punish them, he has not yet been able to vanquish their opposition. From this we may judge of their warlike habits and manners. The men love study, and follow at the same time the teachings of heresy and of truth. There are a hundred convents, which contain nearly five thousand devotees, and where they study alike the *greater* and *lesser vehicles*.[4] They reckon a hundred temples of the gods; the heretics of various sects are exceedingly numerous.

Within and outside the capital are raised five *stûpas*. In all these places the four past Buddhas have sat, and in performing their exercises have left the marks of their feet. These monuments were constructed by king *Wu-yeu* (Aśoka). There are other *stûpas* in stone and brick, but they are so numerous that it would be difficult to mention all.

A short distance to the south of the town there is an ancient convent, in the middle of which is seen a stone statue of *Kwan-tseu-tsaï-p'u-sa* (Avalôkitêśvara Bôdhisattva).[5] The effects of his divine power are manifested in secret: those who apply to him obtain for the most part the objects of their vows.

On the eastern frontiers of the kingdom there is a great mountain which shows summits heaped one upon another, chains of rocks, peaks in double rank, and scarped crests. Of old there was a convent there, which had been formed in a gloomy valley. Its lofty walls and deep halls occupied large openings in the rocks and rested against the peaks; its pavilions and its two-storied towers were backed by the caverns and looked into the valley.[6]

This convent had been built by the *Lo-han 'O-che-lo* (the Arhat Âchâra).[7] This Arhat originally belonged to Western India. His mother being dead, he watched in what class of beings she should be re-born. It appeared that in this kingdom she had received the body of a woman. The Arhat speedily went thither with the object of converting her and to assist her as circumstances might require. Having entered the village to ask alms, he reached the house where his mother had been born. A young girl took some food and went to give it to him. At the same instant milk escaped from her breasts. This proof of her relationship did not seem to him a good omen. The Arhat related to the young girl the history of her previous life, and she saw at once the holy fruit of Buddha. Touched by the goodness of her who had brought him into the world and fed him, and thinking with emotion on the result of the actions of her previous life, he caused this monastery to be built in thankfulness for his great blessings.

The Vihâra of the convent is almost a hundred feet high. In the centre is raised a stone statue of Buddha of nearly seventy feet. It is surmounted by seven stone caps which are suspended in the air, without any apparent attachment. They are separated from each other by an interval of about three feet. According to the old accounts of this country they are upheld by the power of the vows of the *Lo-han* (the Arhat). According to some people this prodigy is owing to the efficacy of his supernatural powers; and according to others, it is due to the potency of his medical knowledge. But we have inquired in vain into its history: it is impossible to find the explanation of this marvel. All round the Vihâra the rock walls have been carved, and on them are represented the events of the life of *Jou-laï* (the Tathâgata) in all the places where he filled the *rôle* of a Bôdhisattva, the happy omens which indicated his elevation to the dignity of Arhat, and the divine prodigies which followed his entry into the *Nirvâna*. The chisel of the artist has figured all these circumstances in their most minute details, without omitting one.

Outside the gates of the convent, to the south and to the north, right and left is an elephant in stone. I have heard say by the people of the country that at times these (*four*) elephants gave vent to terrible roars that make the earth tremble. In old times *Ch'in-na-p'u-sa* (Jina Bôdhisattva) often stopped at this convent.

On leaving this kingdom he (Hiwan Thsang) travelled about a thousand *li* (200 miles) to the west, crossed the river *Nan-mo-tho* (Narmadâ), and arrived in the kingdom of *Po-lu-kie-ch'e-p'o* (Barugachhêva).—*Memoires de Hiouen Thsang*, liv. xi., vol. II. pp. 149-153.

[3] This is Harshavardhana of Kanauj, of which Hiwan Thsang's account has already been given, *ante*, pp. 196-202.

[4] The *Mahâyâna* and the *Hînayâna*.

[5] Vide *ante*, p. 197, n. 8.

[6] This seems to refer to the Ajantâ Rock Temples.

[7] Rather Atharya, vide *ante*, vol. IV. p. 174; vol. VI. p. 9; and *Archæol. Surv. of W. India* (vol. II.), *Kâthiâwâd and Kachh*, p. 84.

METRICAL VERSIONS FROM THE *MAHÂBHÂRATA*.

BY J. MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D., PH.D.

(*Continued from p.* 207.)

ABILITY NECESSARY FOR ACQUIRING KNOWLEDGE.

Mahâbhârata, ii. 2845; x. 178f.; ii. 1945.

No teaching e'er a blockhead shows
What's right, what's wrong, or makes him sage;
No child in understanding grows
Mature in sense with growing age.
The wise who proffer learning's boon
To stupid men, their labour waste:
Though filled with juices sweet, a spoon
Their pleasant flavour cannot taste.
But able men, though taught in haste,
Truth, right, and wrong, can quickly learn.
The feeling tongue and palate taste,
And flavours sweet and sour discern.

GOOD PRACTISED BECAUSE IT IS DUTY.

Mahâbhârata, xii. 5906. (Compare xii. 1327.)

'Tis not for gain, for fame, from fear,
That righteous men injustice shun,
And virtuous men hold virtue dear;
An inward voice they seem to hear,
Which tells that duty *must* be done.

EFFORT, NOT SUCCESS, THE TEST OF GOODNESS.

Mahâbhârata. v. 3313.

The man who toils with all his strength
A high and righteous end to gain,
May fail,—but has not wrought in vain:
His merit gains its meed at length.

DISREGARD OF GOOD ADVICE.

Mahâbhârata, v. 4348.

That self-willed man his foes delights
Who, ill advised, the counsel slights
Of those sage friends who wish him well,
And how to help him, best can tell.

NECROLOGY.

It is quite probable that the masterly Annual Review of the Hindustâni language and literature which appeared with great punctuality during the past twenty years will no longer be published, as its gifted and experienced author is now no more. M. Héliodore Garcin de Tassy died on the 2nd of September, in his 85th year; he was a member of the Institute, President of the Asiatic Society of Paris, professor in the school of living Oriental languages, and member of the principal learned societies of Europe and of India; a Knight of the Legion of Honour, Commander of the Order of St. Jacques of Portugal, Cavalier of the Pole Star of Sweden, &c., &c.

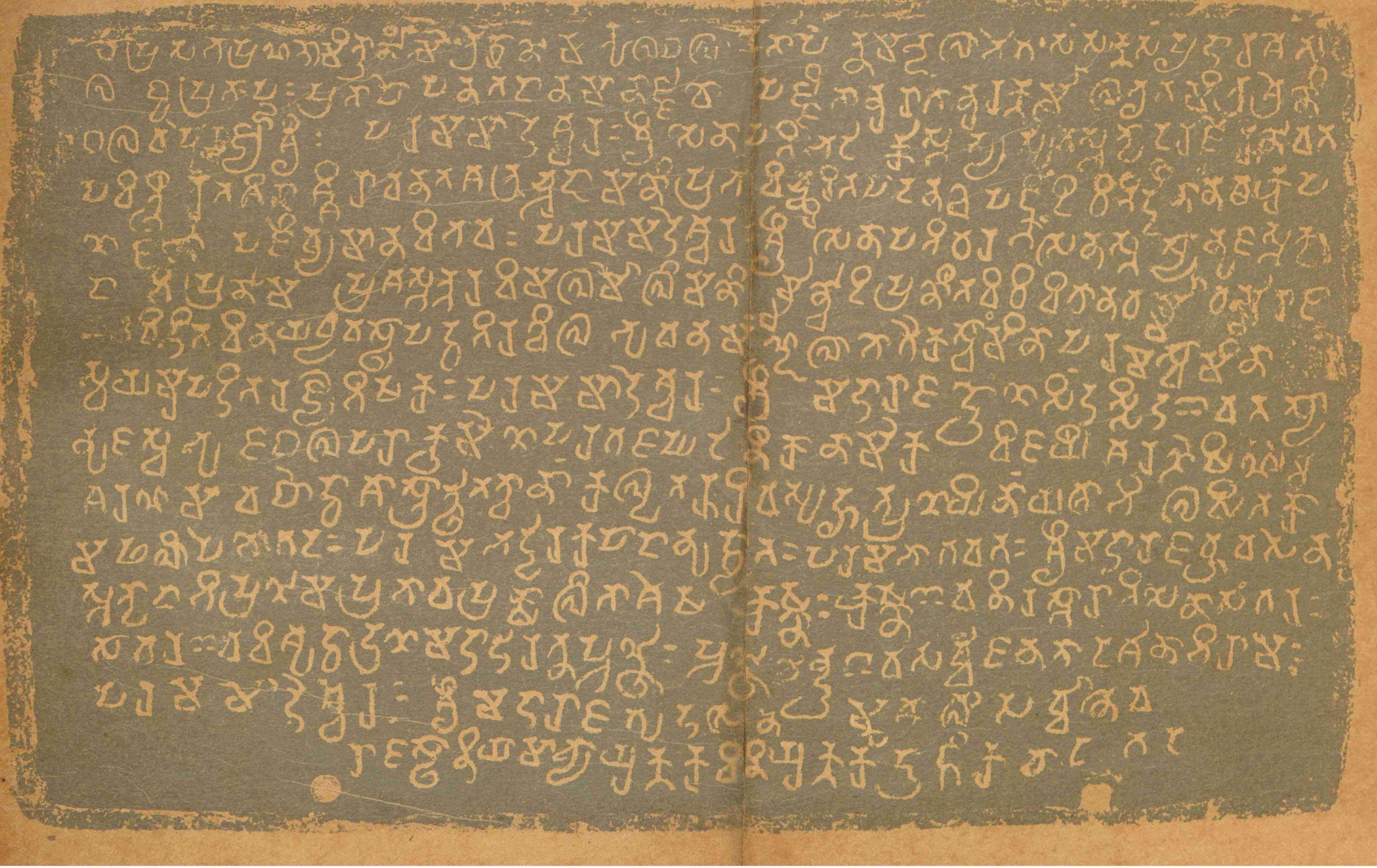
When the French Asiatic Society was established in 1821, under the presidency of the great Orientalist, Baron Silvestre de Sacy, M. Garcin de Tassy acted as its Secretary, and afterwards contributed valuable papers to the Journal. His services to Oriental literature are well known. From his published writings and translations it appears that he was not only well acquainted with Hindi and Urdu, which he taught in his capacity of professor, but also with Arabic, Persian, and Turkish; indeed specimens of all these occur in his *La Rhétorique et la Prosodie des Langues de l'Orient musulman*, as well as in his *Allégories, récits poétiques et chants populaires*, &c., but he appears to have devoted himself chiefly to the first mentioned two languages. Thus he wrote a history of the Hindi and Hindustâni languages, edited and translated the works of Walî, a celebrated poet of the Dekhan, as also the *Adventures of Kamrup* and the *Chronicle of Shir Shâh, Sultân of Delhi*. He wrote Rudiments, Crestomathies and Dictionaries of the Hindi and Hindustâni languages, &c. He produced a French edition of Sir W. Jones's *Persian Grammar*, edited and translated the Persian text of Farid u'd-dîn Attar's *Mantik-uttair*, or 'Language of Birds,' and based thereon his work on the philosophical and religious poetry of the Persians. His *Islamism according to the Kurân* appeared in 1874, but some of his older works, *e. g.* the *Memoir on the Musalmân Proper Names and Titles*, his edition and translation of the *Bág o Bahár*, or 'Garden of Spring,' &c., have lately been republished.

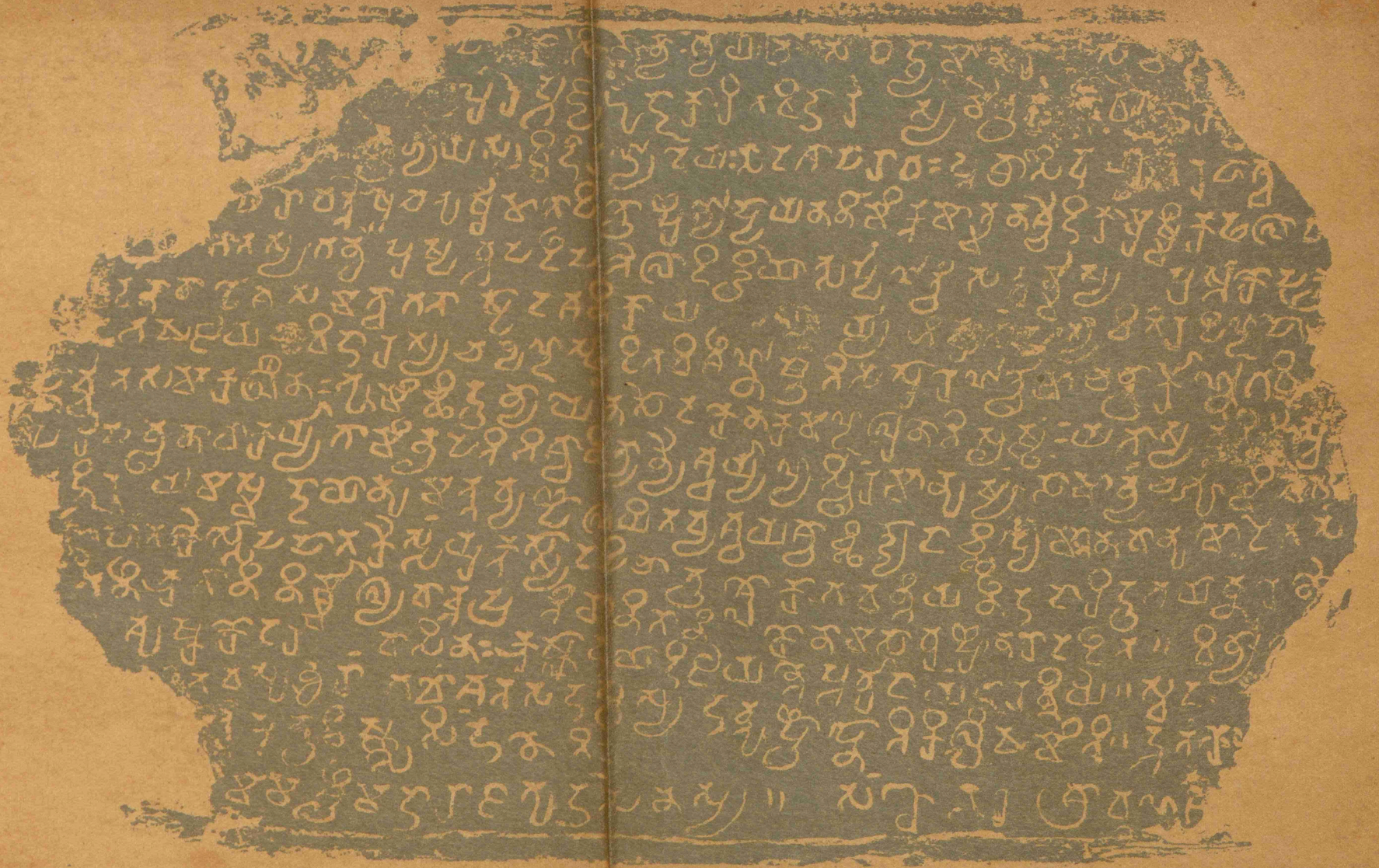
M. G. de Tassy had absolutely no rival on the continent in the special branch of Hindi and Urdu literature, and the vacuum left by him can be neither easily nor quickly filled. E. R.

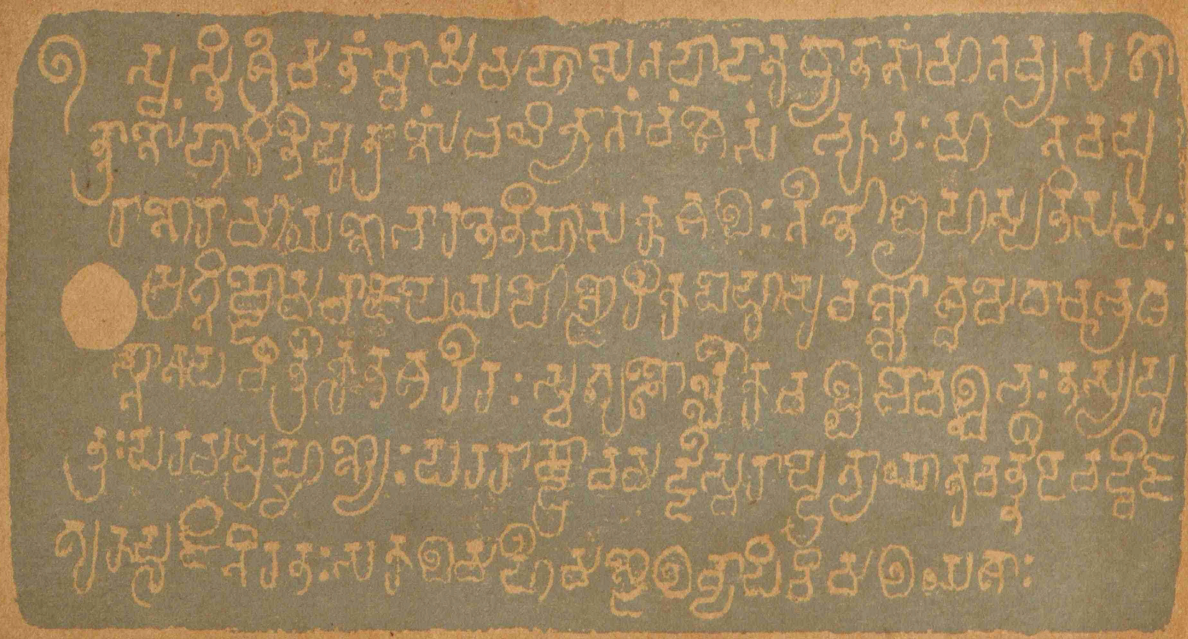
NOTES.

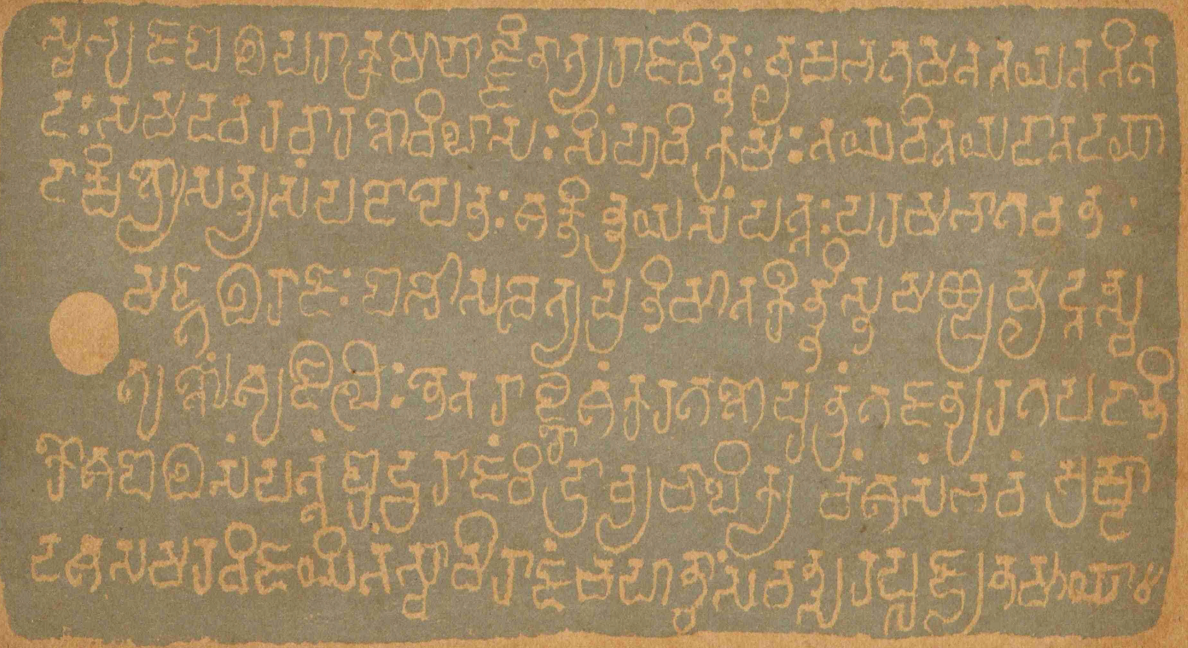
The Sun Worshippers of Asia.—This is the title of a lecture by Chas. D. Poston, the materials for which were collected during an official visit to India. It is a neat little volume of 106 pages, and, while it does not pretend to give more than a brief review of the ancient Persian creed, it contains sufficient information for all practical purposes. We would commend its perusal to all who desire to become acquainted with the religion of Zoroaster. It is published by A. Roman & Co. of San Francisco.

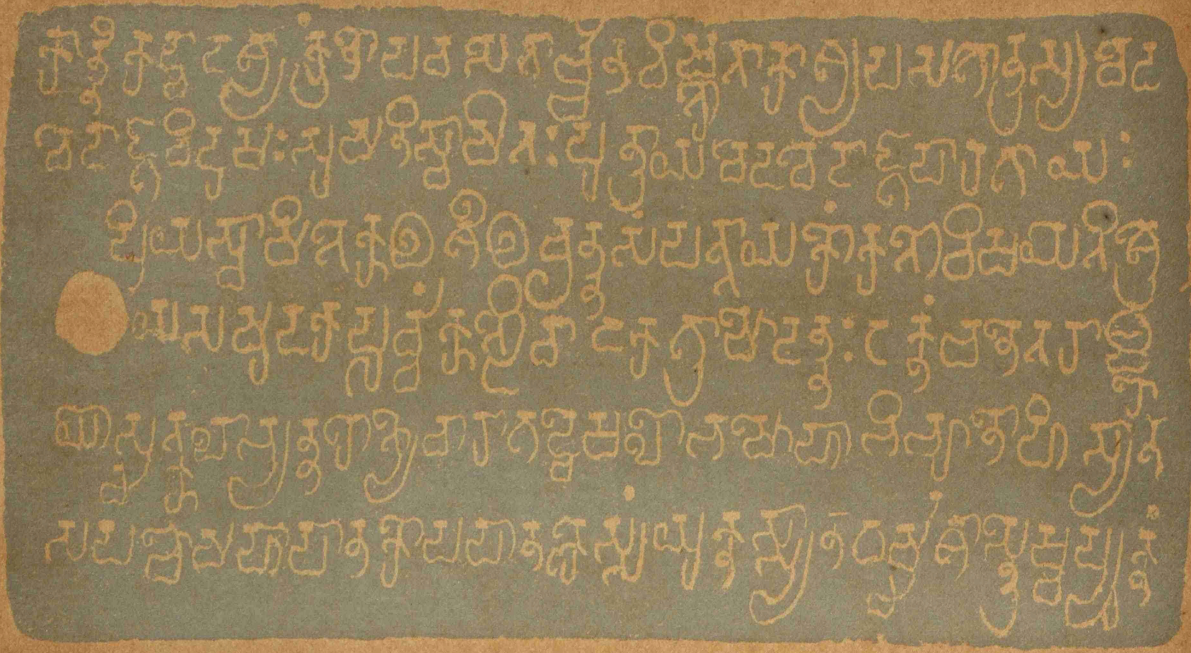
The *Revue Politique et Littéraire* announces the discovery by M. de Gubernatis of several unpublished translations in Italian of Sanskrit writings, including two cantos of the *Râmâyaṇa* by Marco della Tomba, a Capuchin missionary, who resided in Bengal and Nepâl from 1758 to 1770. M. de Gubernatis was charged by the Minister of Public Instruction to publish a part of these translations for the meeting of Orientalists at Florence in September.—*Trubner's Literary Record.*

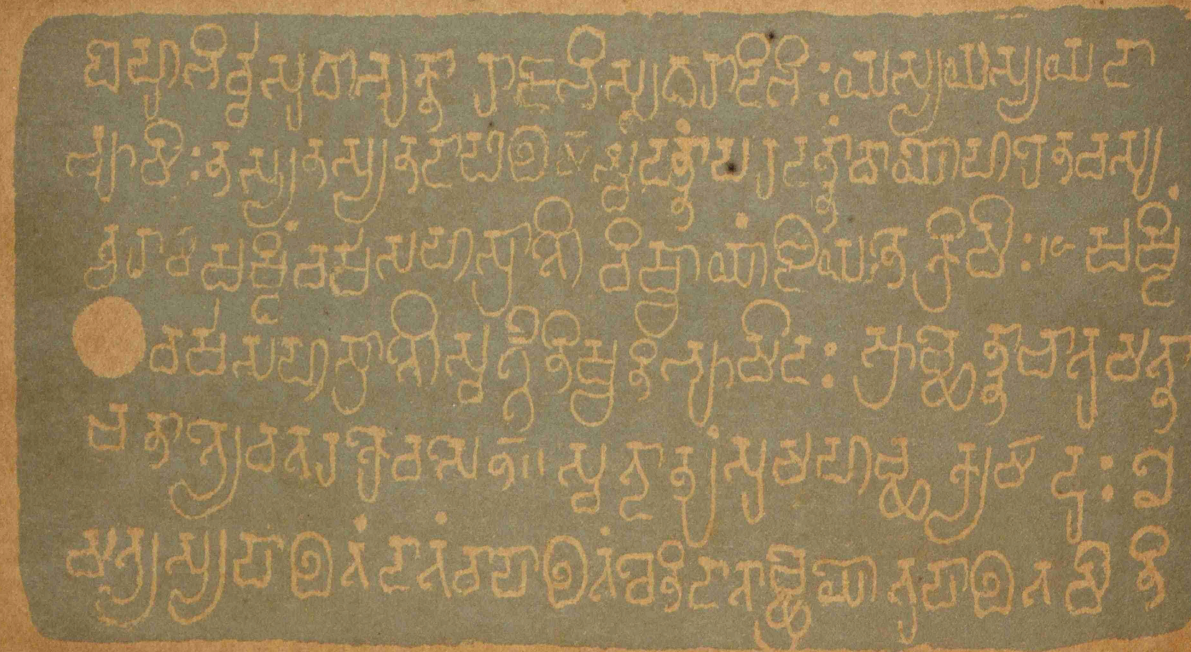












SEAL OF THE EASTERN CHALUKYA GRANT
OF AMMARAJA II. WITHOUT DATE.

Ind. Antiquary, Vol VII, p. 121.

Fig. 1. Shaft at Bijapur.

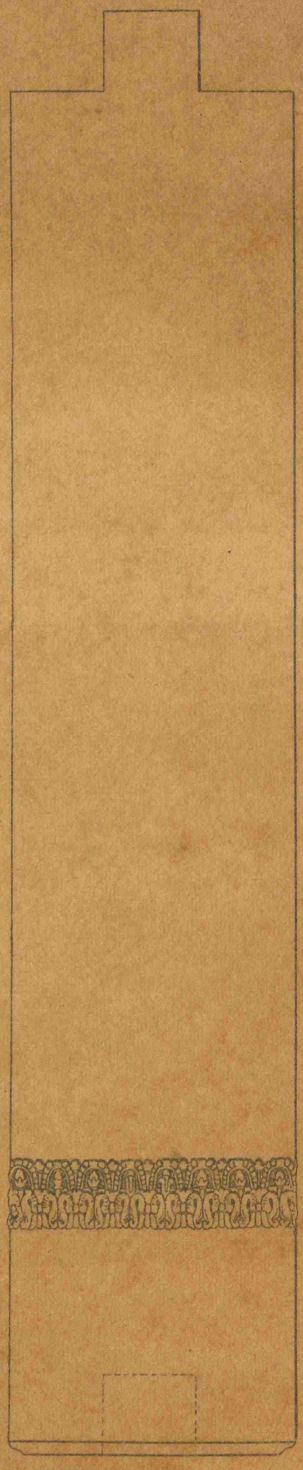
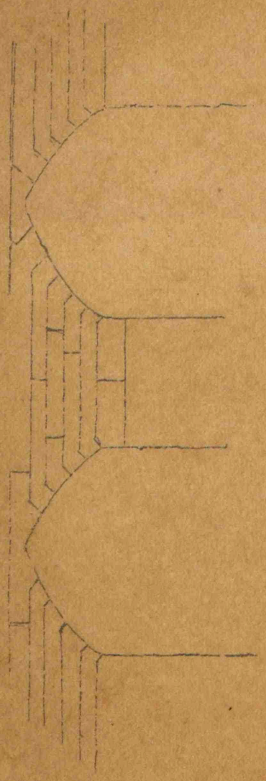
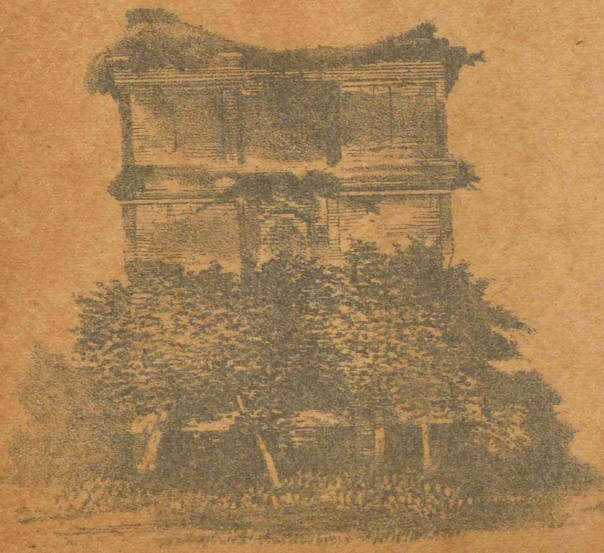


Fig. 2. Composite Bracket-radiating arches.



4. INSCRIPTION ON THE PEDESTAL OF No. 3.

1.



2.

THE TOWER AS IT EXISTED IN 1846.

3.

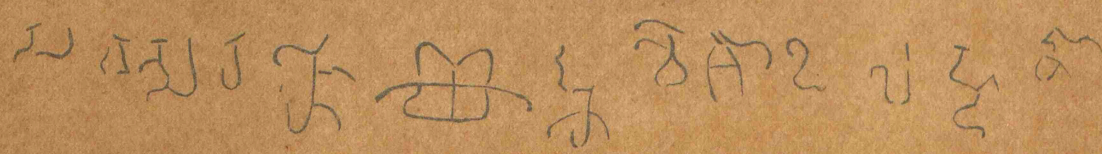
BRONZE IMAGE, PRESENTED TO LORD NAPIER IN 1868.

ANCIENT TOWER AT NAGAPATNAM.

FIG. 5. INDIAN BUDDHA.

FIGS. 6, 7. BAUDDHA IMAGES.

DATE OF THE CANCELLED COPPER-PLATE GRANT
OF THE CHÂLUKYA KING VIJAYAVARMÂ.



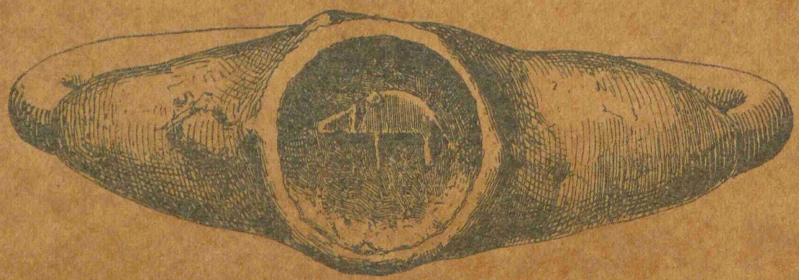
1. SEAL OF THE COPPER-PLATE GRANT
OF VIKRAMÃDITYA I. DATED ŚAKA 532.

2. SEAL OF THE COPPER-PLATE GRANT
OF KANHARADÉVA. DATED ŚAKA 1171.

1. SEAL OF THE COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF RÂJARÂJA. DATED ŚAKA 944.

2. SEAL OF THE COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF KULÔTTUNGA-CHÔDADÊVA II. DATED ŚAKA 1056.

5. SEAL OF THE HARIHARA GRANT OF VINAYÂDITYA, OF S. 616.



TRACES OF A DRÂVIḌIAN ELEMENT IN SINDHI.

BY REV. GEORGE SHIRT, M.R.A.S.

MUCH has been done of late years to elucidate the nature and structure of the Sindhi language; but the labours of those who have written with authority—among whom Dr. Trumpp stands "*facile princeps*"—still leave a large and most difficult field open for further investigation.

It is quite true that Sindhi is a daughter of the Saṅskṛit language, but at the same time it must be borne in mind that it is not altogether of pure blood. The essential parts of its grammar are undoubtedly of Saṅskṛit origin; but one very important property—its use of pronominal affixes—connects it with the Irânian languages, though it far outstrips them in the use of them. Most of the words that are from Saṅskṛit we can easily trace to their source, and the same may be said of the words brought in from Arabic and Persian by the Muhammadans; but when all the Saṅskṛit, Arabic, and Persian words have been eliminated there is still a large residuum of such words as Mr. Beames, in his *Comparative Grammar*, calls *deshists*—so large, in fact, that it would almost be possible to compose a discourse and use only this class of words. Whence have these words come? There can, I imagine, be little doubt that they are a remnant of the language spoken in Sindh before the Âryan immigration, which probably drove the Drâviḍian part of the ancestors of the Brahuis to the hills, and incorporated some of the inhabitants of Sindh into its lowest caste. If so many pre-Saṅskṛitic or *deshist* words are to be found, it becomes an important and interesting question whether Sindhi grammar shows any traces of a similar influence. I believe such traces are to be found.

1. Every word in Sindhi must either end in a vowel or a very slight nasal. This vowel is a very short one, and is hardly perceptible to foreign ears—at least Englishmen and Persians generally fail to pronounce it. The existence of such a thing becomes palpable enough when a Sindhi speaks English, unless great pains have been taken with his pronunciation. He cannot tell you that he has studied in the Government school without pronouncing the last two words *Governmeṇṭu iskûla*. The following Sindhi sentence will illustrate my statement:—*Mûñ sâṇuśĭ anjámŭ kiyo*, 'I entered into an engagement with him.' Here we see that each word ends in either a nasal or a very short vowel; and if sentences were to be accumulated a thousand fold the result would be the same, without a single exception. Bishop Caldwell, in his *Comparative Grammar of the Drâviḍian Languages*, makes the following statements:—"In grammatical written Telugu every word without exception must end in a vowel; and if it has not naturally a vowel of its own *u* is to be suffixed to the last consonant. This rule applies even to Saṅskṛit derivatives * * * Though this *u* is always written, it is often dropped in pronunciation. In modern Canarese a similar rule holds * * * The Tamiḷ rule with regard to the addition of *u* to words which end in a consonant accords with the rule of the ancient Canarese."[1] On the same authority I learn that this vowel is extremely short, as it is in fact in Sindhi, where, however, it may be *ă*, *ĭ*, or *ŭ*. The principle is apparently one and the same both in Sindhi and the Drâviḍian languages: but it is all the more remarkable that in Sindhi it has survived the combined influence of the Âryan, Irânian, and Semitic tongues.

2. There are some neuter verbs in Sindhi which perform the office of passives, though they are not constructed upon the same principle as passive verbs in Sindhi generally are. The passive voice in Sindhi is formed in the same way as it is in Saṅskṛit, only that Sindhi makes *j*, not *y*, the sign of the passive; but this is merely following out a general law in the language, as *y* in Saṅskṛit becomes *j* in Sindhi. The following verbs, however, are exceptions to the general rule:

piṛpaṇŭ	to be found, to be obtained.
jâpăṇŭ	to be born.
dhopăṇŭ	to be washed.
mâpăṇŭ	to be measured.
khŏpăṇŭ	to be expended.
ḍhâpăṇŭ	to be satiated.
chhupăṇŭ	to be touched (by any polluted thing).
dhâpăṇŭ	to issue (as milk from the breast).

[1] Dr. Caldwell's *Comparative Drâviḍian Grammar*, 2nd ed. p. 17.

In this list it will be noticed that *p* is the consonant immediately preceding the infinitive termination *ṇŭ*, and not *j*, as is usually the case, notwithstanding that some of the roots are Saṅskṛit. This *p* I believe to be connected with the Drâviḍian root *po*, 'to go,' which may be used in that class of languages to help to form the passive voice. That *p* should have this meaning would be strictly analogous to the supposed meaning of the Saṅskṛit *y*, and to the use of *shudan* in Persian, which of old meant 'to go,' as does the same word in Balûchi, an ancient sister of Persian. Hindustâni passives, it need hardly be mentioned, are formed by the use of *jânâ*, 'to go.'

3. Sindhi dislikes double letters, except it be the same consonant that is doubled, or one of the double letters be a liquid. A comparison of the following Saṅskṛit words with the same in a Sindhi dress will exhibit this dislike:—

Saṅskṛit.	*Sindhi*
âtmâ	âtĭmâ
strî	isĭtrĭ
vastŭ	văthŭ
prâṇin	pĭrâṇî
tvart	tŭrĭtŭ

This tendency is illustrated in the modification which some English words undergo in passing into Sindhi, *e.g.*

English.	*Sindhi.*
school	isikûla
street	isĭṭrĭṭa

This dislike to double consonants is very marked in the Drâviḍian languages, though it is only fair to confess that it is not by any means confined to them: it is, however, decidedly non-Saṅskṛitic.

4. The postpositions used to serve the office of case-terminations are, as Dr. Trumpp shows, beyond a doubt from Saṅskṛit; but I believe it will be found upon examination that they were made to fit a Drâviḍian mould. *Khe* is the sign of the dative, and is from the Saṅskṛit *kṛite;* but suppose the Drâviḍian *ku* or *khŭ* (for Sindhi is fond of aspirates) to have been known before the Hindus brought *kṛite*, it is easy to understand that in the struggle of these two forms for existence the resultant was *khe*.

Again, the sign of the ablative is *âṅ*, though *khâṅ* is frequently used, being a compound of *khe* and *âṅ;* but this *âṅ* is traceable to the Saṅskṛit ablative termination *ât*. Still in Brahui the sign of the ablative is *ân* or *iân*, and, as Brahui has a large and important Drâviḍian element in it,—scarcely anything else, in fact, in its grammar,—it is not likely that it owes its ablative termination to any Saṅskṛitic influence whatever. It is therefore, I think, highly probable that the Hindus found some such affix as *ân* or *iân* already doing duty for their *ât* in the Indus Valley; and so their dental was displaced by a nasal—an operation probably requiring some little effort on their part, but natural enough to the sons of the soil.

5. The following words will, most of them, I believe, show their parentage to be unmistakably Drâviḍian:—

Sindhi.		*Drâviḍian.*
pĭrâĭnŭ	*to obtain*	peṛ
solăṇŭ	*to divulge*	śol (Tamiḷ)
kŭrâṛo	*old*	kiṛu
kauṛo	*pungent*	kărŭ (Tamiḷ)
kuḍăṇŭ	*to leap*	kŭdi (do.)
khoṭăṇŭ	*to dig*	kott (do.)
măṇjî	*a stool*	măṇrî (do.)
kărăṇḍi	*a ladle*	kărauḍî (do.)
tăṛî	*a stake*	tăṛî (do.)
veṇŭ	*abuse*	veî
oṛâhŭ, âṛâhŭ	*unfathomable*	âṛ (Tamiḷ)
ṭĭrăṇu	*to open* (as a flower)	tĭṛăppŭ (do.)
khăṭă	*a cot*	kăttŭ
nĭrrŭ	*forehead*	neṛṛi
vâî	*speech*	vây (*mouth*)
soṛho	*narrow*	śŭrrŭkkŭ
pĭṛŭ	*halo*	pirei (*waxing and waning moon*)
mŭṇḍhŭ	*beginning*	mŭṇḍŭ (*front*)
oḍhŭnŭ	*to dress*	ŭḍa

6. The following list of words which are neither of Saṅskṛit, Irânian, nor Semitic origin, and yet are common to Sindhi and Brahui, is interesting:—

Sindhi.		*Brahui.*
manjhandî	*midday*	manjan
kopĭrî	*skull*	khopri
pinî	*calf of the leg*	pinnî (*leg*)
khŭṛî	*heel*	kuri
thûṇṭhi	*elbow*	tût (*cubit*)
thûmă	*garlic*	thûm
khârî	*a hamper*	khârî
gothĭrî	*bag*	gothrî
ḍhăggi	*a kind of cow*	dhăggî
ojhĭrî	*tripe*	ojărnik
kăkĭṛâ	*cotton-seed*	kăkrâ

Sindhi.		*Brahui.*
rămbî	*a chisel*	rămbî
jhŭrŭ	*cloudiness*	jŭr (*mist*)
lăkŭ	*a mountain pass*	lăk
ărmânŭ	*anxiety*	ărmân
tanwârā	*chirping of birds*	tăwâr (*voice*)
khăbăṛŭ	*Salvadora oleoides*	khăbăr
bholīṛo	*monkey*	bolû
gŭngo	*dumb*	gŭng

This list might easily be extended, but it is already long enough for our purpose.

7. It remains for me to try and account for these apparent traces of Drâviḍian grammar and words in Sindhi, and for a certain almost common vocabulary in Sindhi and Brahui. A glance at the map will show that the Brahuis and Sindhis are close neighbours,—their borders, in fact, touch each other,—and imagination might easily be tempted to lay hold of this fact as a sufficient solution; still, if it did, it would be wrong. The English and Welsh have been equally close neighbours for centuries, and on the borders of the two countries there have been many people who spoke the two languages, yet the vocabularies of these two nations will afford no such common meeting-ground as is to be found in Sindhi and Brahui. Moreover, the Brahuis and Sindhis have had little intercourse with each other for centuries—one being a fierce marauding people; and the other tame and peaceable, given to the gentle arts of trade and agriculture.

There is another point in connection with the Brahuis which ought to be mentioned, though it will not furnish us with the explanation we are in search of. In some parts of Sindh there are scattered members of the Mari tribe of Brahuis, but these are neither numerous nor influential, and they have left their mother-tongue for the language of the country.

If the grammatical points noticed above are Drâviḍian, and the first list of words be from the same source, it cannot be that Sindhi has received them through the Brahui language; for these laws do not obtain in Brahui, neither are the words of the first vocabulary to be found in that language.

They are a pure inheritance of the Sindhi people; and I believe they point to the fact that the Indus Valley was a home to some part of the Drâviḍian race before the Âryan immigration.

MASONS' MARKS FROM OLD BUILDINGS IN THE NORTH-WEST PROVINCES OF INDIA.

BY H. RIVETT-CARNAC, Esq., B.C.S., C.I.E., M.R.A.S., F.S.A., &c.

The accompanying notes and sketches of masons' marks to be seen on stones of the ancient buildings of the districts through which I have marched during a recent tour may perhaps be of interest to some of your readers.

Without searching through the many volumes that have been written on Indian antiquities, to which I cannot refer whilst in camp, it is not easy to say whether these marks have ever been described or figured before. I may perhaps be going over the ground which in this respect has already been explored more carefully than I can pretend to attempt to do. But even if the work has been done before, the information may be contained in volumes to which all of your readers have not ready access, and the present notes may perhaps, therefore, be considered worthy of a place in the *Indian Antiquary*.[1]

The subject has not, I am aware, escaped the attention of General Cunningham, of the Archæological Survey of India. In his paper on the ruins of Sarnâth (published in the *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. xxxii.) the existence of these marks is noticed, and in his instructions to his Assistants (published in vol. III. of his *Reports*) is the following paragraph:—"The stones should also be carefully examined for masons' marks, which are seldom absent from old buildings, and which, if numerous, will serve to give a tolerably complete alphabet of the characters in use when the structure was erected."

Sketches of the masons' marks are not, however, to be found in General Cunningham's account of Sarnâth above referred to, nor have I been able to find any notes or sketches of them in his well-known volume on the Bhilsa Topes, or in the published *Reports of the Archæological Survey*. Whilst marching about, I hope by degrees to qualify for the grade of Honorary

[1] See a paper by Mr. Walhouse, *ante*, vol. IV. pp. 302-305.—Ed.

Assistant to the Director General in his valuable efforts to collect information regarding all matters of antiquarian interest scattered over India. I have therefore observed his instructions, and now send you the result.

Masons' Marks at Sarnâth.

The first group of sketches on the accompanying plate contains some of the marks to be seen on the sandstone blocks of what is known as the "Dharmek Stûpa," at Sarnâth, near Banâras. These interesting remains have often been described, and chap. III. of Fergusson's *History of Indian Architecture* contains two engravings of the *stûpa.*

Wilford, in *As. Res.* vol ix. quoted by Fergusson, gives the tradition that the *stûpa* was erected by the sons of Mohipâla, and destroyed or (as suggested by Fergusson) interrupted, by the Muhammadans in 1017, before its completion (*History of Indian Architecture*, p. 68). General Cunningham, on the other hand, infers from the characters of an inscription found within the *stûpa* that the building belongs to the sixth century of our era. Perhaps the marks, some of which appear to be letters similar to those of the Bhilsa inscriptions, may be of help in determining the question of the date of the work. The outer facing of the building has in many places been stripped off by decay, or by Muhammadan iconoclasts, leaving exposed the solid blocks of sandstone of which the lower part of the *stûpa* is built.

It is on these inner blocks that the masons' marks, here figured, are found. Each stone has most probably on one of its sides a mark of some sort or other, made by the mason or the contractor, for ready recognition, after the stone was quarried or shaped. Only such marks as are on the outside faces of the stones exposed are to be seen; and those now noticed do not, perhaps, represent one-thousandth part of the marks on the stones composing the building. The same marks recur often, suggesting that the stones on which they are cut are the work of the same mason. The characters or symbols are generally about four inches in length, and from two or three inches in breadth. The sketches in the accompanying plate show them in the position in which they are seen *in situ*, but many of them were most probably inverted at the time the stones were placed in position. Thus Nos. 1 and 4 of the Sarnâth series are evidently the same symbol, one or other of which has been turned upside down.

A rough attempt has been made to group the marks according to classes: thus Nos. 1 to 7 show the triangle,[2] a favourite masons' mark, and one which can easily be cut with a chisel on soft sandstone. These marks are, if I remember right, the most common at Sarnâth.

The next group, comprising the marks from 8 to 18, consists of symbols formed of rectangles.[3] In most of the remaining marks two symbols will be noticed, as indicating, perhaps, that two masons shared in the working of the stone.

The most noticeable of the marks are those figured at the commencement and at the end of the Sarnâth group (*No* 1). Thus, Nos. 1 to 4 (No. 4 being No. 1 inverted) will be found to resemble the symbol of Dharma given in Fig. 6, pl. 32 of Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes.*

No. 49 is the well-known *svastika*, a favourite symbol on Buddhist remains. And here it may be noticed, *en parenthèse*, that M. Bertrand, the Director of the National Museum at St. Germain-en-Laye, recently sent me a model of a small altar found in the Pyrenees on which is the *svastika* exactly similar to No. 49.

No. 50 is probably intended to represent the Buddhist sacred tree; whilst No. 51 is perhaps meant for the platform and tree so common on Buddhist coins. On a visit lately to Âjudhiâ (Faizâbâd) I obtained a large number of these coins, the rough tree symbols of which bear a resemblance to the marks given at No. 51.

In Nos. 52 to 61 several of the letters found in old inscriptions will, I think, be recognized. Thus 52 and 53 are the *t* (turned sideways) of Aśoka's edicts, as given by Prinsep at p. 53, vol. II. of his *Essays on Indian Antiquities*, edited by Thomas. The second symbol of No. 54 is the *n* of the same alphabet.

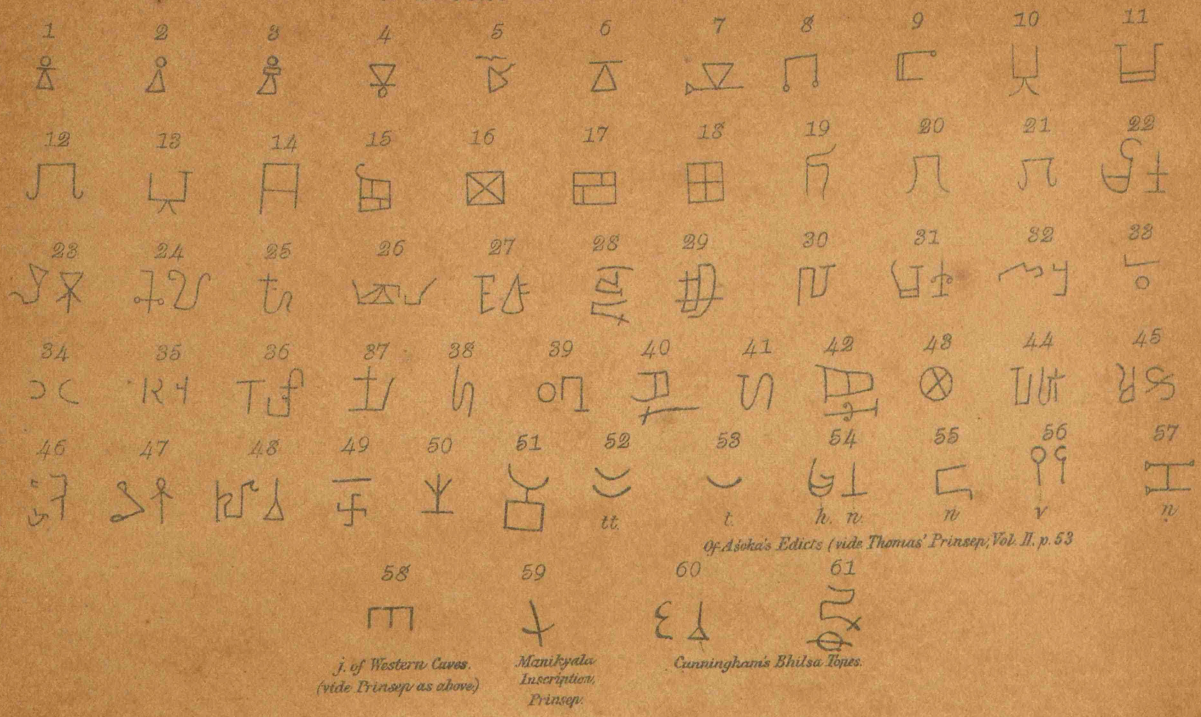
No. 55 is also an *ñ* from the same plate of Prinsep. The first figure of No. 56 is *v*, but the symbol is inverted on the stone.

It may be noticed that this letter resembles the symbol of Mahâdeva to be seen drawn in many places in Banâras, and which Mr. Camp-

[2] The Pâli letter व.—ED.

[3] No. 8 may possibly be ख, and No. 14. श:—see vol. V. p. 304, plate, fig. 6.—ED.

1. MASONS' MARKS AT SARNÁTH.



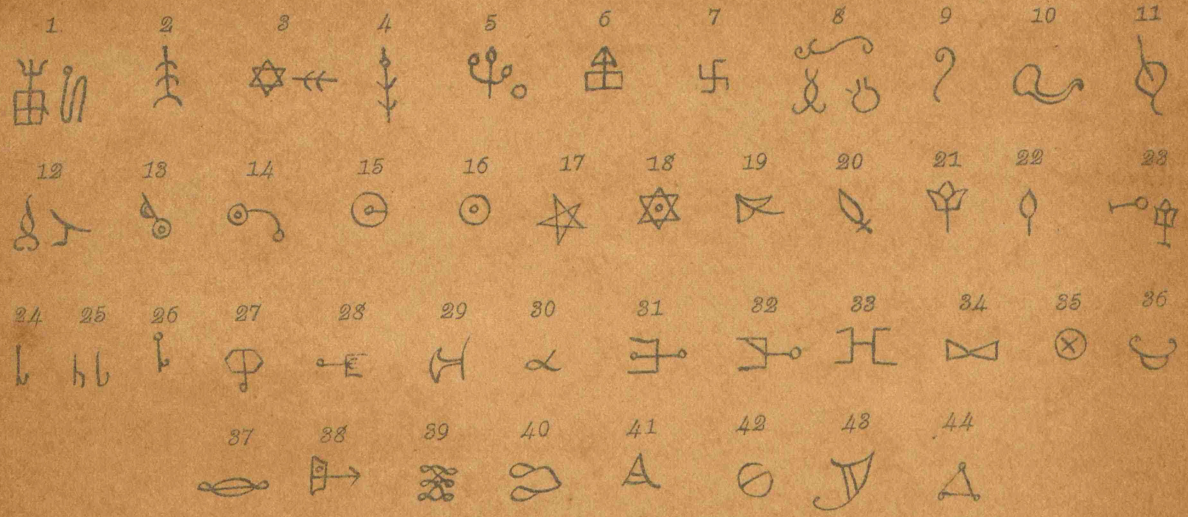
Of Aśoka's Edicts (vide Thomas' Prinsep, Vol. II. p. 53

j. of Western Caves. (vide Prinsep as above)

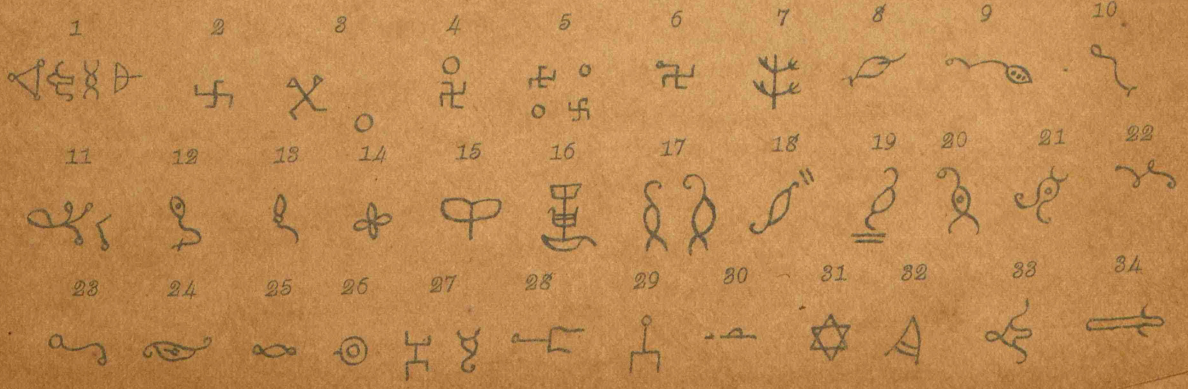
Manikyala Inscription, Prinsep.

Cunningham's Bhilsa Topes.

2. JAUNPUR, JUMA MASJID.



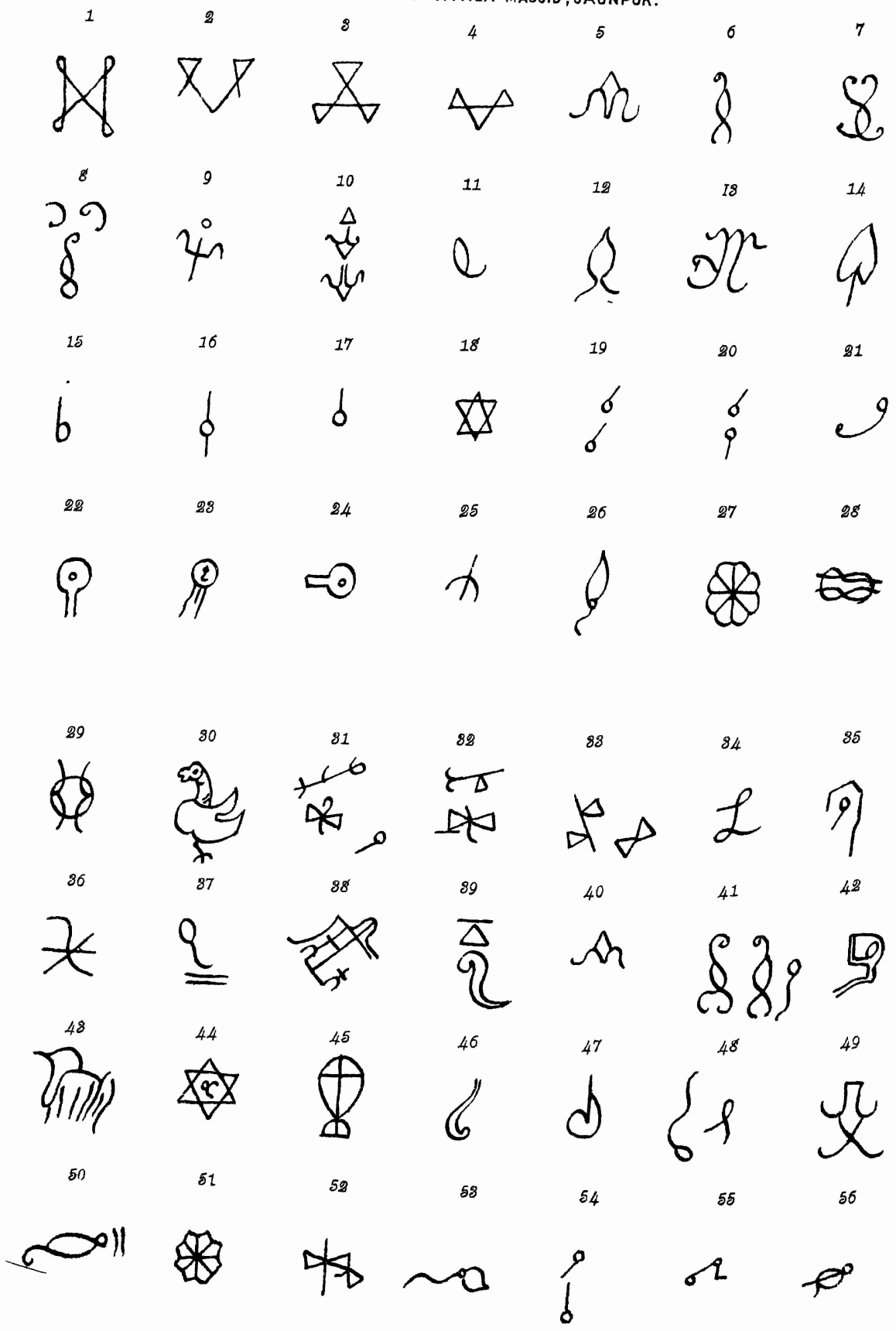
3. LÂL DARWÂZA MASJID.



H. Rivett-Carnac

W. Griggs Phot. [illegible]

4. MASONS' MARKS.– ATÂLA MASJID, JAUNPUR.



bell of Islay found at Âjudhiâ—see *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* January 1877. In a paper in the same journal, I have noticed the resemblance between this symbol and the marks found on many of the monoliths of Europe.

No. 57 is the *n* of the alphabet of Aśoka's edicts (with the horizontal lines considerably lengthened) as given by Prinsep in the volume above quoted. No. 58 is the *j* used in what Prinsep calls the alphabet of the Western caves, but turned with the right side down. No. 59, a rough cross, will be found figured in Prinsep, in one of his plates of the Manikyâla inscription and relics.

The triangle and upright, the last of the two symbols in No. 60, and the lower one,—the circle with a line through it—in No. 61, resembling the Greek ϕ, may both be found in the letters of the inscriptions given in the plates of Cunningham's *Bhilsa Topes*. Practised eyes, and readers who have other books of reference at hand, may perhaps be able to recognize other letters and symbols among the marks herein given.

A further and more careful examination would doubtless show many more marks on the stones of Sarnâth than I have been able to notice here. At Jaunpur, as will be seen from the other groups on the plate which accompanies this paper, the marks are much more elaborate and varied.

At Jaunpur.

From Banâras I marched to Jaunpur, and there I had an opportunity of examining and noting some of the masons' marks on the buildings for which the ancient capital of the Sharki kings is celebrated.

A description of these buildings, illustrated by plans and engravings, will be found in *Fergusson's Indian and Eastern Architecture*, book VII. chapter iv.; and General Cunningham, in his *Archæological Reports*, vol. III. notices the "Jaunpuri Pathân" Architecture under his sixth group of the Muhammadan period.

The chief buildings now remaining are the fort (partly demolished), containing a small mosque and other buildings, a bridge which in 1871 withstood one of the most extraordinary floods on record, and the Jumâ' Atâlâ and Lâl Darwâzâ masjids.

The masons' marks figured in the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th groups on the accompanying plates were found on the pillars and stones of the cloisters adjoining the masjids.

The peculiarity of these buildings is the mixture of two styles of architecture, Hindu and Muhammadan, regarding which Fergusson, at p. 520 of his work noticed above, remarks as follows:—"The principal parts of the mosques, such as the gateways, the great halls, and the western parts, generally are in a complete arcuate style. Wherever, indeed, wide openings and large internal spaces were wanted, arches and domes and radiating vaults were employed; and there is little in those parts to distinguish this architecture from that of the capitals. But in the cloisters that surround the courts, and in the galleries in the interior, short square pillars are as generally employed with bracket capitals, horizontal architraves, and roofs formed of flat slabs, as was invariably the case in Hindu and Jaina temples. Instead of being fused together, as they afterwards became, the arcuate style of the Moslems stands here, though in juxtaposition, in such marked contrast to the trabeate style of the Hindu, that some authors have been led to suppose that the pillared parts belonged to ancient Jaina or Buddhist monuments which had been appropriated by Muhammadans and converted to their purposes."

This view, Fergusson adds, was advanced by Baron Hugel, and has since found supporters in Mr. Horne (*Jour. As. Soc. Beng.* vol. XXXIV.), and in the Rev. Mr. Sherring in his *Sacred City of the Hindus*. Fergusson, although he admits that the Muhammadans may have utilized some Jaina or Hindu buildings, holds that at least nine-tenths of the pillars in the mosques were made at the time they were required for the places they now occupy. Cunningham, on the other hand, seems to differ from Fergusson on this point, and to support the views of Baron Hugel and his followers.

At page vi. vol. IV. of the *Archæological Reports* General Cunningham refers to an inscription on one of the pillars of the Atâlâ Masjid, "which is known to have been originally a Hindu temple converted to Muhammadan use by Ibrâhim Shâh Sharki between the years 1403-1440 A.D."

The masons' marks which I have now to notice may perhaps be of some use in determining the class of buildings to which the stones utilized by the Muhammadans for their mosques originally belonged.

Commencing with the marks on the Jumâ'

Masjid (2nd *group*), I would draw attention to No. 1, in which I think may be recognized a rough representation of the Buddhist tree and platform, with the cobra erect to the right of the tree. These marks were noticed on a stone building built into the gateway of the Jumâ' Masjid. On the block a figure had been carved, but the carving had been partly defaced and the figure turned inwards.

In 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, also the Buddhist tree may, I think, be traced in the rude symbols. But 5, it is true, is not unlike the trident of Śiva, and the accompanying circle may perhaps be intended to represent a Mahâdeva. But I have, in the first instance, suggested the tree, as the conventional renderings of the tree on Buddhist coins obtained recently at Ajudhiâ are not unlike the markings here figured.

No. 7 is the *svastika* again, similar to the markings on the Buddhist Stûpa at Dhamek, Banâras. This symbol was, I understand, originally Buddhist, but was eventually adopted by the Hindus and Jains, so the stone may have been the work, I suppose, of either a Buddhist, a Hindu, or a Jain. In 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, may be recognized, I think, attempts to represent the cobra.

In No. 8 the cobras are intertwined in the well-known form of the *caduceus*, and cobras in this position are to be found carved on a stone at the Nâga (or Cobra) well at Banâras. In 8 and 9 the symbol has been turned upside-down, the original position of the stone having been altered on its being placed *in situ*.

The circles of 13, 14, 15, 16, and the symbol on the right-hand side in No. 8, represent perhaps the Mahâdeva and Yoni. In the double triangles of Nos. 17 and 18 will be recognized the favourite masons' mark, or Solomon's seal. The other marks do not call for special notice, save that there is apparently an absence of any attempt at written characters as opposed to symbols.

The tree and leaves or buds as in Nos. 19 to 23 are common enough. The only marks bearing any resemblance to letters are those of 24 to 27.

Taking next (*group* 3) the marks on the stones at the Lâl Darwâzâ Masjid, the most remarkable is the combination of symbol No. 1, in the third series,—the triangle,—then a spear-head, then the snakes intertwined, and lastly what would seem to be the representation of a bow and arrow. The *svastika* appears again in Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, the tree in No. 7. Nos. 8 to 15 seem to be intended for leaves or buds. No. 16 is quite a new symbol, of a somewhat elaborate type.

The stones of the Atâla Masjid are much richer in marks (*group* 4). But many of them are of types already noticed (see the second page of the plate).

The familiar triangle recurs in Nos. 1 to 4. No. 7 is undoubtedly intended for the snakes. No. 8, which I at first took to be intended for the same symbol, is perhaps meant for a bird.

A peculiar Buddhist symbol similar to that on many coins found at Ajudhiâ will be seen in the centre of Solomon's seal of No. 44. No. 30 is the sacred goose, perhaps.

In 39 will be seen the cobra surmounted by the Buddhist symbol noticed in the Dhamek markings.

NOTES ON THE KANPHÀṬÂ YOGÎS.

BY G. S. LEONARD, SAIDPUR.

THE acknowledged head and guide of this religious sect of Yogîs is said to have been one Gorakh or Gorakhnâtha.[1] The sect was originally designated by the name of Nâthas, or leaders, from their founder, Adinâtha. The name Adinâtha means 'a leader or guide,' from whom most of the succeeding *pîrs* of this order had the agnomen of Nâtha affixed to their proper names. In Upper Hindustân this word Nâthji is used to denote indiscriminately a spiritual guide of any order, just as Gurû and Âchârya are used in Bangâli and Saṁskṛit. In its theological sense it is restricted to a Śaiva preceptor, as the surname of Gosain is confined to the professors and guides of the Vaishṇava faith. It was, however, gradually extended to a cognomen of the deity Śiva, whether worshipped in the form of a human statue, or that of his more common prototype the *liṅga* or *phallus*, as the emblems of Badrinâtha, Śambhunâtha, Pasupatinâtha, and the equally far-famed *liṅga* of Somanâtha.

The Kânphâṭâs were afterwards denomi-

[1] For a valuable paper on the history of the Kânphâṭâs of Kachh *vide ante*, vol. VII. pp. 47ff.—ED.

nated the Gorakhpanthîs, or followers of Gorakhnâtha, the renovator of their creed and doctrines,—in the same manner as the disciples of Dâdu, Kabir, and Nânak were designated by the appellations of Dâdu-panthîs, Kabir-panthîs, and Nânakpanthîs. Gorakhnâtha, the acknowledged founder of the order, is recorded in a Saṅskṛt treatise on *Yoga* philosophy, called the *Hathadîpika*, by Âtmârâm, to have been the eighth in succession to Adinâtha, the originator of the sect, and to have transmitted his doctrines in Saṅskṛit to posterity. The names of the leaders of this sect are thus given in the treatise:—Śrî Adinâtha, Matsyendra, Sambara, Ananda-bhairava, Chandrangi, Mena, Goraksha, Virupâksha, Velassayan, &c.

Gorakhnâtha, according to the authorities of this sect and the *Rekhtas* of Kabir, is reckoned to be one of the nine eminent teachers of the *Yoga* system; and he is still more conspicuous than the others from his having left written documents of his faith and precepts in some works of his composition in original Saṅskṛit, which no other of his sect had done either before or after him. Dr. H. H. Wilson has given a list of thirty teachers of this faith from the *Hathadîpikâ* cited above, and fixed the date of Gorakhnâtha in the fourteenth century, by assigning only the space of fifteen years to each of his successors (*vide* Wilson's "Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus" in vol. XVII. p. 190, of the *Asiatic Researches*). In the *Rekhtas* of Kabir, however, printed in the *Hindi and Hindustâni Selections* by Captain Price, there occurs a distich in a controversial dialogue between Kabir and Gorakhnâtha which makes them contemporaries at the commencement of the fifteenth century, and states that Gorakhnâtha was the son of Matsyendra, and grandson of Âdinâtha.

The word *kânphâṭâ* literally means 'ear-split,' and is, like *naḳṭî*, 'nose-clipt,' a vernacular term of reproach, applied contemptuously to this sect by the victorious Muhammadans, who in the same way made use of the epithet *kâfir*, 'black,' to the inhabitants of this country, and called every one *kâfir*, or 'infidel,' who professed a faith different from their own. The practice of boring holes in the ears (*karṇa-bhedha*) is an essential religious ceremony among the Hindus of all castes and tribes in general, but the custom of making a slit in the cartilage of the ear, and inserting rings or cylinders made of horn, agate, or glass in the perforated part, as necessary for the initiation of a disciple, is an institution originating with Gorakhnâtha, who for this reason is styled the founder of the Kânphâtâs. This practice was borrowed from a custom prevalent among all classes of *yogîs* of suspending rings to the ears, in imitation of the Jainas and Buddhists, who in their turn had derived it from Śiva, the lord of the *yogîs*, who is often represented in a posture of deep meditation with similar rings pendent in his ears, as in an image in the Dumar Leṇâ at Elura, or in the vestibule of the Elephanta cave. These rings, called *mundre*, from the Saṅskṛit word *mundras* or circlets, which from their immense size painfully distort the cartilage of the ear, have often been made objects of ridicule by the Muhammadans in their popular songs. Hence Kabir, although a convert from Muhammadanism to Hindu Râma-worship, does not omit the opportunity of deriding the earrings of Gorakhnâtha while discussing with him his religious opinions and principles; a tetrastich in the *Bâgh-o-Bahâr* also accuses the Kânphâtâs, and all other classes of *yogîs* and hermits, of cupidity and greediness, notwithstanding their professions to the contrary.

The Kânphâtâs are mentioned in Lallu Lâl's *Tables of Hindu Sects and Tribes* as having originated from the *yogîs* and *jangams* of the Śaiva faith, and this statement is corroborated by the account which Dr. Wilson has given of them in his "Sketch of the Hindu Sects" in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. XVII.

The devotees of Śiva (perhaps the only remnants of ancient *yogîs* in India, except the Paramhaṅsa of Śaṅkarâchârya's Vedantism) are religious recluses from the world, and wholly devoted to abstract meditation. The Kânphâtâs are of the same persuasion, with this difference between them and other Śaivas, that, while all orders of *Sanyâsîs* are at liberty to visit holy places and perform distant pilgrimages, the Kânphâtâs are constrained to remain within their *maṭhas*, or monasteries, and sometimes are even closely confined in their *guhas*, or cells, for intense application to meditation. A reference to this peculiarity occurs in the *Hathadîpika*, and is thus translated by Dr. Wilson:—

"The Hatha jogi should dwell in a well go-

versed and properly regulated country, which is fertile and free from disturbances, within a solitary cell within the precincts of a *matha* or sanctuary."

A Kânphâtâ is not allowed to lead a solitary, independent, or vagrant life, like the Paramhañsas or Paribrajakas of the Vedic religion, or that of a mendicant as enjoined by the Smritti *śástras*. He is strictly prohibited, according to the *Hathadípiká*, from having communication with the wicked, from sitting beside a fireplace, from walking in bye-ways, from early baths and fasts, and from all bodily austerities and penances enjoined in the *śástras*. In contradistinction to the practices of the Kânphâtâs it may be mentioned that early baths, and sitting by the fireplace, as also offering oblations to fire, are positive injunctions of the *Vedas*, and are extensively practised by Hindus, and a large number of itinerant and vagrant Sanyâśis of other sects. The main object of the superiors or heads of a Kânphâṭâ monastery is the attainment of spiritual perfection in the close recess of his solitary cell; while the chief employment of the novices is the practice of acts of charity and benevolence to every one within the circuit of their monastery.

The religion of the Kânphâṭâs, as professed by their founder and preceptor, Gurû Gorakhnâtha, is similar to that of all other Śaiva sects—the monotheism, otherwise called Brahmaism, of the *Upanishads* and *Vedânta* philosophy, which was widely propagated afterwards by its great champion, the venerable Śankarâchârya, and his disciples, Ânandagiri and others, and now upheld by the Brâhma Somâj of Calcutta. The only authentic account we have of Gorakhnâtha's religious teaching and principles is contained in the religious debates (*goshṭis*) held between him and Kabir, and preserved in the *Rekhta* verses of the latter, published in the *Hindi and Hindustâni Selections* of Captain Price. 'The one incomprehensible Supreme Being, who is devoid of or beyond all attributes, is the object of their adoration. But as a being whose nature and properties are inconceivable and inscrutable, and of whom nothing can be predicated compatible with the finite and imperfect notions of humanity, can hardly be made an object of meditation or worship, certain attributes and properties were required for the purpose of meditation and imitation. To supply this want Gorakhnâtha wrote a work, called the *Goraksha-Sahasranâmâ*, containing a thousand attributive appellations of God, for the contemplation of his disciples. This book forms the creed of the sect, and requires not only the firm belief of its votaries in those attributes of the deity, but their *jap*, or repeating of those names in secret, and *dhyân*, or meditation on their import in silence. In the same manner the Vaishṇavas have their thousand appellations of Vishṇu, and the Śâktâsa hundred and eight names, and sometimes more, for the goddess Śakti (*potentia*), whom they adore. The two Hindu sects known by the names of Satnâmis and Dasnâmîs have respectively a hundred and ten epithets for their deities; and the Muhammadans a hundred names of God and ninety-nine of Muhammad, which they mutter while telling their beads, and utter during their prayers and devotions. But the mere *jap*, or muttering of these names, or the *dhyân*, meditation on their significations, is not enough to acquit the Kânphâtâ of his responsibility as a *yogi*. He must endeavour to apply to himself the archetypes of divine perfection, and to accustom himself to imitate, resemble, and approximate them in his spiritual nature, until he finds himself assimilated into the divine essence, by his attaining to a state of clairvoyance and ecstacy which liberates him from the vicissitudes which mortal existences are subject to.

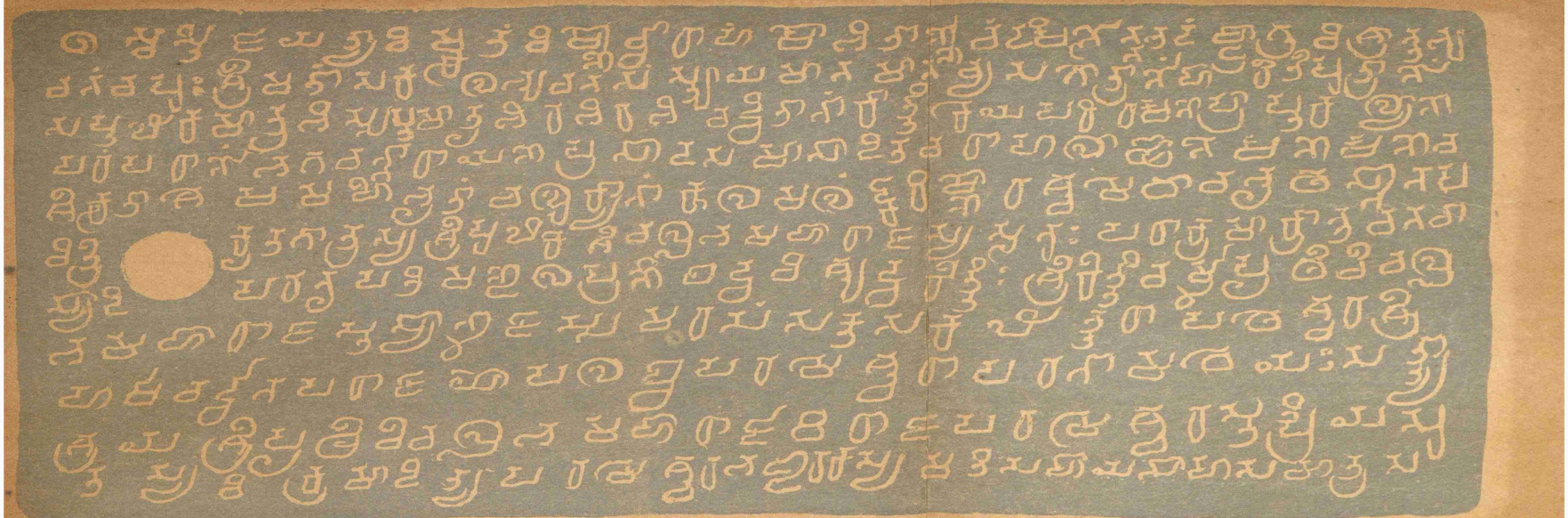
SANSKRIT AND OLD CANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

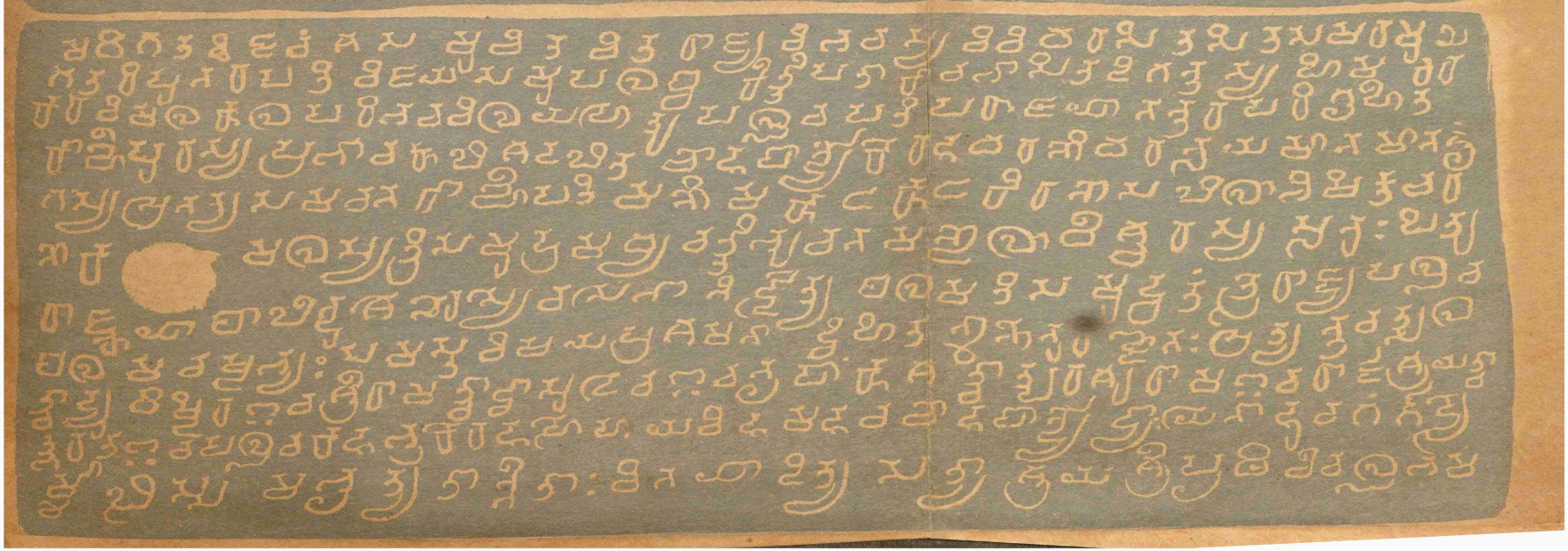
BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S., M.R.A.S.

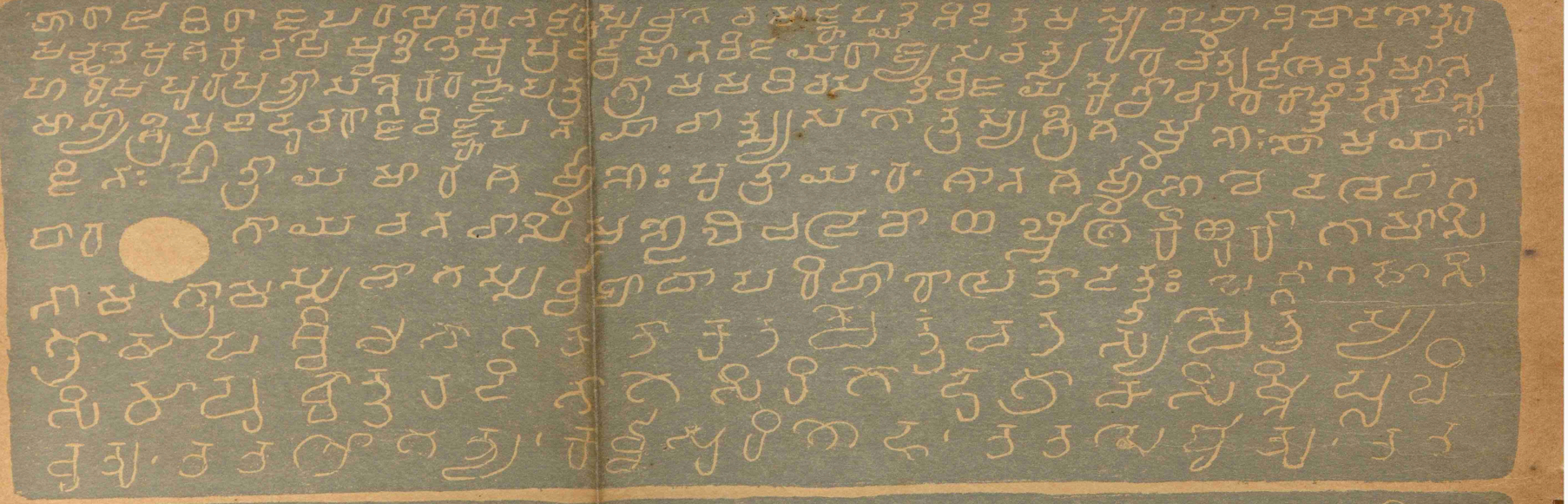
(*Continued from p.* 253.)

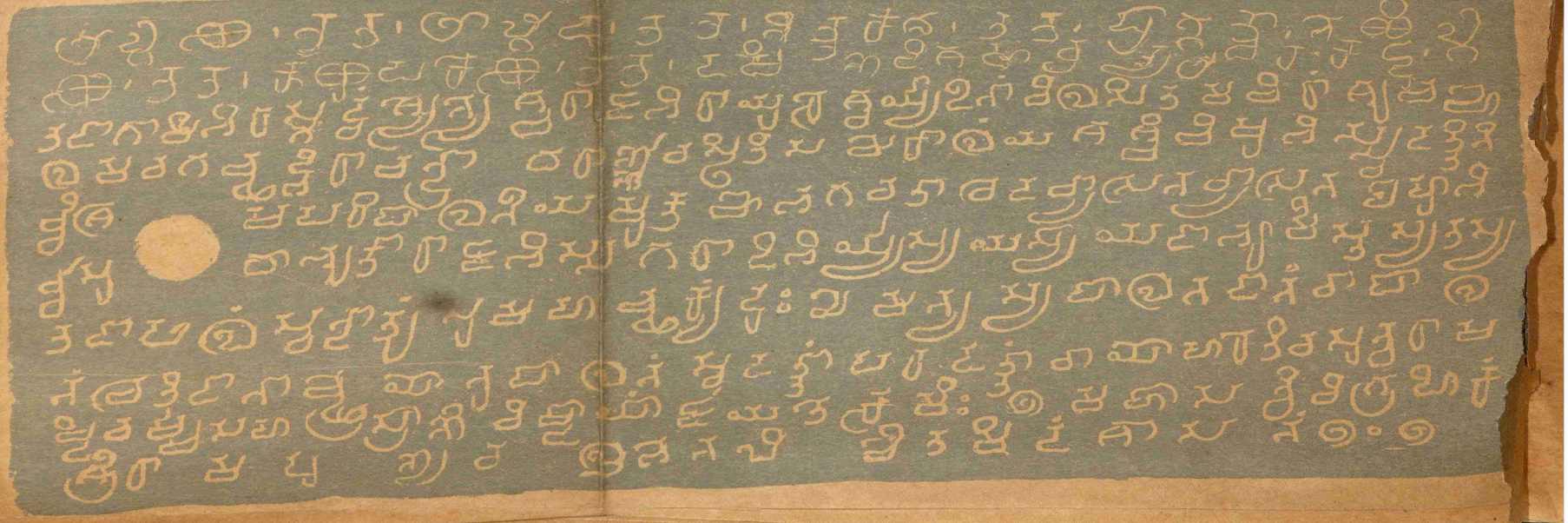
No. XLVIII.

At *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI., p. 91, I published (No. XXXI. of this Series) a copper-plate grant of the Western Chalukya king Vinayâditya. My transcription was made from No. 3 of the photographs of copper-plate grants at the end of Colonel Dixon's Collection. The photograph was on too small a scale for a lithograph facsimile to be prepared from it. But this want has now been supplied through









the kind assistance of the Rev. T. Foulkes of Beṅgaḷûr, who obtained the original plates on loan from the owner of them, and transmitted them to England. This has enabled me to give the details of the plates, and to correct and complete my transcription and translation of them.

Mr. Foulkes does not give the name of the owner of the plates; but states that he is the astrologer of the temple of the god Harihara at Harihar, and,—though the grant was made to a member of the Vâtsya *gôtra*,—that he belongs to the Kâśyapa *gôtra*. It is not known where the plates were found, or how they came into the possession of the family that now owns them.

The plates are three in number, about $10\frac{1}{4}''$ long by $4\frac{3}{4}''$ broad. They have very decided raised rims to protect the writing. The inscription commences on the inside of the first, and ends on the inside of the third, plate. The ring had not been cut when the plates were received in England; it is about $\frac{1}{3}''$ thick, and $4\frac{1}{8}'$ in diameter. A facsimile of the seal has been given in the Plate at p. 253 (No. 5) above; it is slightly oval, about $1\frac{1}{8}''$ by $1\frac{1}{2}''$, and has the representation of a boar, facing to the proper right, in relief on a countersunk surface.

The grant was made by Vinayâditya himself, at the request of the king of the Âḷuvas, and seems to have been made to celebrate a victory over that family. It is dated in the fourteenth year of his reign, on the day of the full-moon of Kârttika, when Śaka 616 (A.D. 694-5) had expired.

Transcription.

First plate.

[1] Svasti [||*] Jayaty=âvishkṛitaṁ Vishṇôr=vvârâhaṁ kshôbhit-ârṇṇavaṁ dakshiṇ-ônnata-daṁshṭr-âgra viśrânta-bhu-

[2] vanaṁ vapuḥ [||*] Śrîmatâṁ sakala-bhuvana-saṁstûyamâna-Mânavya-sagôtrâṇâṁ Hârîtî-putrâṇâṁ

[3] sapta-lôka-mâtṛibhis=sapta-mâtṛibhir=abhirabhi[1]varddhitânâṁ Kârttikêya-parirakshaṇa-prâpta-kalyâṇa-

[4] paraṁparâṇâṁ bhagavan-Nârâyaṇa prasâda-samâsâdita-varâha-lâñchhan-êkshaṇa-kshaṇa-va-

[5] śîkṛit-âśêsha-mahîbhṛitâṁ Chalukyânâṁ kulam=alaṁ(la)ṅkarishṇôr=aśvamêdh-âvabhṛitha-snâna-pa-

[6] vitrîkṛita-gâtrasya Śrî-Puli[2]kêśî(śi)-Vallabha-mahârâjasya sûnuḥ parâkram-âkrânta-Vanavâ-

[7] sy-âdi-para-nṛipati-maṇḍala-praṇibaddha-viśuddha-kîrttiḥ Śrî-Kîrttivarmma-pṛithî(thi)vîvalla-

[8] bha-mahârâjas=tasy=ânma(tma)jas=samara-saṁsakta-sakal-ôttarâpath-êśvara-Śrî-

[9] Harshavarddhana-parâjay-ôpalabdha paramêśvar-âpara-nâmadhêyaḥ Satyâ-

[10] śraya śrî-pṛithî(thi)vîvallabha-mahârâj-â[3]dhirâja-paramêśvaras=tat-priya-su-

[11] tasya Vikramâditya-paramêśvara-bhattârakasya mati-sahâya-sâhasa-mâtra-sa-

Second plate; first side.

[12] madhigata-nija-vaṁśa-samuchita-chita-râjya-vibhavasya vividha-rasita-sita-samara-mukha-

[13] gata-ripu-narapati-vijaya-samupalabdha-kîrttî(rtti)-pâtâk-âvabhâsita-digantasya himakara-

[14] kara-vimala-kula-paribhava-vilaya-hêtu-Pallavapati-parâjay-ânantara-parigṛihîta-

[15] Kâñchî-purasya prabhâva-ku[4]lê(li)śa-dalê(li)ta-Chôḷa-Pâṇḍyâ(ṇḍya)-Kêraḷa-dharaṇi(ṇî) dhara-tû(tra)ya-mâna-mâna-śṛiṁ-

[16] gasya an-anya-samavana[ta*]-Kâñchîpati-maṇi-makuta-kuta-kiraṇa-salil-âbhishikta-chara-

[17] ṇa-kamalasya tri-samudra-madhya-vartti-bhuvana-maṇḍal-âdhîśvarasya sûnuḥ pitu-

[18] r=âjñayâ Bâlî(lê)nduśêkharasy=êva Sênâni(nî)r-Ddaitya-balam=ati-samuddhataṁ trairâjya-Pallava-

These two letters, *rabhi*, are an unnecessary and unmeaning repetition.

[2] It is somewhat doubtful whether *li* is intended, or *le*. But, collating all the other passages in which this name occurs, I find the rule to be that, when the vowel of the first syllable is *o*, then the vowel of the second is *e*, and when the vowel of the first syllable is *u*, then the vowel of the second is *i* or, in later times, *a*.

[3] Here, and in *âjñâpayati*, l. 23, and *vijñâpanavâ*, l. 26, and *jâyati*, l. 41, the vowel *â* is irregularly attached to the top stroke of the *ja*, instead of to the centre stroke, in the usual manner, as in *mahârâj-âdhirâja*, ll. 22 23.

The upper part of the *ka* has not come out in the facsimile. A few similar instances of imperfect letters, and of a failure of the *Anusvâra* to appear in the facsimile, will be found further on.

[5] In the facsimile, the top stroke of the *sa* has run up into the *Anusvâra*, so as to read like *śrî*, instead of

[19] balam=avashṭabhyaḥ(bhya) samasta-vishaya-praśamanâd=vihita-[ta*]n-manô-nuraṁ(ra)ñjanaḥ atyanta-vatsala

[20] tvâd=Yudhishṭi(shṭhi)ra iva Śrî-râmatvâd=Vâsudêva iva nṛip-âṁkuśatvât=Paraśurâma iva râj-âśrayatvâ

[21] d=Bharata iva Pallava-Kaḷaṁ[6]bhra-Kêraḷa-Haihaya-Viḷa-Maḷava-Chôḷa-Pâṇḍy-âdyâḥ yên=Âḷuva-Gaṁ(ga)ṅg-âdyai-

[22] r=mmaulais=sama-bhṛityatân=nîtâḥ Vinayâditya-Satyâśraya-sri-pṛithivîvallabha-ma-

Second plate ; second side.

[23] hârâj-âdhirâja-paramêśvara-bhaṭṭâraka[7]s=sarvva(rvvâ)n=êvam=âjñâpaya[8]ti [| *] Viditam=astu vô=smâbhi(bhiḥ) shôḍaś-ôttara-

[24] shach(t) chhatêshu Śaka-varshêshv=atîtêshu pravarddhamâna-vijaya-râjya-saṁvatsarê chaturddaśê varttamânê

[25] Harê(?ri)sha-pura-pratyâsannê Karañjapatra-grâmam=adhivasati vijaya-skandhâvârê Kârttikê(ka)-paurṇṇa-

[26] mâsyâṁ śrîmad-Âḷuva-râja-vijñâpanayâ Vâtsya-sagôtrasya Śrîśarmmaṇaḥ sôma-yâ-

[27] jinaḥ pautrâya Mâraśarmmaṇaḥ putrâya Îśânaśarmmaṇô vêda-vêdâṁga-

[28] pâragâya Vanavâsi(sî)-maṇḍalê Ede(?ḍe)voḷal-bhô(bhâ)gê Kiṛu-Kâgâmâsi-

[29] nâma-grâmas=sa-bhôgas=sarvva-bâdhâ-parihâr-ôpêtô dattaḥ [||*] Per-Ggâga(gâ)mâsi-

[30] grâma-paśchima-bhâga(gê) kṛit-âkṛita-kshêtraṁ [|*] Cha(ê)tasya kshêtrasya

[31] si(sî)mâ [|*] pu(pû)vv(rvv)-ôttara-di[g*]-bhâgê Sirigôdu(?ḍu)-grâma-si(sî)mni Pûli-

[32] vu(?)tu | tata âgatya |[10] Karvvasurigoḷa | tata(taḥ) Perbu(?)tu | tata

Third Plate.

[33] Âlgî(lge ?)ṛe | tata |[10] Âlgoḷa | tata(tô)[10] Nittakalâ | tata(taḥ) |[10] prâg=gatvâ |[10] Nêṛilgî(lge ?)-

[34] ṛe | tata(taḥ) |[10] Kuṛupakeṛe | tata(tô) |[10] dakshiṇa-diśam=âvritya Arakatta |(||)

[35] Tad=âgâmibhir=asmad-vaṁśyai[r=a*]nyaiś=cha râjabhir=âyur-aiśvaryy-âdînâṁ vilasitam=achirâṁśu-chañcha-

[36] lam=avagachchhadbhir=â-chandr-â[rkka]-dhar-ârṇṇava-sthiti-samô(ma)-kâlaṁ yaśaś-chichi(chî)shubhis=sva-datti-ni-

[37] rvviśêshaṁ paripâlanîyam=uktañ=cha bhagavatâ vêda-vyâsêna Vyâsêna[| *] Bahubhi-

[38] r=vvasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhis=Sagar-âdibhir=yyasya yasyâ(sya) yadâ bhûrmi(mi)s=tasya tasya

[39] tadâ phalaṁ [||*] Svan=dâtuṁ su-mahach-chhakyaṁ duḥkham=anyasya pâlanaṁ dânaṁ vâ pâla-

[40] naṁ ch=êti dânâch=chhrêyô=nupâlanaṁ [||*] Sva-dattâṁ para-dattâṁ vâ yô harêti(ta) vasundharâṁ sha-

[41] shti-varshsha(rsha)-sahasrâṇi vishṭâyâṁ jâyatê kṛimiḥ ||* Mahâ-sa(sâ)ndhivigrahika-

[42] Śrî-Râmapuṇyavallabhêna likhitam=idaṁ śâsanaṁ ||* ||*

Translation.

Hail! Victorious is the body, which was that of a Boar, that was manifested of Vishṇu, (&c., as in No. XXIX, at Vol. VI., p. 87)!

The son of the great king Śrî-Pulikêśi-Vallabha,—whose body was purified (&c., as in No. XXIX.)—(*was*) the great king Śrî-Kîrttivarmâ, the favourite of the world, (&c., as in No. XXIX.).

His son (*was*) Satyâśraya, the favourite of the world, the great king, the supreme king, the supreme lord, (&c., as in No. XXIX.).

His dear son (*was*) Vikramâditya, the supreme lord, the venerable one,—who acquired (&c., as in No. XXIX.).

[6] The photograph distinctly shows the *Anusvâra* over the *ḷa*; but it does not appear in the facsimile. I have found the same name in the same context in two more Western Chalukya grants, but in both of them the text is unfortunately not quite clear enough to decide satisfactorily whether the second syllable is *ḷaṁ* or *ḷa*.

[7] This letter, *ka*, was omitted in the original, and was then inserted below the line.

[8] This letter, *ya*, again, was at first omitted and then inserted below the line.

[9] This syllable, *rê* or *ri*, is rather doubtful, being crowded from want of space.

[10] These seven marks of punctuation are unnecessary.

His son, Vinayâditya-Satyâśraya, the favourite of the world, the great king, the supreme king, the supreme lord, the venerable one,—who, having at the command of his father (&c., as in No. XXIX.), (*was*) like Bharata, on account of his being the refuge of kings, and by whom the Pallâvas, the Kaḷambhras[11], the Kêraḷas, the Haihayas, the Viḷas, the Maḷavas, the Chôḷas, the Pâṇḍyas, and others, were brought into a similar state of servitude with the Âḷuvas[12], and the Gaṅgas, and others, who were hereditary (*servants of him*),—thus issues his commands to all people:—

"Be it known to you! Six hundred and sixteen years of the Śaka (*era*) having elapsed, in the fourteenth year of (*Our*) augmenting and victorious reign, at (*Our*) victorious camp which is located at the village of Karañjapatra in the neighbourhood of (*the city of*) Harêshapura[13], on the day of the full-moon of (*the month*) Kârttika, at the request of the illustrious king of the Âluvas, the village of Kiru-Kâgâmâgi[14], in the Edevoḷal[15] division in the Vanavâsî district, is given by Us, with the right of enjoyment, and free from all opposing claims, to Îśânaśarmâ, who is thoroughly well versed in the *Vêdas* and the *Vêdâṅgas*, the son's son of Śrîśarmâ, who performed the Sôma sacrifice, of the Vâtsya *gôtra*; (*and*) the son of Mâraśarmâ. (*Also there is given*) a (*partly*) cultivated and (*partly*) uncultivated field on the west of the village of Per-Gâgâmâsi[16] And the boundaries of that field (*are*):—On the north-east. (*the? hamlet of*) (?) Pûlivutu in the boundaries of the village of Sirigŏdu[17]; coming thence, (*the village of*) Karvasurigoḷa; thence (*the village of*) Perbutu; thence (*the village of*) Âlgîre[18]; thence (*the village of*) Âlgoḷa; thence (*the village of*) Nittakalâ; thence, going to the east, (*the village of*) Nĕṟilgîre[19]; thence (*the village of*) Kurupakere; thence, turning to the south, (*the village of*) Arakaṭṭa. This (*grant, or charter*) should be preserved by future kings, who are desirous of acquiring fame, whether they belong to Our lineage or to other families, &c.! And it has been said by the holy Vyâsa, the arranger of the *Vedas*:—Land has been enjoyed by many kings, from Sagara downwards; &c.! It is a very easy thing to bestow a grant oneself, &c.! He is born as a worm in ordure for the duration of sixty thousand years, &c.! This charter has been written by Śrî-Râmapuṇyavallâbha, the Great Minister who is entrusted with peace and war."

No. XLIX.

This is a copper-plate grant of the Dêvagiri-Yâdava king Kṛishṇa, otherwise called, as here, Kanhara or Kanhâra,[20] and also Kandhara or Kandhâra. Another form of the same name is Kannara; but I have not found it used in the case of this particular king.

The plates were found at Chikka-Bâgewâḍi, in the Belgaum Tâlukâ of the Belgaum District. They are three in number, each about $7\frac{1}{2}''$ broad by $10\frac{3}{4}''$ long: they have raised edges to protect the writing. The ring connecting them had not been cut when the grant came into my possession; it is about $\frac{3}{8}''$ thick, and $3\frac{3}{8}''$ in diameter. The seal, of which a facsimile has been given (No. 2) in the Plate at p. 252 above, is circular, about $2\frac{1}{2}''$ in diameter; it has, in high relief on a countersunk surface, a figure of the god Hanumân, with the sun and moon. The language is Sanskrit. The characters are Nandinâgari. In this inscription the letter *ha* is usually distinguished from *va*,—by means of a small circle inside the loop of the letter; but the engraver has not always made this distinction, and in some instances, where he has, it has failed to appear in the facsimile. Thus, the facsimile reads *prativi(vim)vitâ*, l. 2, and *Vich-âgrajaḥ*, ll. 13-14; whereas the original has distinctly *pratibi(bim)bitâ*, and *Bîch-âgrajaḥ*. On the other hand, this mark, distinctive of the

[11] Or, perhaps, 'Kalabhras'; see note 6.

[12] In l. 9 of the Aihole inscription (Vol V., p. 67), we have, as my revised version of it will show hereafter, *Gangâlup-ândrâḥ*, 'the princes of the Gaṅgas and the Âlupas' The Âluvas are probably the same as the Âlupas, who are mentioned again, as the enemies of the Châlukyas in later times, in l. 12 of No 2 of my second series of Kâdamba inscriptions, at *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. IX., p. 278.

[13] Or, perhaps, 'Harishapura.'

[14] *i.e.*, 'the smaller, or more modern, Kâgâmâsi.'

[15] Or, perhaps, 'Melevoḷal.' *Voḷal* is the form in composition of the Canarese *hoḷal*, *hoḷalu*, 'a city.' The first part of the name may be *ede*, 'place, abode, &c.; great, much', or *ede*, 'the bosom, heart; courage.'

[16] *i.e.*, 'the larger, or older, Kâgâmâsi.'

[17] Or, perhaps, 'Sirigŏdu.'

[18] Or, perhaps, 'Âlgere.'

[19] Or, perhaps, 'Nĕṟilgere.'

[20] The transcription and translation of this grant have been given, with some others of the same dynasty, at *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc*, Vol. XII, p. 25; they are now repeated to accompany and explain the facsimile, which has not been previously published.

ha, is shown clearly enough in the facsimile in, *e.g.*, *Bâgavâdi*, l. 26, and *brâhmaṇêbhyas*, l. 28.

The grant records that, in the Saumya *saṁvatsara*, when Śaka 1171 (A.D. 1249-50) had expired, on Saturday the day of the full-moon of Âshâḍha, the minister[21] Mallisaiṭṭi, with the king's permission, bestowed upon thirty-two Brâhmaṇs, attached to the shrine of the god Mâdhava, certain lands at Santheya-Bâgavâḍi, in the Huvvalli Twelve in the Kuhuṇḍi district; and that the grant was subsequently confirmed by Mallisaiṭṭi's son, the minister Chauṇḍisaiṭṭi.

The Huvvalli spoken of here must be Mughatkhan-Hubballi in the Belgaum District, about five miles to the south-east of Bâgiwâḍi. *Santheyâ* is evidently intended for the Canarese *sânteya*, 'of the market', a common prefix to the names of villages in the Canarese country. The Santheya-Bâgavâḍi of the grant is probably the modern Bâgiwâḍi, or Hirê-Bâgiwâḍi,—a market-town, and of much more importance than Chikka-Bâgiwâḍi, which is close to it. *Saiṭṭi*, at the end of the two ministers' names, probably represents the Canarese *seṭṭi*, 'a merchant', and indicates the class to which they belonged by birth.

Transcription.

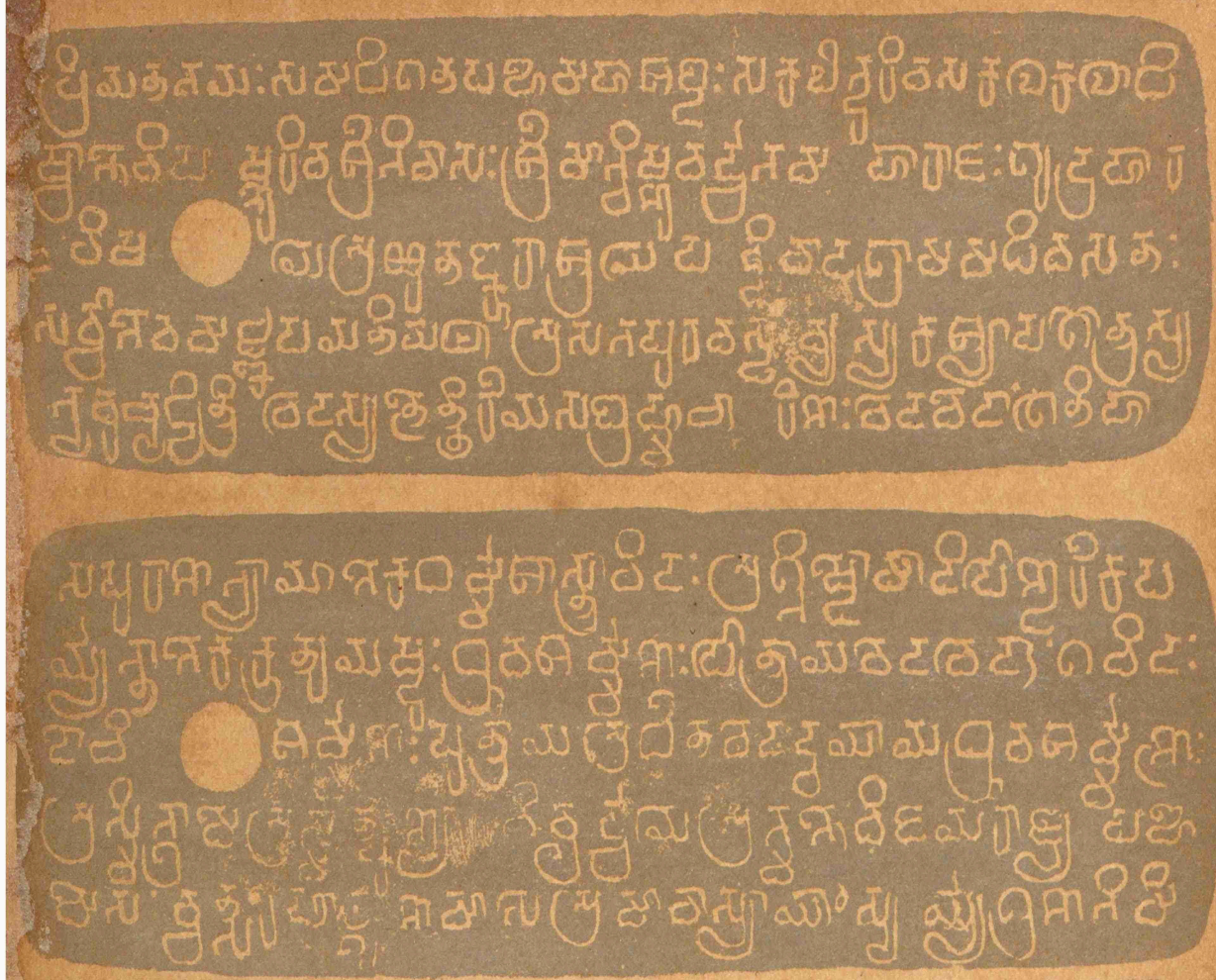
First Plate.

[1] ‖ : Chha ‖ Ôṁ namaḥ Śivâya ‖ Śrî-Gaṇâdhi-
[2] patayê namaḥ ‖ Pâyâd=âdyaḥ sa vaḥ pôtrî ya(yad)-daṁshṭrâ-
[3] pratibi(biṁ)bitâ | agâd=iva dhṛitâ dhâtrî harshâ(rshâd)=dviguṇa-pu-
[4] shtatâ(tâṁ) ‖ Asti svasty-ayanô râjâ Siṁhaṇô Yadu-vaṁśa-jaḥ yasya kîrtrî(rtti)-
[5] s=tri-bhuvanê prathitâ Hari-kîrtti-vat ‖ Yô râjâ Jaitugir=nâma Siṁha-
[6] n-âkhyâṁ(khyân)=nṛipât=tataḥ ‖(|) janitô Yadu-vaṁś-âvdhau(bdhau) payôdhâv=iva cha(chaṁ)dra-
[7] mâḥ ‖ Tasya putrô mahâ-têjâḥ Śrî-Kanhâra iti śrutaḥ | yad-âjñâṁ(jñâṁ)
[8] śirasâ dhṛittâ(tvâ) bhavaṁti sukhinô nṛipâḥ ‖ Jayati jagati râjâ sa-
[9] rva-bhûpâla-mauli-prathita-parama-ratna-prôllasat-pâda-padmaḥ | Ya-
[10] du-kula-chira-lîlê Vâsudêvê janânâṁ nayana-kamala-sû
[11] yaḥ(ryaḥ) prîtimân=Kanhar-âkhyaḥ ‖ Tasy=âṁyaḥ(nya)-kshitipâla-mauli-
[12] makuda(ṭa)-pratyupta-ratnaiś=chiraṁ nîrâjach-charaṇ-âravinda-yugalaḥ
[13] śêshasya pṛithvîpatêḥ | śûrô=mâtya-dhuri sthitô vijayatê . Bî-
[14] ch-âgrajaḥ . saṁtataṁ Mall-âkhyaḥ kila Chikkadêva-tanayaḥ pra-
[15] khyâta-kîrtti(rttir)=bhuvi ‖ Tasya putrô mahâ-têjâḥ Śrî-Kanhâra . i-
[16] ti śrutaḥ ‖(|) yô jidvâ(tvâ) pṛithiv-îśasya yô râjô(jñô) dakshiṇô bhê(bhu)-
[17] jaḥ ‖ Praśâṁ(śa)sy(sty)=arîṁ(rî)n=yah pragṛihîta-châpô dadâti ch=ârthâṁ=kṛipa-
[18] yâ dvijêbhyaḥ | Śrâ(śrî)-Sômanâth-âṁghri-yug-âvanatyâ pravarddhi-
[19] t-âśêsha-vibhûti-raṁ(ra)myaḥ ‖ Chha ‖ Svasti ‖ Êka-saptaty-uttara-śat-â-
[20] dhê(dhi)ka-sahasra-saṁkhyêshu Śak-âvdô(bdê)shv=atîtêshu pravarttamânê Sauṁ(sau)mya-
[21] saṁvatsarê tad-aṁta(tar)-gat-Âshâḍha-paurṇṇamâsyâṁ Śanaiśchara vârê Pû-
[22] rv-Âshâḍha(ḍhâ)-nakshatrê Vaidhṛiti-yôgê(ga)- ittham-bhûta-puṁ(pu)ṇya-kâlê
[23] sarba(rva)-rda(dê)ś-âdhikârî | saḥ | Mallisaiṭṭi-nâm-âmatyaḥ(tyô) Mudugala-grâ-
[24] mê vasaṁ(sa)n | tad-anuja(jña)yâ svâ-dêv-ârchchana-samayê Śrî-Sômanâtha-
[25] mahâdhârmika-Vîranâyaka-vijñâpanayâ sa(saṁ)nidhau sv-âdhikâra-vishayê Kuhuṇ-
[26] ḍi-dêśê Huvvalli-dvâdaśa-ggra(grâ)m-âbhyaṁtarê Saṁtheya-Bâgavâḍi-saṁjñâ-
[27] kê grâmê bhagavaṁ(vach)-Śrî(chhrî)-Mâdhava-dêva-pura(rah)śarêbhyô dvâ-triṁśat-saṁkhyâ-
[28] kêbhyô nânâ-gôtrêbhyô brâhmaṇôbhyas-na(ta)d-grâma-dakshiṇa-digu(g)-bhâgê-

Second plate; first side.

[29] shaṭ pâshâṇa(shaṭ-pâshâṇa)-mudritâṁ bhu(bhû)miṁ dhârâ-pûrba(rva)kaṁ dat-ta-

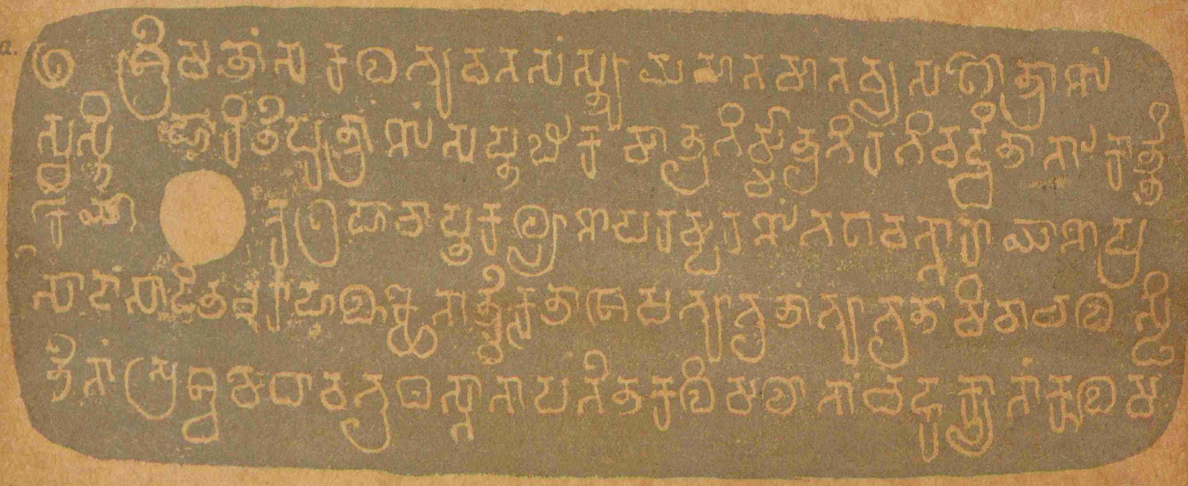
[21] *Amâtya.*



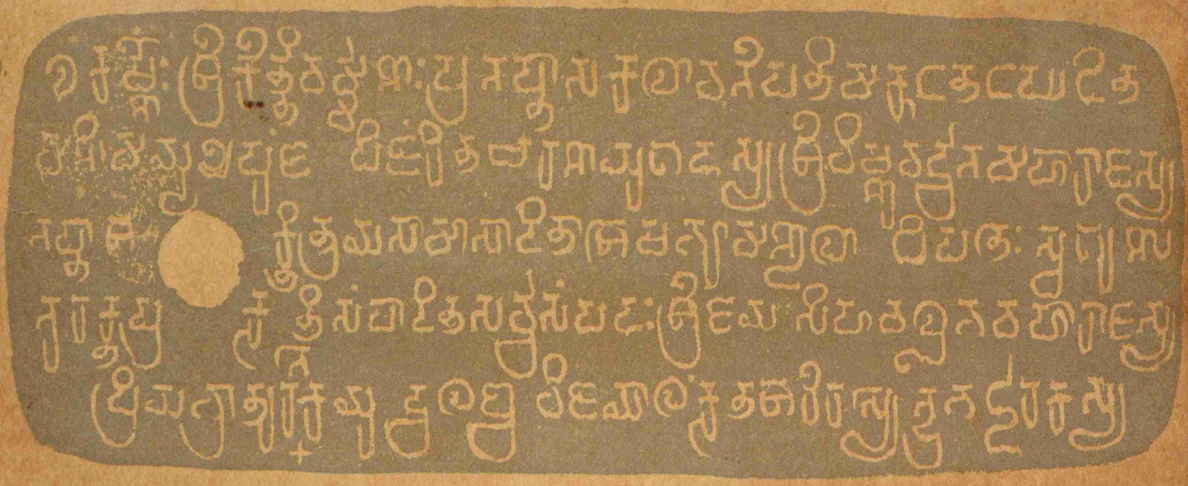
W. GRIGGS PHOTO-LITH. PECKHAM

EASTERN CHALUKYA GRANT OF THE FIFTH YEAR OF VISHNUVARDHANA. II.

1a.



1b.



[30] vân | (||) Tatra | bhagavataḥ Śrî-Mâdhava-dêva[22]sya aṁga-
[31] bhôga-raṁgabhôg-âdi-sakala-pu(pû)j-ârthaṁ sahasa(sra)-kaṁba-parimitaṁ
[32] kshêtraṁ dattaṁ | Śrî-Mâdhava-dêva-satrê brâhmaṇa-bhôjan-âtha(rthaṁ) śata-dva-
[33] ya-kaṁba-parimitaṁ kshêtraṁ dattaṁ [|*] Tad-itara(raṁ) tu kshêtraṁ Śrî-Mâdhava-dê-
[34] va-Braṁ(bra)hmapurî-varvi(rti)bhyas=nê(tè)bhyô brâhmaṇêbhyô dattaṁ | Tat-satr-ârtha-
[35] m=êva tad-grâma-pu(pû)rva-digu(g)-bhâgê śata-dvaya-kaṁba-parimitaṁ śâli-
[36] kshêtraṁ têna dattaṁ || Tat-satr-ârtham=êva tad-grâm-ôta(tta)ra-dig-bhâgê Vinâ-
[37] yaka-nairuru(ṛi *for* rura)nya(tya)-digu(g)-nâ(bhâ)gê śata-kaṁba-parimê(mi)taṁ [kshêtraṁ*] dattaṁ [||*] Iti Śrî-
[38] Mâdhava-dêva-satra-brâhmaṇa-bhôjan-âthaṁ(rthaṁ) pa(paṁ)cha-śata-kaṁba-parimitâ
[39] bhu(bhû)mis=nê(tê)n=aiva dattâ || Chha || Aṁ(a)naṁtaraṁ tasya | putrô=sau Chauṁdisaiṭṭi-nâ-
[40] m-âmânnyaḥ(tyaḥ) pitṛi-kṛin(t)-aita(tad)-dharma-paripâlanây=âsmin(nn)=arthê bha-
[41] gavan-Mâdhava-dêva-dêva-[23]pura(raḥ)sarêbhyas=ta(tê)bhyô brâhmaṇêbhyas=tâṁ-
[42] vra(bra)-śâsana(naṁ) danga(ttvâ) pitur=dhdha(ddha)rmaṁ su-dṛiḍhataraṁ kṛitavânu(n) || Chha || ||
[43] Têshâṁ pu(pra)tigṛihîtṛi(tṛî)ṇaṁ(ṇâṁ) gôtra-guṇa-nâmâni likyaṁtê || Chha ||
[44] Âtrêya-gôtrîya-Sâmavêdi-Vishṇubhaṭṭ-Ôpâdhyâya-suta-Sarva-
[45] jña-Hariharabhaṭṭ-Ôyâ(pâ)dhyâyasy=aikâ vṛittiḥ || Kauśika-gôtrî-
[46] ya-Prabhâkara-Trivâḍi-suta-Dâmôdaya(ra)-Trivâḍiḥ tasy=ê(ai)kâ
[47] vṛittiḥ || Kauśika-gôtrîya-Madanâï(yi)ta-Pâṭhaka-suta-Râma-
[48] dêva-Yâ(pâ)thakasy=aikâ dṛi(vṛi)ttiḥ || Vasishṭha-gôtrîya-Jayita-Pâ-
[49] ṭhaka-suta-Kêśaka(va)-Pâṭhakaḥ ||[24] tasy=aikâ vṛittiḥ || Harita-gôtrî-
[50] ya-Vâmama(na)-Paṭṭavaddha(rddha)na-suta-Trivikrama-Paṭṭavarddhanasy=ârddha-vṛi-
[51] ttiḥ || Śâṁḍilya-gôtrasya Vishṇubhaṭṭ-Ôpâdhyâya-suta-Petta-
[52] ṇa-Paṭṭavarddhanasy=ârddha-vṛittiḥ || Harita-gôtra-Dâmôdara-Paṭṭa-
[53] varddhana-suta-Tâ(nâ)gadêva-Paṭṭavarddhanasy=ârddha-vṛittiḥ || Harita-gô-
[54] tra-Kêśava-Paṭṭavarṭṭa(rddha)ma(na)-suta-Dâmôdara-Paṭṭavarddhanasy=ârddha-vṛittiḥ || Va-
[55] sishṭha-Maitrâvaruṇa-Kau(kauṁ)ḍinya-gôtra-Âdityabhaṭṭa-suta-Mali-
[56] dêva-Ṭha(u)pâdhyâyasy=ârddha-vṛittiḥ || Maudu(d)galya-gôtra-Nârâyaṇa-

Second plate; second side.

[57] Upâdhyâya-suta-Rudr-U(ô)pâdhyâyasy=ârddha-vṛittiḥ || Ta-
[58] sya trâ(bhrâ)tâ Gôviṁd-U(ô)pâdhyâyasy=ârddha-vṛittiḥ || Bhâra-
[59] dvâja-gôtra-Kalidêva-Paṭṭavarddhana-suta-Śrîdhara-Paṭṭava-
[60] rddhanasy=ârddha-vṛittiḥ || Gautama-gôtra-Maha(hâ)dêva-Paṭṭavarddhana-suta-Kâ-
[61] va(ma?)dêva-Kramitasy=ârddha-vṛittiḥ || Kâśyapa-gôtra-Maṁchyaṇa-Paṭṭavarddhana-
[62] suta-Vra(bra)hmadêvabhaṭṭ-Ôpâdhyâyasy=ârddha-vṛittiḥ || Da(ha)rita-gôtra-Gôvî(viṁ)da-
[63] suta-Râyihê(dê)vabhaṭṭ-Ôpâdhyâyasy=ârddha-vṛittiḥ || Śâṁḍilya-gôtra-Hidya(?)-
[64] ṇa-suta-Śrîra(raṁ)gasy=ârddha-vṛittiḥ || Kâśyapa-gôtra-Atyaṁ(?)pa-suta-Madhuva-
[65] ṇa-Paṭṭavaddha(rddha)nasy=ârddha-vṛittiḥ || Bhâradvâja-gôtra-Maha(hâ)da(dê)va-suta-Malidê-
[66] va-Ya(gha)lisasy=ârddha-vṛittiḥ || Rathîtara-gôtra-Sômanâtha-suta-Va(ba)savaṇa-Ghali-
[67] sasy=ârddha-vṛittiḥ || Âtra(trê)ya-gôtra-Gôpâla-śu(su)ta-Malidêva-Ghalisasy=ârddha-
[68] vṛittiḥ || Vishṇuvṛiddha-gôtra-Mâdhava-Paṭṭavarddhana-suta-Malidêva-Paṭṭavarddhanasy=â-
[69] rddha-vṛittiḥ || Âtrêya-gôtra-Nârâyaṇa-suta-Va(ba)savaṇa-Kramitasy=ârddha-vṛittiḥ ||
[70] Tâ(bhâ)radvâja-gôtra-Nâra(râya?)ṇa-suta-Jâtavêda-Paṭṭavarddhanasy=ârddha-vṛittiḥ || Bhâra-
[71] dvâja-gôtra-Śrîdhara-śu(su)ta-Hâśvara-Ghalisasy=ârddha-vṛittiḥ || Śrîvatsa-gô-
[72] tra-Mâyidêva-suta-Gôvi(viṁ)da-Ghalisasasy=ârddha-vṛittiḥ || Kâśyapa-gotra-A-

[22] This letter, *va*, was omitted in the original, and was then inserted above the line.

[23] This repetition of the word *dêva* is unnecessary

[24] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[13] ditya-suta-Malidêva-Ghalisasy=ârddha-vṛittiḥ || Vasishtha-gôtra-Tâkhûra-
[14] Ghalisasy=ârddha-vṛittiḥ [||*] Kâśyapa-gôtra-Vishṇu-Ghalisasy=ârddha-vṛittiḥ [||*]
[15] Kauśika-gôtra-Viśvanâtha-Ghê(ghai)sasy=ârddha-vṛittiḥ || Âtra(trê)ya-gôtra-Malidê-
[16] va-Ghalisaśy(sy)=ârddha-vṛittiḥ || Kâśyapa-gôtra-Svâmidêva-Ghaisasy=ârddhâ-vṛittiḥ . ||
[17] Kau(kauṁ)ḍinya-gôtra-Narasiṁha-Ghaisaḥ || Kauśika-gôtra Dâmôdara-Ghalisaḥ
[18] || Viśga(śvâ)mitra-gôtra-Malidêva-Ghalisaḥ || Mûka-gôtra-Kâyaṇa-Ghali-
[19] saḥ || Kâśyapa-gôtra-Ma(mâ *or* na)rasi(siṁ)ha-Ghalisaḥ || Śâ(śâṁ)di(ḍi)lya-gôtra-Nâgadêva-
[20] Ghalisâsaḥ(saḥ *for* sâsaḥ) || Agastya-gôtra-Kalidêda(va)-Ya(pa)ṭṭavarddhanaḥ || Âtrêya-gô-
[21] tra-Vishṇu-Paṭṭavarddhanaḥ || Bhâradvâja-gôtra-Dâsa-Malidêva-Ghalisaḥ || Kâ-
[22] śyapâ(pa)-gôtra-Vâsudêva-Ghalisaḥ || Harita-gôtra-Śrîdhara-Paṭṭavaddha(rddha)naḥ |(||)
[23] Kâśyapa-gôtra-Dêvaṇa-Ghalisaḥ || Śô(śau)naka-gôtra-Mâdhava-Ghalisaḥ [||*]
[24] Étêpâ(shâṁ) praty-êkam=arddha-vṛittiḥ || Kâśya[pa*]-gôtra-Cha(ja)gadê(ddê)va-
Pâṭhakasya ||[25]
[26] pâd-ôna-vṛittiḥ || Itaḥ param=anyêshâ(shâṁ) yu(pra)ty-êka(kaṁ) pâda-vṛittiḥ ||
Viśi(śvâ)mi-
[26] tra-gôtra-Râmadêva-Ghalisaḥ || Gôtama-gôtra-Malidêva-Ghalisaḥ ||

Third plate.

[27] Bhâradvâja-gôtra-Vê(vai)janâtha-Ghalisaḥ || Śrîvatsa-
[28] gôtra-Râmadêva-Ghalisaḥ || Bhâradvâja-gôtra-Kâ-
[29] lidâsa-Ghaisaḥ || Kâśyaya(pa)-gôtra-Gôyâ(pâ)la-Ghalisa-
[30] ḥ || Tasya bhrâtâ Kalitê(dê)va-Ghalisaḥ || Kâśya[pa*]-gô-
[31] tra-Nâgadêva-Ghalisaḥ || Bhâradvâja-gôtra-Voppadêva-Gha-
[32] lisaḥ || Viśvâmitra-gôtra-Lakshmîdhara-śu(su)ta-Gôpâla-Ghalisaḥ ||
[33] Kâśyapa-gôtra-Narasiṁhabhaṭṭaḥ || Kauṁḍinya-gotra-Nâga-suta-Vishṇuḥ ||
[34] Jâmadagnya-vasa[26]-gôtra-Dêvaṇa-Ghalisaḥ || Kô(kâ)śyapa-gôtra-Udayabhaṭṭaḥ ||
[35] Kauśika-gôtra-Dêvaṇa-suta-Maṁchyaṇa-Ghaliśaḥ(saḥ) || Kâśyapa-gôtra-Ha-
[36] ṭṭa(?)ṇa-Paṭṭavadha(rddha)naḥ || Bhâradvâja-gôtra-Malidêva-suta-Kalidêva-Paṭṭava-
[37] rdhdha(rddha)nasy=aikâ vṛittiḥ | (||) Vasishṭha-gôtra-Vadya(?)ṇa-suta-Janârddha(rdda)na-
Ghali-
[38] sasy=ârdhdha(rddha)-vṛittiḥ || Viluśuka-suta-Padmanâbha-Paṭṭavardhdha(rddha)na-
[39] sy=aikâ vṛittiḥ [||*] Tasya suta[sya*] Sômanâthasy=aikâ vṛittiḥ ||
[40] Itthaṁ dvâ-tri(triṁ)śad=vṛittayô vibhajya vrâ(brâ)hmaṇêbhyô dattaṁ(ttâḥ) | (||) Chha ||
Tad=âgâmibhi-
[41] v(r)=aśêsha-bhûpâlai(laiḥ) sva-datta-nirviśêshaṁ paripâlanîyam=iti bhagava-
[42] tâ Vêda-Vyâsên=ôktaṁ | Va(ba)hubhir=vasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhî(bhiḥ) Sagar-âdibhi(bhiḥ)
[43] yasya yasya yadâ bhûmi(bhû)mis=tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ | (||). Sva-dattâṁ para-
[44] dattâṁ vâ yô harêta vasuṁdharâṁ | shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrâṇi vi-
[45] shṭhâyâṁ jâyatê kṛimi(kṛi)miḥ || Rô(râ)maḥ | Sâmânyô=yaṁ dharma-sêtur=nṛi-
[46] pa(pâ)nâṁ kâlê kâlê pâlanîyô bhavadbhiḥ | sarvân=ê-
[47] tân=bhâvinaḥ pârthivêṁdrân=bhûyô bhûyô yâchatê Râmachaṁ-
[48] drah || Dâna-pâlanayôr=mâ(ma)dhyê dânât(ch)=śrê(chhrê)yô=nupâlanaṁ |
[49] dânât=svargam=avâpnôti pâlanâd=achyutaṁ ya(pa)daṁ ||
[50] Maṁgala-mahâ-śrêîḥ(śrîḥ) | (||)

Translation.

Ôm! Reverence to Śiva! Reverence to Śrî-Gaṇâdhipati! May he[27], the first boar, protect you,—reflected on whose tusk, the earth was upheld, and, through joy, attained, as it were, twice as great prosperity (*as before*)!

There was the prosperous king Siṁhaṇa, born in the race of Yadu, whose fame was celebrated throughout the three worlds, like the fame of Hari.

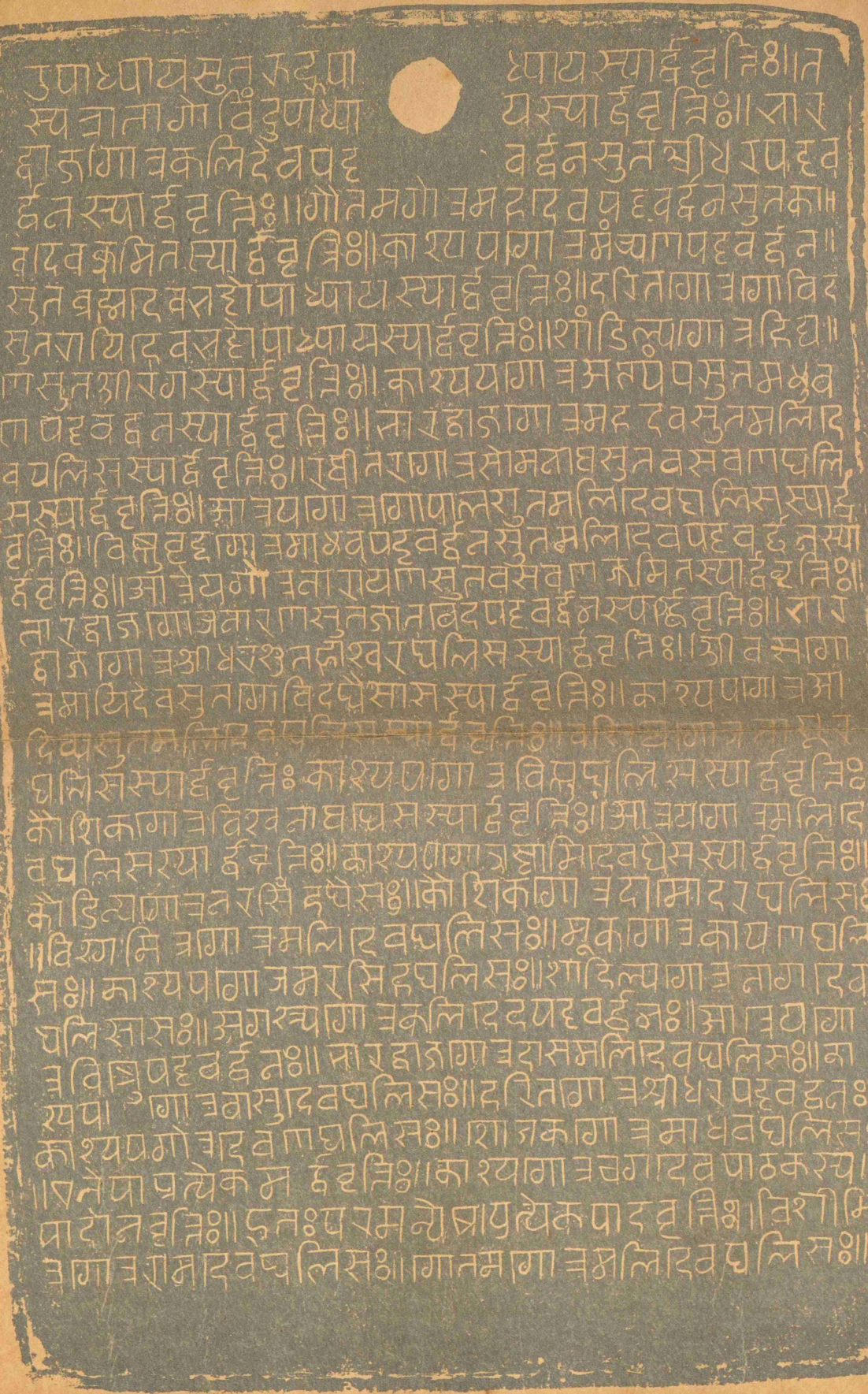
As the moon (*was created*) in the ocean, so, in the ocean which is the family of Yadu, there was born from the king Siṁhaṇa the king who was named Jaitugi.

[25] This mark of punctuation, again, is unnecessary.

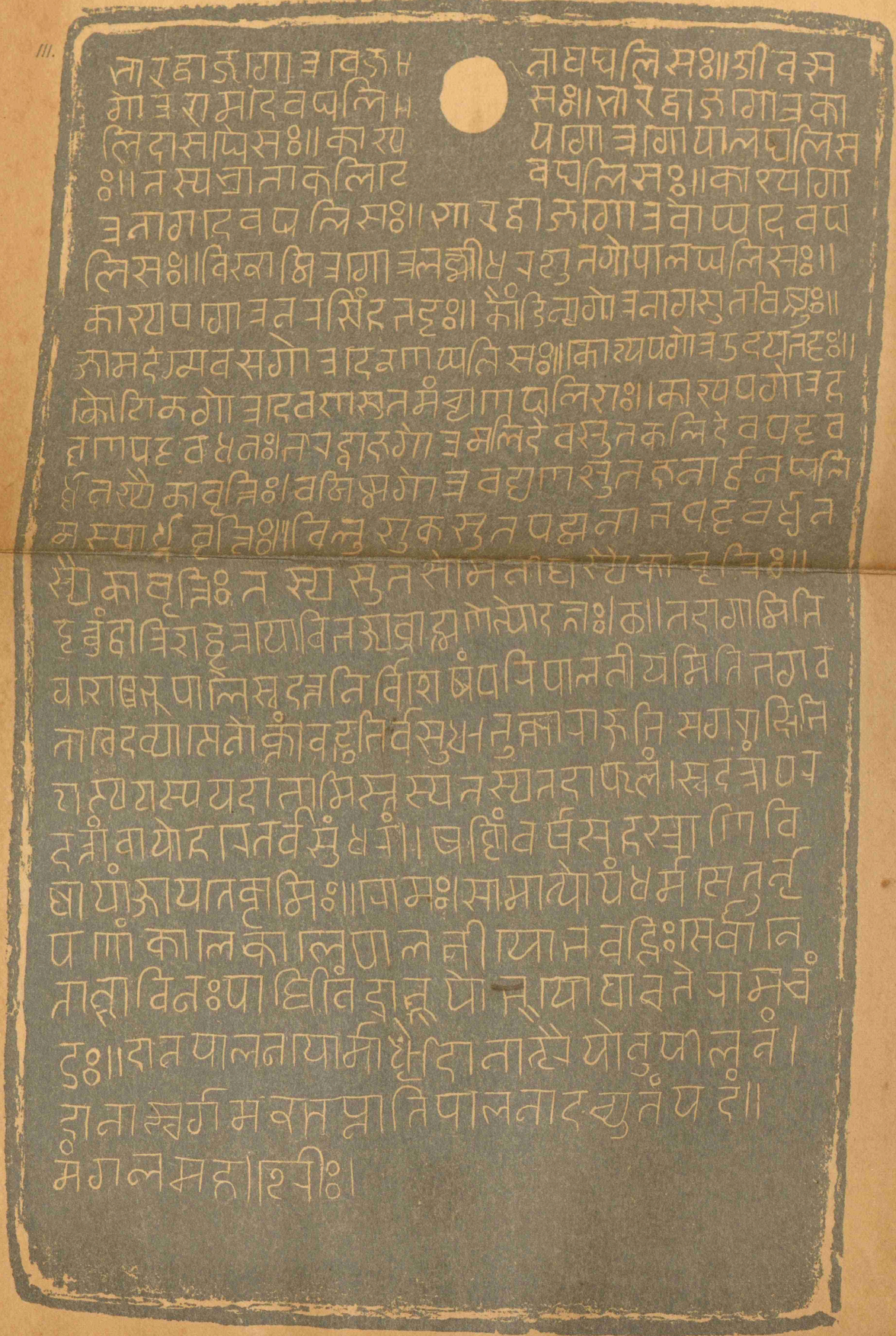
[26] These two letters, *vasa*, seem to be superfluous and unmeaning.

[27] Vishnu.

116.



III.



His son was that glorious one, who is renowned under the name of Śrî-Kanhâra, and whose commands kings bear upon their heads and thus become happy. Victorious in the world is the king called Kanhara; the waterlilies, which are his feet, shine brightly among the famous choice jewels in the diadems of all kings (*as they bow down before him*); he is the sun of the white waterlilies, which are the eyes of mankind; he is full of affection for Vâsudêva[28], who disported himself for so long a time in the family of Yadu.

Ever victorious is he, the hero, renowned in the world, who has the appellation of Malla, —the elder brother of Bîcha, and the son of Chikkadêva,—who, filling the post of minister of that eminent king, has the waterlilies, which are his feet, always made radiant by the jewels inlaid in the diadems of other kings; and who is the right arm of the victorious lord of the earth, the king, who was his[29] glorious son and was renowned under the name of Śrî-Kanhâra. Armed with the bow, he chastises his enemies; through charity, he gives wealth to the twice-born; and he is pleasing by reason of his perfect prosperity, which is nourished by obeisance performed to the feet of (*the god*) Śrî-Sômanâtha.

Hail! One thousand one hundred and seventy-one of the Śaka years having elapsed in the Saumya *saṁvatsara*, on Saturday the day of the full-moon of (*the month*) Âshâḍha of that (*year*), under the Pûrv-Âshâḍhâ *nakshatra* and the Vaidhṛiti *yôga*,—at this sacred time, while residing at the village of Mudugala, he,—the minister called Mallisaiṭṭi, who was entrusted with authority over all the dominions of the king,—with his permission, and at the request of the most pious Vîranâyaka, at the time of worshipping his own deity, in the presence of (*the god*) Śrî-Sômanâtha, gave, with libations of water, at the village called Santheya-Bâgavâḍi in the Huvvalli Twelve-villages in the country of Kuhuṇḍi, which was a district subject to his own authority, some land, marked out by six stones and situated in the southern part of that same village, to thirty-two Brâhmaṇs of many *gôtras*, together with the god, the holy Śrî-Mâdhava. A field of the measure of one thousand *kambas* was allotted for the *aṅgabhôga*, the *raṅgabhôga*, and all the other rites of the god, the holy Śrî-Mâdhava. A field of the measure of two hundred *kambas* was allotted for the purpose of feeding Brâhmaṇs in the charitable dining-hall of the god Śrî-Mâdhava. And another field was given to those Brâhmaṇs who dwelt at (*the town of*) Brahmapurî, which belonged to the god Śrî-Mâdhava. And a rice-field of the measure of two hundred *kambas*, situated in the eastern part of that same village, was given by him for the purposes of that same charitable dining-hall. And, for the purposes of that same charitable dining-hall, there was given a field of the measure of one hundred *kambas* on the south-western side (*of the land*) of Vinâyaka. Thus there was given by him land of the measure of five hundred *kambas* for the purpose of feeding Brâhmaṇs in the charitable dining-hall of the god Śrî-Mâdhava.

And after that, his son, the minister Chauṇḍisaiṭṭi, for the purpose of continuing the religious act performed by his father, gave, with reference to that same subject, a copper charter to the god, the holy Mâdhava, and to those Brâhmaṇs, and thus made permanent the religious act of his father.

The *gôtras* and the virtues and the names of those recipients of the gifts are now written. (*From here,—line* 45,—*to line* 99, *the inscription records the names, &c., of the grantees, and the share allotted to each. It is unnecessary to translate this portion in detail. In line* 100 *the inscription continues :*)—

Thus thirty-two allotments were portioned out and given to the Brâhmaṇs.[30]

It has been said by the saintly Veda-Vyâsa, that this (*grant*) should be preserved by all future kings, precisely as if it were a grant made by themselves, (*in the words*) :—"The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; he, who for the time being possesses land, enjoys the benefit of it"! He is born for the duration of sixty thousand years as a worm in ordure, who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another! (*Therefore has*) Râma (*said*) :—"This general bridge of piety of kings should at all times be preserved by you,—thus

[28] Krishna.
[29] *Sc.*, Siṁhaṇa's. The construction is very bad.
[30] The shares, however, if added up, amount to thirty-four and a quarter allotments.

does Râmachandra make his earnest request to all future princes." In (*discriminating between*) giving a grant and continuing (*the grant of another*), continuing (*the grant of another*) is the better; by giving a grant a man attains paradise, but by continuing (*the grant of another*) a man attains an imperishable state! (*May there be*) the most auspicious prosperity!

MISCELLANEA.

SEALS FROM COPPER-PLATE GRANTS.

(*See Plates, pp.* 120, 252-3.)

Besides the seals from the copper-plate grants of Vinayâditya (alluded to above, p. 301) and of Kanharadêva (p. 303), we have given on the same plate (at p. 252) three others from the collection of Sir Walter Elliot: viz.—No. 1, the seal of the copper-plate grant of Vikramâditya I. dated Śaka 532, which grant has already been given (at p. 217); No. 3[1] is from an Eastern Chalukya grant of Râjarâja dated Śaka 944; and No. 4[1] from another Vengi grant of Kulôttunga-Chôḍadêva II. dated Śaka 1056. These last two grants will be given in volume VIII. of the *Indian Antiquary*, with full-size facsimile plates.

An impression of a seal of Ammarâja II. of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty is given on the plate facing p. 120. A transcription and translation of the plates to which it belongs will be given early in next volume.—ED.

KABÎR-PANTHÎS AND SAT-NÂMÎS.

(*Addition to the paper, ante, pp.* 287-289.)

Much has yet to be learnt about the Kabîr-panthîs and the teaching of Kabîr, the great leader of Indian reform in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. His sayings and precepts are innumerable, and many of them have still to be translated.

The Sat-nâmîs, too, are an interesting sect, and very little has yet been written about them or their leaders. Is there not more than one branch of this sect to be found in different parts of India? And if so, how do they differ?

MONIER WILLIAMS.

Oxford, November 8th, 1878.

METRICAL VERSIONS FROM THE *MAHÂBHÂRATA*.

BY J. MUIR, D.C.L., LL.D., PH.D.

(*Continued from p.* 292.)

BROKEN FRIENDSHIPS NEVER THOROUGHLY CEMENTED.

Mahâbhârata, xii. 4167.

Things well compact are hard to crack,
And broken things are hard to mend;
So shattered friendships, patched up, lack
The love that marked the former friend.

THE IGNORANT MAN'S PRAISE AND BLAME WORTHLESS.

Mahâbhârata, xii. 4217.

What boots the censure or applause
Which undiscerning men bestow?
Who ever heeds the senseless crow
That in the forest harshly caws?

DISHONEST EULOGISTS.

Mahâbhârata, xii. 4421.

The men who praise you, bland and bright,
Before you,—rail behind your back,
Are dogs that dread a front attack,
But slink behind, your heels to bite.

EVIL OF REVENGEFULNESS.

Mahâbhârata, xii. 4225.

The injured man who weakly longs
To pay base slanderers back their wrongs
Is like the ass which loves to lie
And roll in ashes dirtily.

THE EFFECT WHICH SOCIETY PRODUCES ON THE FOOLISH AND THE WISE RESPECTIVELY.

Mahâbhârata, i. 3077.

The fool who listens day by day
To all that men around him say,
Whate'er is worst drinks in with greed,
As pigs on garbage love to feed.
But hearing others talk, the wise
The precious choose, the vile despise;
Just so do swans, with innate tact,
From milk and water, milk extract.

EFFECTS OF ASSOCIATING WITH THE WISE AND THE FOOLISH.

Mahâbhârata, iii. 25.

To herd with fools delusion breeds,
To error, vice, and misery leads;
While those who wait upon the wise,
On virtue's ladder ever rise.
Let men who covet calm of mind,
The old, the sage, the righteous find;
From such the way of duty learn;
Thus aided, truth and right discern.
Such men's example, influence, looks,
Teach better far than many books.

(*To be continued.*)

[1] The first two seals on the second page of the plate have been wrongly numbered as 1 and 2, instead of 3 and 4.

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* Abbreviations :—

c. = city. d. = district. g. = god or goddess. k. = king. l. m. = land-measure. m. = mountain. mot. = motto. o = official. r. = river. s. = sect. t. = temple. v. = village.

The dynasties in brackets after the names of kings are given on first occurrence only in full, and then in abbreviated form.

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ERRATA IN VOL. VII.

p. 15*a*, ll. 14 and 40, and p. 15*b*, l. 12, *for* Châlukya *read* Chalukya.

p. 15*b*, l. 35, *for* 'Vyayâditya' *read* 'Vijayâditya.'

p. 16, transcr. l. 30, *for* chintamaṇir *read* chintâmaṇir.

p. 16, transcr. l. 36, *for* uru *read* uru-

„ „ „ l. 40, *for* sarvvân=â= *read* sarvvân=â-.

p. 17, transcr. l. 54, *for* Alapûruh *read* Âlapûruḥ.

p. 17*b*, note 12, *for* this volume *read* Vol. VI.

p. 18*b*, l. 35, *for* Râshṭrakûṭas *read* head-men of countries.

p. 19*a*, note 24, *for ante*, p. 24, *read* Vol. VI., p. 24.

p. 28*a*, l. 14, *after* require *insert* . . . .

„ l. 30, *for* Sonpat *read* Sonpat.

„ l. 33, *for* Karangi *read* Kâranji.

„ l. 53, *for* Mulasamghu *read* Mûlasaṁghu.

p. 28*b*, l. 2, *dele comma after* Bhaṭṭârkas.

„ l. 3, *dele comma after* paṇḍits.

„ l. 23, for *Jatis* read *Jâts*.

„ l. 32, for Vispanthîs and Therâpanthîs *read* Vispanthîs and Therâpanthîs.

p. 28*b*, l. 44, for *Chandrarprajnapti* read *Chandrarprajñapti*.

p. 28*b*, l. 45, for *prajnapti* read *prajñapti*.

„ l. 49, for *nasara* read *nasâra*.

p. 29*a*, ll. 36, 37, *for* Grammar read *Grammar*.

„ l. 52, *for* there [at Ajmir] *read* at Ajmir.

p. 29*b*, l. 2, *for* Governor General *read* for the Governor General.

p. 33*b*, ll. 24 *and* 26, *for* Nâgamaṇḍala *read* Nâgamangala.

p. 34, transcr. l. 9, *dele* || *after* saṁyuktô.

„ „ note 5, dele ḭ before *Jihvamûlîya*, and in the last line *for* ḭ *read* ḭ.

p. 34*b*, l. 38, *for* Siddhakêdara *read* Siddhakêdâra.

p. 35, note 14, *for* p. 24*a* read p. 25*a*.

p. 36, transcr. l. 14, *for* samyuktô *read* saṁyuktô.

„ „ „ l. 16, *for* para-(da)ttam(ttâm) *read* para-dattam(ttâm).

p. 36, l. 19, *for* nupâlana[ṁ] *read* nûpalanaṁ.

p. 37, transcr. l. 14, *for* gô-bhû *read* gô-bhû-.

„ „ „ l. 21, *for* dvîtiyô *read* dvitîyô.

p. 38, transcr. l. 26, *for* samyuktô *read* saṁyuktô.

p. 91*b*, l. 17, *for* Gaksha *read* Yaksha.

p. 102*b*, l. 38, for *ombhattaney avarsham* read *ombhattaneya varsham*.

p. 105, transcr. l. 33, *for* paśchimatâ(tah) *read* paśchimatâ(tah).

p. 105, transcr. l. 36, *for* Akhaṁ[ḍa*]la *read* Âkhaṁ[ḍa*]la.

p. 106, transcr. l. 59, *for* Purvvatah *read* Pûrvvatah.

p. 109*a*, l. 35, and 109*b*, l. 6, *for* the (*field called*) Dêśagrâmakûṭakshêtra *read* the field of the head-men of the country and the villages.

p. 110*a*, l. 5, *for* and the country and the villages *read* and the head-men of the country and the villages.

p. 110*b*, l. 14, *for* Jyêshṭhaliṇga *read* Jyêshthalinga.

p. 112*a*, l. 36, *for* years" having expired *read* years having expired."

p. 136*b*, l. 23, *for* fired *read* filled.

„ l. 34, *for* bullets *read* balls.

„ l. 41, *for* bullet *read* ball.

„ l. 42, *after* from a bow *add* with unerring aim.

p. 156*b*, l. 8, *for* Agûtâśatru *read* Ajûtaśatru.

p. 161*a*, l. 9, *for* Nĕrûr *read* Nerûr.

p. 162, transcr. l. 19, *for* hi(him)syâ *read* hi(him)syât.

p. 162, note 5, *for* Prithu *read* Pṛithu.

p. 163*a*, l. 2, and 163*b*, ll. 6 and 16, *for* Nĕrûr *read* Nerûr.

p. 164, transcr. l. 12, *for* lakshmîṁ *read* lakshmîm, *and cancel the word* prâ(?)pya.

p. 183*a*, note 2, *after* Malabar *add* asserts that it is so.

p. 183*b*, l. 34, *for* चेन्वल *read* चेन्वल.

p. 188, transcr. l. 38, *for* muyyard-dhaṁśaḥ *read* muyyarddhaṁśah.

p. 189, transcr. l. 66, *dele* || *after* śukla-pakshê.

„ „ l. 68, *for* Vinayâkasya *read* Vinâyakasya.

p. 190*b*, l. 39, *for* Chĕbumdothibôya *read* Chĕbundothibôya.

p. 191, transcr. l. 9, *for* va(ma)hârâjasy- *read* va(ma)hârâjasya.

p. 192, transcr. l. 13, *for* âdhivasataḥ *read* adhivasataḥ.

p. 192*b*, l. 16, *after* all accomplishments *insert* like the moon which is possessed of (*all*) its digits.

p. 210a, l. 22, *for* the date assigned to Pulikêśî I. *read* the genuineness of this grant.

p. 211, transcr. l. 17, *for* nâmâ= *read* nâm=â-.

p. 212, transcr. l. 33, *for* êndrâchâp- *read* êndrachâp-.

p. 212, transcr. l. 38, *for* satair *read* śatair.

p. 213, „ l. 51, *for* punah= *read* punaḥ=.

„ „ „ l. 60, *for* chham î-jhâta *read* chhamî-jhâta, *and for* tasmâ- *read* tasmât.

p. 213, transcr. l. 66, *for* sîma *read* sîma(mâ).

„ „ l. 71, *for* sîmâ *read* sîmâ-.

„ „ ll. 72-3 *for* sîma *read* sîma(mâ).

p. 214, transcr. l. 92, *for* achhirâmśu *read* achirâmśu.

p. 215a, l. 42, *for* fan *read* face.

p. 215b, ll. 27-8, *for* Kanakôpaḷâ *read* Kanakôpaḷa.

p. 218a, l. 16, *for* Kisuvoḷal *read* Kîsuvoḷal.

p. 218a, l. 18, *for* Basari-samgha *read* Basuri-samgha.

p. 219, transcr. l 17, *or* visâla *read* viśâla.

p 220, transcr. l. 18. *for* [kâṁchi*] *read* kâṁchî*].

p. 220, transcr. l 26, *for* (rmma[nah *read* (rṁma)naḥ.

p. 229a, ll. 33, 34, *for* The E is the Latin Æ, *read* The E (or rather the [illegible]) is the Latin Æ.

p. 244, *text*, l. 2, *for* isṁhâsan- *read* siṁhâsan-.

p. 248, transcr. l. 1, and p. 249, note 20, *for* Vijayapura-vâsakât *read* Vijayapur-âvâsakât.

p. 248, transcr. l. 10, *for* châta *read* châtâ.

„ „ l. 13, *dele* = *between* svâminê *and* arddha.

p. 249, transcr. l. 31, *for* ûrvva *read* Pûrvva.

p. 261a, transcr. l. 4, *for* a[13] embank- *read* an[13] embank-.

p. 261b, note 14, *for* see below *read* see above, p. 257, &c.

p. 268a, l. 7, *after* (for 1864-5) *add* p. 416.

„ ll. 8 and 27, *for* Khajuraho *read* Khajurâho.

p. 268a, l. 11, *for* Chandel *read* Chândel

„ l. 37, *after* states *add* that.

Erratum in Vol. VI.

p. 315a, l. 19, *for* second *read* sacred.